

Thomas Petrus
THE
ROMAN
HISTORIE, CON-
taining such Acts and occurrents
as passed under Constantius, Iulianus,
Iovianus, Valentinianus, and Valens,
Emperours.

Digested into 18. Bookes, the remains of 31.
and written first in Latine by *Ammianus Mar-*
cellinus : Now translated newly into English.

Wherunto is annexed the Chronologie, serving instead of a briebe
supplement of those former 13. Bookes, which by the iniurie of Time are
lost : Together with compendious Annotations and Coniectures upon
such hard places as occurre in the said Historie.

Done by PHILEMON HOLLAND of the Citie of Coventrie,
Doctor in Physicke.



LONDON,

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TO THE RIGHT WOR-
shipfull, the Major, and his Brethren,
the Aldermen &c. of the Citie of
Coventrie.



Having entred heretofore into an English translation of the
Romane Hystorie, compiled by T. Livius from the founda-
tion of Rome-citie unto the Cæsars dayes; and then pro-
ceeded forward in their lives, to the death of Domitian,
according as they were penned by Suetonius Tranquil-
lus, I was of late earnestly moved by a noble Baron of this
Kingdome, to travaile on still, and follow the traine of this
argument, so farre forth as I found extant in Ammianus Marcellianus, who
had written at large from the end of the said Emperour unto the beginning of
Gratianus. And albeit this enterprize seemed unto mee more than difficult, con-
sidering the harsh stile of the Author, a Souldior, and who being a Grecian
borne, delivered these Hystoricall reports in Latine; the strange tearmes occa-
sioned by the late alteration of the State under Constantine; the greater part
of the originall lost, which might have given light unto the rest; the prints so
defective and faultie even of that which remained; and the want of others to
tread out the way before me in other languages: yet could I not deny that ho-
nest request of so honourable a personage, whom I knew to be verie studious,
passing well learned, and judicious, (right commendable parts adorning true
Nobilitie) but set in hand with this peece of worke also, and finish the same in
some sort, though I have not altogether therein pleased my selfe.

And the better to give contentment unto the Readers (for now by this time
I perceived it should come under the Presse) I tooke me to a new labour, and like
as the losse of the later part of T. Livius I supplied with the brevies of L.
Florus, so the want in the beginning of this Writer I made up with a Chronolo-
gie; to the end I might present unto my deere countreyemen a continued narra-
tion of the Romane affaires, from the first infancie, to the venerable old age and

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

declining daies (that I may use Marcellinus his owne words) of that eternall Citie. To explaine likewise those unusuall phrases and tearmes aforesaid, not obvious in former Historiographers, as also to open some obscure places, which here and there offer themselves, I thought not much of my paines, to annex therunto certaine briefe Annotations and Conjectures of mine owne: which if they yeeld not full satisfaction unto the Reader, may yet minister occasion to some better learned than my selfe, for to travaile in that kind, unto whose censure and judgement I submit those my Supposals.

These Endeavours of mine whatsoever I dedicate unto your Worships, the chiefe Magistrate and grave Senate of this Citie; and that for divers respects: First, your wise and moderat government of the place, wherein I have so many yeares conversed, hath afforded unto me both quiet repose and meanes also to follow my studies: Secondly, the affectionate love that yee have alwaies borne to good literature, testified by courteous entertainment of learned men; by competent salaries allowed from time to time to such professors, as have peaceably and with discreet carriage bestowed their talents among you; by exhibition given to poore schollers in the Vniversitie; by erecting also of late, and maintaining of a faire Librarie, not exampled (without offense to others be it spoken) in many Cities of the Realme: Lastly the experience I have already of your kind acceptance of my former Labours, though not exhibited unto you at the first hand, have emboldened or enforced me rather, immediately to entitle you in this, and under your name to transmit the same unto all others: not doubting that you will take this small gift in good worth, as a token of his unfeigned love and affection, who hath alwayes prayd for your welfare, and wisheth not to live longer than he may see the prosperous and flourishing estate of your citie.

Your Worships in all dutifull respect,

Philemon Holland.

Fol.



GALLVS AND CONSTANTIVS.

LIB. I4. CAP. I.

The horrible acts of Cæsar Gallus, through his wives instigation committed in the East parts.



After the events of an invincible expedition atchieved, whiles the hearts * of both the * sides were fainting, which sundry dangers and travailles had fore quailed, before that either the trumpets gave over sounding, or the souldiers were bestowed in their wintering stations; such stormes of fortune still raging, arose, as poured downe a world of new troubles upon the State and Commonwealth, occasioned all by many wicked and horrible acts of *Cæsar Gallus*; who from an exceeding poore and miserable condition, advanced in the very flower of his yeares (with unexpected honor) to princely dignity, and running out beyond the bounds of that authority which was conferred upon him, made foule worke every where, and with extreme rigour marred all: For, presuming upon his neerenesse of kinne unto the * bloud royall, and the alliance which he had still with the name of *Constantine*, hee bare himselfe very proud and insolent, ready (as it was thought) to have giuen some hostile attempt even against the founder of his owne good fortunes, if he had bin of greater power: whose cruelty was not a little enkindled and set on fire by his * wife; who beside her unmeasurable pride, as being sister in the whole bloud unto the * Emperour, and by her father * *Constantine* before time joyned in marriage with his brothers sonne king *Antibalianus*, was a very devill incarnate, inciting and incensing him continually, given as hee was to cruell tyranny, and no lesse bloud-thirstie her selfe, nor of a milder disposition than her husband: who both of them in proceesse of time by little and little growne more skilfull in doing mischief, by means of secret and crafty tale-bearers, such as lewdly used to make those things greater that upon slight grounds were discovered, ready also to report untruths and matters pleasing unto them, falsely raised upon innocent persons imputations and slanders, either of ambitious aspiring to the kingdome, or of practising wicked and naughtie arts. Now, among other designements and deeds of a lower nature (for by this time their greatnesse surmounted the tearmes of meane

*or Factions.
*Magnentius the
Vigilant, and Con-
stantine the Empe-
rour, who in one
field at Muria lost
70000 betweene
them. Temp. Lat.

*He was cousin
germano to Con-
stantine, even the
sonne of his unckle
great *Constantinus*
the late Emperours
brother.

**Constantina*, or
Constantia,
**Constantina*,
*the Great.

*Diceret, others
read, *Diceret*, &
to learne and find
out.

delinquences) notorious above the rest was the horrible and sudden death of one *Clematius*, a nobleman of Alexandria: whose wives mother falling in hore fanfic with him her sonne in law, and solliciting him wantonly to company with her, when she could not obtaine his love, was (by report) let in at a posterne gate of the palace, and there by presenting unto the Queene a rich jewell of great price, effected thus much, That by vertue of a writ or warrant sent unto *Elenoratus*, then lieutenant a generall of the East, the said *Clematius*, upon deadly malice, without touch and attaint of any wicked act, not permitted once to open his mouth, or to speake for himselve, should be killed. After this wicked part committed, which now was feared also in others, as if a licence had beene graunted unto cruelty, certaine persons, upon obscure mistis onely of suspitions and presumptions were judged guilty and condemned: of whom, some suffered death, others punished with forfeiture of goods, and turned out of house and home as banished folke, hauing nought left unto them but plaints, mones, and bitter teares, lived onely of contribution and almes. And thus, whiles in lieu of civile and just government, a bloudie mind and will bare sway, wealthy and noble houses were quite shut up: neyther was there required in all these heapes of enormities and troubles, any voice of an accuser, were he but counterfeit and suborned, that criminall matters might seeme (though but in outward shew) committed to the formall triall of Law (a course that very tyrants diuers times have taken:) but whatsoever selded once in *Cæsars* irreconcilable heart, the same went current for right and lawfull, yea, and was followed hard even to present execution. Moreover, deuised it was, that certaine unknowne persons, such as for their basenesse were of small regard, should be sent out of purpose through all parts of Antiochia, to hearken after tales and rumors, with direction, to relate whatsoever they heard. These fellows in manner of travellers raunging from place to place, and covertly joyning themselves close to men of quality and honour at their meetings, entring also in habit of needie and poore folke into rich mens houses, what ever they could learne or heare, being let into the Court secretly at the backe doores, made report thereof; observing this one point joyntly with one accord, some things to invent and forge of their owne heads, and what they knew in deed, to make the same worke by the one halfe: but in any wise to suppress and conceale all the praises that came to their cares of *Cæsar*; which many men were forced even against their wils to give out, for feare of calamities that hung over their heads. And otherwhiles it fell out so, that if the husband had whispered ought in his wives eare, within a secret roome, where no seruitor at all, more inward and priue to his life, was present, the same should the Emperour bee sure to know the morrow after; no lesse than if *Amphiarus* or *Martius*, renowned Divinors and Wifards in old time, gave intelligence thereof: and therefore, the very bare wals alone, made acquainted with any secrets, were feared. Now, this obstinate and selded purpose of his, to search into these and many such like matters, became of greater force, by reason of the Queene ever at his elbow to pricke and proke him forward, who bearing her selfe threwd and froward upon her husbands high estate, lay on him, still creaking and crowing, as one most sharpe set and hotely bent to worke mischief: whereas, out of that mildnesse which becometh a woman, she ought rather by good and holefome persuasions to have reduced him into the way of truth and courteous humanitie; as we have reported in the acts of the Gordians, That the wife of

Maxi-

Maximianus that cruell emperour was wont to do. To conclude, this *Gallus* after a new and pernicious example, feared not to put in practise the same foule and dangerous prank which *Gallienus* is reported to have attempted sometime at Rome, with the greatest dishonor and shame that might be: and taking some few in companie, privily weaponed, he would in the evening walke here and there about the shops, hostelries, carrefours, and crosse streets, busily inquiring in the Greek tongue (wherein he was very perfect) what any man thought of *Cæsar*? And these parts plaid he boldly within the citie, even where lights shining cleere all night long, are wont to resemble the bright dayes. At length, being oftentimes knowne who he was, and perceiving now, that if he came thus abroad hee should bee discovered, hee was not seene to go forth but openly by day-light, and that about his serious affaires, as he thought them. And these verily were the courses that hee tooke, whereat many a man grieved and groaned at the heart. Furthermore, *Thalasius*, then Lord chiefe Justice, being in place, who also himselve was of an arrogant nature, considering that this hastinesse of his, to the hazard of many, still increased, did not by gravitie or sage counsell mitigate his mood (as diuers times men placed in high authority have mollified and assuaged the wrath and ire of princes) but by way of opposition and rebuke at unmeet seasons set him farther out, and made him sticke mad, giving informations very thicke unto the Emperour of him, aggravating his proceedings, and making them more than they were, yea and endeavouring (of what mind I know not) that the same should not be hidden: whereat *Cæsar* within a while much more fell and enraged, erecting on high the banner, as it were, of selfe-will and frowardnesse, without regard either of other mens safety, or his owne, ran on end still in manner of a swift streame, with irreclaimable violence, to beare downe and carry quite away all under him.

CHAP. II.

Warre raised by the Brigands or Robbers of Isauria, whereof the events and issues were diuers.



Either verily was this the only bane that plagued the East with sundry troubles and calamities: For, the Isauri (with whom an usuall matter it is, oft times to rest quiet, and as often with seldaine outrodes to disturbe and confound all) from secret robberies, and those but seldome committed, brake out (while impunitie fostered their boldnesse growing worse and worse) into grievous warres, stirring up verily their hostile and rebellious stomacks a long time by commotions without all rest; howbeit mightily moved by occasion of this indignitie (as they gave it out) that some of their consorts taken prisoners, were at Iconium, a towne of Pisidia, contrary unto the manner and custome, cast out to be devoured of ravenous wild beasts, at a publique shew in their Amphitheatre: and according to the saying of *Tully*, Like as even savage beasts, upon warning given, returne for the most part unto the place where sometimes they have bene fed; even so all of them, in manner of a whilewind, being come downe from the cumbersome and high mountaines, repaired to the sea

B ij

coasts,

*Cicero, Orationes
under P. Clodius
Pulcher.

*Some call it at
this day, *Antiochia*.

**Profectus* *Thalasius*
terius.

**Cappi*, *Bellin*
Gorgia, *Typhella*,
Cuma, *Lencleav*,
**A* Region within
Cilicia, *Protema*.

coasts, along the which, hiding themselves within the vallies, full of lurking holes, toward daie night especially, when the Moone was but new, and in her first quarter, and therefore yet not shining out in her full light, observed the *shippe-masters and saylers; whom when they perceived once to be layed along to sleepe, creeping on all foure among the anchor-gables, and then going softly for being heard, they conveyed themselves slyly into the shippe boats, and so stood hard by them ere they were aware: thus, while greedie covetousnesse gave fire unto their cruelty, having slaine them all, and spared not so much as one *that yeelded, they caried away rich marchandise*, or gainfull commodities; for, none there was to make resistance. But these pranks were not long practised: For, when knowledge was taken, that the saylers and marchant venturers were thus murdered and left dead in the place, no man afterward arrived at these rodes, but avoiding them no lesse than the deadly cliffes of *Scyron*, they sayled close along the coasts of *Cypus*, whereas they lye opposite unto the rockes of Isauria. Therefore, within a while after, when they could find nothing thither brought, leaving the sea coasts, they went into Lycaonia, adjoining hard unto Isauria, and there within their thicke growne Fastnesses and Fore-fences, after the manner of those that lye in ambush for such as passe by, they maintained and enriched themselves with the goods as well of the provinciall inhabitants as the way-faring folke. This broile raised the souldiers that lay in garrison within many townes and castles confining upon them, who endeavoring all of them with might and maine, to repell them, incroaching further still, and spreading thus all abroad, one while keeping together closely in squadrons, other whiles dispersed asunder, were overmatched by reason of their huge multitude: who being bred and brought up among the high and crooked mountains, carrying a great compasse about, use nimble to passe over them, as if they were plaine places, and even, charging a farre off as many as come toward them, with shot, and affrighting them with hideous cries and yellings. And divers times our foot-men being forced in the pursuit after them, to clime up steepe rising hills, albeit that as their feet slipped from under them, by taking hold of shrubs and bushes, they got up to their verie tops; yet among those narrow and unpassable streits, having no roome to imbattell and set themselves in array, nor yet to march on with sure and strong footing, whiles their enemies trauesing their ground to and fro, tumble downe peeces of rockes and crags from aloft, they made shift to get away downe the hill with danger ynough; or else, if they were driuen upon extreame necessitie, valiantly to fight it out, overwhelmed they were, and laid along with the fall of huge and weighty peeces. From thenceforth therefore, this due observation, with warie circumspection, was made, that ever as these robbers began once to make towards the high mountaines, our souldiers knowing the disadvantage of the place, gave way and retired: but when they might be found upon the plaine (which happeneth verie often) having not the libertie either to stretch forth their armes, or to brandish and shake their darts which they carry, two or three apeece, their fortune was to be slaine like dumb and silly beasts. Wherefore the same robbers, afraid of Lycaonia, for the most part a champion country, and knowing by many proofs made, that they should not be able to make their parts good with our men in a fable and set fight, through blind by-ways went into *Pamphylia*, which had continued a long time verily without trouble, but yet for feare of wasting, spoyleing, and murdeis, whiles souldiers

ranged

ranged through all the quarters neere adjoining, was fortified with strong garri-
sons on everie side: whereupon speeding themselves in great hast, for to prevent
all rumors of their remove, by exceeding celeritie, trusting also upon the vigour
and agilitie of their bodies, through winding lanes they got up (somewhat late
though it was) to the hill tops. Now having overcome these dangerous difficul-
ties, when they were come as farre as to the banks of that deepe and whirling river
* Melas, which in stead of a wall fenceth the inhabitants on either side thereof,
considering the time, & how the night grew apace upon them, they rested a while
wayting for day-light: For they supposed, that when they had once gotten over
the same without any one to hinder their passage, they should by any lodaine and
unlooked for incursion, be able to lay wast whatsoever stood in their way. But all
the laborious and painfull toyle that they tooke, came to no effect: for after the
sunne rising, by reason of the big streame, narrow, and deepe withall, they were
disappointed of their passage over: and whiles they seeke for small fish boats, or
prepare to sit or swim upon floats set together and pinned in hast, our legions win-
tering then at *Sidenite, came abroad, and with a speedie march affronted them,
and having imbattelled themselves neere unto the rivage, to joyne in fight hand to
hand, most skillfully they made a fence before them with their targuets couched
thicke and close together: Some also that trusted upon their swimming, or ad-
ventured in hollow troughes and trunks of trees, secretly to crosse over the river,
they most easily killed. Whereupon when they had assayed many meanes and
devises, even to their utermost perill, and nothing auayled, what with feare, and
what with violent resistance, quite put beside their purpose, and doubting which
way to take, and whither to go, they drew neere unto the towne Laranda. There
having refreshed themselves with food and repose, now that feare was past, and set
upon the rich townes, by helpe of certaine companies of horsemen, which fortu-
nate to approach neere hand; not so much as assaying to make head againe in the
broad and open plaine ground, they departed aside, and as they retired backe, raised
all the strength and manhood of the youth which was left at home. And for-
asmuch as they were sore distressed for want of food, they went to a place named
Paleas, bending toward the sea, and fortified with a strong wall, where are layd up
in store even to this day victuals usually, distributed among the souldiers lying in
garrison, to defend all the coasts of Isauria. This strong hold therefore they besie-
ged round about for three dayes and three nights together; and seeing neither the
place so steepe could possibly be gained without danger of death, nor any good
might be done with underminyng, and that no devise belonging to a siege rooke
effect, they departed heave, & ill appaid, with a purpose in the end, upon an angry
mood, to enterprise exploits above their reach. Having conceived therefore a fel-
low fit of furious rage, which dispaire and hunger together did set on fire, they re-
newed their power, and in a heat unrestrainable, advanced forth, with a full resolu-
tion to destroy the mother citie Seleucia, which *Castrinus* a * lieutenant, together
with three legions of old beaten souldiers, hardened already in warre services,
defended. Now the captaines of these sayd souldiers, advertised before hand by
trustie espials of their comming, after the ordinarie token or watchword given, led
them all forth in armes, well appointed to make a quicke and speedie fall; and hav-
ing with great agilitie passed over the bridge standing upon the river * Calycad-
nus, the mightie streame and waves whereof run hard by the verie towers of the
walls,

*Crinere, Marine Niger.

*Christofides, or Canalicus, a citie in Pamphylia.

*Cinnus.

*Seleucia, Mar. Nig. or Seleucia, Mar. Nig. Some call it at this day Del Eire.

*Nautice.

*Caleidone.

*Mecropsus veluties.

*Cypus.

*Selenia, Greece & Asia, together with Cilicia, it is now named Cernusca, Seleucia.

walls, they arranged them in order ready to fight: howbeit not one of them set foot hastily forward, nor was permitted to encounter and joyne battell: for why, they stood in feare of the aduersè power, so furiously set upon rage, being both for number superiour, and readie also to run without all regard of life, upon the verie pyke and sword point. These Brigands then, having espied our armie as farre off, and heard the trumpetters and cornetters found, stayed their march, and stood still a pety while, and drawing forth their swords in threatening wise, afterwards went on faire and softly: against whom our souldiers continuing still resolute, ready to make head and encounter them with their displayed rankes, yea, and knocking their shields and speares together (which manner and fashion stirreth vp in warriors both anger and dolour) with this their gesture now hard at hand, greatly terrified them. But thus sharpe set as they were to give battaile, their leaders reclaimed and drew them backe, supposing it unseasonable and inconuenient to hazard themselves upon a doubtfull peece of service, being as yet not farre from the wals of a citie, within the defence whereof they might be all fully secured from danger. The souldiers moved effectually with this persuation, were brought backe againe within the said wals: and after they had locked up and made fast the gates on every side, stood upon the plat-formes, bulwarks, and battlements, having every where in readinesse stones and darts, to the end that if any one had ventured farre forward, he might with multitude of shot and stones be beaten downe and overthrowne. Howbeit, this one thing mightily troubled those which were shut up within, because the vessels that used to bring corne along the river, were taken, whereby the Isaurians for their parts had plenty of victuall, but themselves, having spent up already the ordinary provision of food and sustenance, wonderously feared the wofull and deadly miseries of imminent famine. When the newes of these occurrences were slowne farre abroad, and intelligences thereof continually given one after another had made *Gallus Caesar* to startle, for that the *Master of the Horse men was greatly employed and busied very farre off, *Nehridius* * Lieutenant generall in the East, by commandement and commission directed unto him, having from all parts assembled his forces, sped himselfe with exceeding hast and diligence to deliver this citie, so great and of such importance, from danger: which being once knowne, the foresaid theeves departed, without atchieving any memorable exploit besides: and being scattered asunder (as their manner is) made toward their wilds and desert mountaines.

CHAP. III.

The violent Rhode into Mesopotamia of Nohodares the Persian, together with the Saracens: whose manners are lively depeinted.



He came thus standing in Isauria, whiles the king of the Persians was encumbered with the warres of borderers, and busie in driving from his owne confines and frontiers those most fierce and cruell nations, which of a certaine wavering and mutable mind, many times in hostile manner assaile him, and otherwhiles aid him when he warreth upon us: a certaine great lord and nobleman,

one

one named *Nohodares*, appointed so often as oportunitie served to invade Mesopotamia, searched with great care and diligence into all parts of our territories, ready to breake through with suddaine violence, wheresoever he could find convenient place. And for that all the tracts and quarters of Mesopotamia, which used oftentimes to be disquieted, were kept safe with fore-fences and standing wards abroad, turning his journey on the left hand, he forlayd closely * the utmost parts of * *Of-druea*, and entred upon a new device and stratageme, that little at any time had bene attempted, which if he might compasse, he would in manner of a lightning lay wast and consume all. Now the designe which he projected was after this sort. A borough towne there is named *Batne* in *Anthemusia* (built by the ancient Macedonians) not farre distant from the river * *Euphrates*, and replenished with wealthy marchants; where ordinarily every yeare toward the beginning of September there meet at a solemne Mart or *Fayre* a multitude of people of all sorts and degrees, to buy and sell the commodities which the Indians and Seres send, together with much other marchandise that usually is brought thither by land and sea. This countrey, the foresaid * *Captaine* purposing to invade, during those daies appointed for this great concourse, and that by the way of the deserts, and greene bankes of the river * *Abora*, being discovered and betrayed by his owne men, who in bodily feare for some foule and hainous fact committed, ran unto the *Romane* garrisons, went his way without any thing done, and afterwards sat still and stirred not. Howbeit, the *Saracens*, whom we are never to wish either for our friends or enemies, ranging up and downe over the countrey, whatsoever came in their way, in a small time spoyled and destroyed, like unto ravenous Gledes and Kites, which if they have spied any prey from on high, quickly in their flight snatch it up, or if they seize upon it, make no long stay. As touching whose manners, although I well remember that I have related in the Acts of the Emperour *Marcus*, and divers times afterwards, yet will I now also briefly write somewhat of the same. Among these nations, whose beginning reacheth out unto the * *Cataracts* of *Nilus*, and to the confines of the * *Blemye*, they be warriors and martiall men, all of like condition, halfe naked, clad as farre as their groine with painted or stained short cassockes, by the helpe of swift horses and slender gant cammels, ranging here and there, as well in peace, as in troublesome times: neither doth any of them ever lay hand to the plough, plant or dresse a tree, nor get his living by tillage of the ground, but wander alwaies they do from place to place, discrete farre and wide asunder, without house and home, without any abiding feat and positive lawes: neither can they any long time endure the same aire, nor the tract of one and the same soile ever pleaseth them: the manner of their life is alwayes in flight and sitting: and mercenarie wives they have, hired by covenant and upon condition for a time; and for a shew yet of matrimony, the wife that shall be, by way of dowry presenteth unto her husband a speare and a tent, after a certaine set day ready to depart from him, if she be so disposed. And incredible it is, with what heat both sexes of them are given over to fleshly lust: and so long as they live, they use so to rove and scatter themselves abroad, that the woman wedded in one place, is brought to bed in another, and leadeth her children farre off, without any time at all permitted of rest and quietnesse. They feed generally of Venison, and great plentie of milke, which is their chiefe sustenance: also of many kinds of hearbes, and what birds can be gotten by fowling: and for the most part we have seene them

* *Armenian* parts
* *intervale*, or *intervale** *Asiat*, or *East*.* *Nohodares*.* *Grades*, or *shall*
* *Geographical*.
* *Mount*, or *Mount*
* *plains*.* *waterfalls*.* *or Blemye*.* *or Generall*.
* *Comes Orientis*.

altogether ignorant of the use either of corne or of wine. Thus much of a dangerous and mischievous people. Now returne we to our proposed text.

CHAP. IIII.

The Massacres of Constantius Cæsar, committed in the West, by the advise and endeavors of flatterers about him.



Hiles these things thus passe in the East, *Constantius* keeping his winter at *Arles*, after he had set forth his stage-plays and *Circian* games with sumptuous furniture and provision, upon the *sixth* day before the Ides of October, which made up the thirtieth year of his Empire, peising all strange occurrents with a very heave hand, and entertaining what doubtfull or false matter soever was presented unto him, as evident and truly knowne, among other things after he had caused *Gerontius*, a *captaine* of *Magnemius* his faction, to be sore tortured, awarded him to wofull exile. And like as a crasie and sickly bodie is wont to bee sore disordered upon every light grievance, even so his base, faint, and tender mind, supposing whatsoever hee heard spoken, was some practise or plot devised to the losse or danger of his life & estate, with the slaughter of innocent persons achieved a lamentable victorie: for looke what martiall man, what honourable person or noble gentleman in all his trayne was but by some flying rumor charged to have favoured and maintained his *enemies* part, sure he was to have heave chaines hung upon him, and so was drawne and haled like unto a beast; yea, and though his very adversarie or none at all followed hard upon him (as if it sufficed onely that he was but named, presented, or accused) he had sentence pronounced against him either to suffer death, or to lose his goods, or else to be confined within some desert Island. This rigor of his was much more exasperate by information given of certaine offensive crimes which were commonly divulged, founding, as it was said, much to the prejudice of the imperiall majestie; and his suspected anger, set on fire with flattering speeches (tending all to bloudinesse) of such favorites as were next about him, ready ynough to aggravate and multiply all occurrences, making semblance also of exceeding grieve and sorrow, in case the prince forsooth should loose his life, upon whose good estate and welfare, as upon a twined thread, the whole world depended, as they with open mouth and counterfeited words gave it out. And therefore reported it is, that he commaunded no man at any time (were he once adjudged to be punished for these or such like offences) to be called backe upon the tendering, as the manner is, of a commendatorie *testimoniall*; a thing that hard hearted and inexorable princes have been wont to doe: and this mischievous or deadly vice, which in others sometime abateth and waxeth cooler, in him, as age came upon him, grew the hotter, whiles a company of claw-backe flatterers egged him forward in his purposed course: among whom, the principall and of greatest note was one *Paulus* a *Notarie*, borne in Spaine, who verily under a smooth countenance carried a close and secret nature: a man passing witty and subtil, finding out all the hidden waies to endanger folke. He being sent into Brittain for to bring away with him certaine martiall men, who had entred into conspiracy and action with

with *Magnemius*, seeing they could make no resistance, after he had outrageously come over them in manner of a flood, suddainly seized upon the fortunes and estates of many more. Thus went he on still making much spoile and havocke, to the utter undoing of a number, imprisoning such as were free borne, and afflicting their bodies with bonds, yea and crushing some of them with manacles, whiles (forsooth) he patched and pieced many crimes and imputations together, that he layed to their charge, and all as false as might be: whereupon was committed such an impious and wicked fact, as branded the daies of *Constantius* with a note of perpetuall shame. There was one *Martin* that ruled those provinces as deputy *Lieutenant*, who grievously lamenting the miseries of the innocent, and oftentimes beseeching him to spare the guiltlesse, when as he could not prevaile, threatened to depart: to the end that this malicious inquisitor and persecutor, at leastwise for feare of it, might give over at length to draw and induce into open dangers a people naturally given to quietnesse and peace. *Paulus*, supposing that by this meanes his profession and trade would decay, as he was a shrewd artisan, and his crafts-master in wrapping and linking these and such like matters together, (whereupon hee came also to bee surnamed *Casena*, id est, a Chaine) drew the said Deputie Lieutenant himselfe (who still protected them, whom the other as yet had spared) to beare a part in these common perils: and earnestly bent he was to bring him also bound with Tribunes and many others before the *Emperours* priue counsell. At which extremitie of mischief so neere at hand, *Martin* throughly provoked, caught up a *dagger*, and assaulteth the person of the same *Paulus*. But for that his right hand *tailed* him, so that he was not able to give a deadly wound with the sayd weapon drawne, as it was, hee stabbed himselfe into the side: and so by this unseemly kind of death departed he this life (a most righteous man) after he had attempted by some stay to ease the piteous cases of many. Which wicked parts thus committed, *Paulus* all embred with blood, returned to the princes campe, bringing with him a number of prisoners, covered in manner all over with chaynes, as men dejected and plunged into miserable calamities and wofull sorrowes: at whose comming were the *Rackes* made readie, the hangman prepared both hookes and wrestling-vices: and of them, many were proscribed and outlawed, some banished, and other had their punishment by bloudie stroke of civile sword: For, no man well can remember, that under *Constantius* any one went away quier, whensoever these matters were but by way of whispering set a foot. During these troublous affaires, *Orphius* governed the *Citie* of Rome as *Præfect*, bearing himselfe insolently beyond the bounds of the dignitie conferred upon him: a wise man verily, and passing well practised in ples and judicall proceedings, but nothing so well furnished and adorned with liberal arts, as a nobleman ought to have beene: in the time of whose being in place, dangerous commotions were stirred up for scarcitie of wine; the common people greedily set upon the use and expence whereof, is soone provoked to raise many tumults and insurrections.

*or Justice.

*The Prefects.

*Ad Comitanum Imperatoris, ut to the Court.

*or Rapier.

*Haply for the gout, or some other infirmities therein.

*Enslie.

*Hicem eternam.

*Having civile jurisdiction as a Judge &c. or L. Justice.

CHAP. V.

The lively portraiture of the citie of Rome in her flower and youthfull daies of growth, in her full yeares and strength, in her old age also and crasse time full of diseases. Likewise the description of the most miserable estate thereof under Constantius and Gallus.



And for as much as I suppose some strangers, who happily shall chauce to reade these writings may wonder, what should be the reason that when my stile is diverted to shew those things that were done in Rome, I relate nothing but of seditions, tavernes, and such like base matters: I will summarily touch the causes hereof, and not swerve by my good will one whit at all from the truth. What time as Rome began to arise with luckie presaging tokens even at the very first to worldly glorie, like to live and flourish so long as men shall remaine upon the face of the earth, to the end that she might encrease and grow on still to an high estate by the firme league of eternall peace; Vertue and Fortune (which for the most part use to disagree) concurred both together: of which twaine, if the one should have failed, she had never mounted to the pitch of that perfection. The people thereof from their very cradle (as one would say) and first infancy, unto the end of their childhood, which compriseth the space wel neere of three hundred yeres, endured neighbour-warres even round about their wals: and then, being once entered into the growing age and prime of their youth, after manifold travailes and toyles of warre, passed over the Alpes, and beyond the sea: no sooner were they shot up to their vigorous yeares and perfect manhood, but from all parts of the wide world environed within the cope and curtain of heaven, they carried away victorious triumphs: And now enclining toward old age, and conquering divers times by the name onely and fame that went of them, betooke themselves to a more calme and quiet manner of life. Therefore, this venerable and renowned city, after she had subdued and yoked the proud necks of fierce and savage nations, and made lawes (the only ground-works and everlasting staies or hold fasts of freedom) like a good and thriftie mother, prudent withall and wealthy, committed unto the **Caesars*, as to her children, the whole right and interest of the inheritance, to be managed & ordered by them: and long since, although the tribes sat full, the centuries were quiet, and no contention or strife rose about giving voices, but as if the peaceable and secure daies of *Pomilius* his reigne were returned againe throughout all the quarters and coasts of the earth, honoured she was like a soveraigne ladie and queene, & in every place the reverend grey haire of Senatours carrying authoritie with them, and the name of the people of Rome became highly **regarded* & held in reuerence. But this glorious shew and majestie of their counsels and assemblies, is much blemished by the rude disorder & levitie of some few, who consider not where they were borne; but as if the reines were let loose unto vices, are slip quite aside into errors & wantonnesse. For, as *Simonides* the Lyricall Poet teacheth us, *For him that would live perfectly happy, meet it is and requisite above all things, that his native countrie be glorious*. Now, some of these there are, who making account that they may be eternized by Statues, are hotely affected thereunto: as if they were to gaine greater guerdon out of workes made of brasse and copper, void of all fence, than from a conscience privie to good and honest acts: and the same (forsooth) they take order

der to be gilded all over: which honour was conferred first upon *Acilius* **Glabrio*, when by policie and force of armes he had vanquished king *Antiochus*. But how brave and goodly a thing it is, for a man desiring these gaudes and trifes of no worth, to mount and climbe up the long and difficult ascents of true glory, as **Hesiodus* the Poet sayth, *Cato Censorius* hath shewed, who being demanded, why among many noble personages he had not his owne Image standing: *I had leiffer* (quoth he) *that good men should move question, wherefore I have not deserved it, than* (which of the twaine is the worse) *muste softly among themselves, why I have obtained it*. Others againe, reposing the chiefeest grace and glory that is, in carroches higher than ordinary, and in the superfluous braverie of sumptuous apparel, why againe under their weightie and masse mantles, which they may fasten with very claspes to the shoulders, bearing out from the necke, having exceeding fine oute wrought therein and passing through, and the same standing out from all places, and the left side especially: to the end, that these inner garments, thus beset with long jagges and purples, might shine againe with varietie of threads seene quite through, and those portrayed and shaped after many and fundry formes of living creatures. Moreover, there are among them such, as, unasked of any man, with a counterfeited gravitie of countenance, extoll their possessions and patrimonies infinitely above all measure, multiplying the yearly revences and profits of their lands fruitfull (as they thinke) by good husbandry, which they vaunt abroad and spare not, that they possesse from East to West; ignorant as they be, how their ancestors, by whom this greatnesse of the Romane State reacheth so farre, became so renowned in the world, not by their riches, but by most cruell and bloudie warres; who differing neither in wealth, nor fare at their table, or homeliness of apparell from common souldiers, conquered all before them by vertue and valour. Hence it was, that the noble *Valerius* **Publicola* was buried by a contribution of money gathered for him: and the poore wife of **Regulus*, together with her children, were maintained by the helpe and reliefe of her husbands friends: the daughter also of **Scipio* had a dowrie given her out of the Chamber of the citie, when the nobilitie were abashed to see the flower of a bigge and growne virgine bestowed, and ashamed at the long absence of her poore father. But now adaies, if happily thou, a good honest man, come as a stranger unto one of these great monied men, that are so puffed up with pride for their full bagges, to do thy duty by way of salutation, at the first thou findest entertainment, as a right welcome and wished for guest; and after many and fundry questions asked (whereby thou art forced to make some lyes) thou wonderest, being never seene before, that this great man thus affectionately favoureth thee so meane a person: inasmuch as it repenteth thee that thou hadst not seene tenne yeares sooner these happy daies, as a principall felicitie. And thus presuming confidently upon such Romane courteous affabilitie, if thou doe the same the next morrow, thou art at a stand with thy selfe, as one altogether unknowne and come of a suddaine, whiles that wonderous encourage that heartened thee so much but yesterday, is in doubt a long time, who thou shouldest be, and from whence thou art come. But being at the length agnized and taken into the ranke of friends, if thou shew thy selfe ordinarily in his chamber of prefrence to doe honour and reverence, intermingled with other waiters, for three yeares together, and be wanting as many for them againe, thou returnest to abide the like services, not once demanded where thou wert, and whether thou didst depart out of the way; thou shalt to no

*Vates Aferens.

*Or Imperator.

*Censoriis personis.

*in stipendie subornatis.

in servile attendance and drudgerie. Moreover, when preparation begins to be made for these long and unholmesome feasts, which are kept ordinarily after certain set times between, or the distribution of these solemn doles, or gifting banquets, put to question and debated it is with carefull and serious deliberation, Whether it will be meet (excepting those to whom by course it is due) that a stranger should be invited: and if after full and mature consultation had, it be agreed upon, That it shall so be; such an one is called and admitted, who watcheth and waiteth duly before the houses of Chariottiers, or professeth Dice-play and Cheators craft, or els maketh as though he knew some more secret arts than ordinarie: for, learned and sober persons they even of purpose avoid as unluckie folke and good for nothing. Over and besides, the **Nomenclatores* or beadies also, who are wont to set to sale these and such like vanities, receiving some piece of money for a bribe, soist in among the rest at suppers and dinners, certaine base and obscure fellows in lieu of others. For, I overpasse, least I should proceed too farre, their wastfull and excessive fare at the table, and the sundry allurements of pleasures; minding rather to speake of this point, that some of them drive their steedes apace (as if they were publique post-horses of the State, with shoes, as they say, especially **marked* to be seene, without feare of danger) through the large and spacious streets of the citie, yea and over the stones turned up of the broken pavements: drawing after them at their tailes great traines of the meniall and household servitors, like unto crewes and troupes of preading brigands, leaving at home to keepe the house not so much as *Sannio*, according as the **Comical Poet* sayth: With which retinue of attendants and followers, many of their dames with their heads covered and in close chariots, course up and downe over all the quarters of the citie; and like as skilfull captaines, in arraunging of their battailes, place first in the vanguard thicke and strong Squadrons to affront the enemy, then light armed souldiours, afterwards the archers and darters, and last of all in the reeward the companies of succours, ready upon any extremitie to advance forward, and to charge: even so, according to the carefull direction and dispose of those overseers and masters that have the marshalling of these citie servants (otherwise to seeke what to doe) and make a goodly shew with warders in their right hands, now as if the signall were given, close unto the front of the chariot marcheth all the sort of weavers and embroiderers; next unto whom goeth the blacke guard and kitchinree; then all the meiny one with another, with a rascall rabble of idle commons from out of the neighbour streets, joyning unto them: in the last place, a multitude of guelled grooms keeping their rankes and files, the old ones formost, and the boyes behind, of complexion pale and wan; for their lineaments and making of the body, crooked and ill favoured: So that which way soever a man went, and beheld such companies of maimed and dismembred men, he might detest the remembrance of *Semiramis* that Queene in old time, who was the first that ever guelled the tender babes of male kind, offering violence, as it were, unto nature, and turning her quite backe from her intended course: who at their very first beginning and nativity, by those primitive fountaines of seed which they are borne with, shewed in some sort by a secret ordinance the waies and meanes to propagate posteritie. The case thus standing, those few houses which before time were frequented with serious students and professors of learning, swell now and overflow with the ridiculous toys of litheresse, resounding with lowd noise and shrill ringing, as well of wind-Organs as stringed instruments. Furthermore, in stead of the Philosopher, a Chaunter; and in place of the

Ora-

Orator, a teacher of trifling and toyish arts is in request: and whereas the Libraries be shut up fast for ever like unto Sepulchers, framed there be Organs, or water instruments, huge Harpes like unto chariots, Haut-boys also, and no meane furniture for gesturing actors and stage-players. Finally, the world is growne now to this baseness and indignitie, that when aliens and strangers were driven forth of the citie by the head and shoulders for feare (not long since) of dearth and scarcity of vituals, yea and the students or professors of liberal Sciences (whereof the number was exceeding small) without any delay or breathing time, thrust out, yet were there kept still the followers of wanton gesturing wenches, such as were so indeed, or but counterfeits for the time, yea, and there remained behind three thousand such dancing wenches, not so much as once disturbed and troubled, together with their quiers, and as many masters and teachers to them: and what way soever a man casts his eye, he may behold a mighty number of women with their haire all to curled and frizzled (who if they had wedded, might well by this time for their age have bene the mothers of children at three severall births) dancing and footing it upon the pavements, until they be weary againe, wagging and winding themselves with many a turne about, whiles they expresse and resemble an infinite number of counterfeited formes that Stage-plays have devised. Moreover, no doubt is made of this, that when Rome was in times past the dwelling place of all vertues, the Nobilitie and Gentilitie for the most part (if any strangers well borne and of good fashion, came thither) used with many offices of kindnesse and courtesie to keep them there still (like as the **Lotophagi* in *Homer* with their sweet fruits and pleasant berries.) But now, such is the vanitie and pride of some, that they esteeme all bred and borne without the wals of the citie, to be base and of no worth, unless they be childlesse and unmarried folke: and incredible it is, what obsequious loaring and courting there is at Rome sundry waies to such persons as are without children. And for as much as among them, as in the head place of the world, grievous diseases reigne and rage in the highest degree, for the allaying and assuaging only whereof, no art of Physicke is of any force; devised there is a preservative and helpefull meane therefore, to wit, that no man should wiste and see a friend, that suffereth such maladies. And among those few warie cautions and provisos there is another effectuell remedie ordained, namely, That such servants as have bene sent to enquire how those of their acquaintance doe that are held with this disease, they receive not into the house againe, before they have cleansed their bodies with a bathe: so fearefull be they even of an infection, that other mens eyes onely have seene. And yet, as carefull as they be in these points to save themselves, some you shall have (enfeebled otherwise, and much weakened in their lims) if they be requested to a marriage, where gold is offered with hollow right hands, to goe lustily and nimbly yough even as farre as to **Spoleto*. Well, these be the courses that the Gentry take. To speake now of the multitude, which consisteth of the base and poore commons; some passe all the night long in the wine tavernes, others luke within the shadie boothies and bowers of Theatres, which *Carulus* imitating the wantonnesse of Capua, in his *Ædificship* pitched and reared first: or eagerly play at dice, making a soule and unfeemly noise with snuffing and drawing backe their wind inwardly at their broken noses: or else (which of their delights is the greatest) from morning to night they abide till they faint againe, in raine, or sunne-shine, enquiring diligently after the chiefe prizes or delinquencies both of chariottiers, and also of horses. And a very wonder it is, to see so infinite a number

of

*Signaria (quod dicitur) calceus.

*Terminus.

*Spoleto.

of the common people with such an ardent mind and affection, depending upon the event of these chariot-runnings and contentions for the best game. These and such like vanities suffer no serious and memorable thing to be gone in hand with at Rome. Now therefore I am to returne unto my text.

CHAP. VI.

*Gallus taketh pleasure in spilling of mans blood, and manageth all his affaires unfortunatly, and by commaundments from Constantius admo-
nished herof, maketh a tumult, whereupon ensues
horrible blood shed in the East.*



Cæsar now by this time having given the head unto licentiousnes more and more, became burdenuous and offensive to all good men: and from henceforth using no meane or measure, plagued all parts of the East, sparing neither honorable persons nor the principall Burgeesses and nobles of cities, no nor the inferior commons. In fine, the chiefe masters of the reverend order and state of Antioch, by vertue of one writ * or warrant he commaunded to be put to death, enraged & wode hereupon, for that when he out of season urged instantly to have a cheapnesse and low price set in the market, what time as a generall scarcitie was feared, they answered him in some hard and unreasonable termes, that it was not convenient: and died they had every mothers sonne, in case *Honoratus*, * lieutenant generall of the East for the time being, with firme resolution had not withstood his proceedings. This also was no obscure and covert signe of his crudelty, that he tooke delight in bloudie sports, and in the Cirque or shew place joyed to see six or seven combates, otherwhiles forbidden, of champions wounding and killing one another, and to behold them all agore bloud, as if (forsooth) he had gained some rich and great booties. Over and besides, his purpose forward ynough of it selfe to do mischief, was set more on fire by a vile and base woman; which being let into the palace (as the required) had disclosed a conspiracie, and made knowne, That certaine souldiers of the meaneest reckoning and condition layd wait secretly for him: whereat *Constantina* much rejoycing, as if now her husbands life had bene secured and safe for ever, rewarded her highly, and setting her in a coach, sent her forth at the palace gates into the open streetes, that by these allurements she might intice others also to discover the like or greater treasons. After this, *Gallus* minding to make a journey to * Hierapolis, to the end that in outward shew he might personally be seene in a voyage, whereas the Comminaltie of Antioch humbly besought him to remove the dread they had of famine, which for many and those weighty reasons was * feared would shortly ensue, did not (as the manner of princes is, who of their large power and prerogative yeeld remedie from time to time of such locall and publique distresses) take order for any dispose, or that victuals should be transported out of the provinces bordering upon them; but unto the multitude (fearing the utmost extremities) appointed *Theophilus* * the President of Syria, who stood hard by for their governour, replying continually unto them in these termes, *That no man could want food, if the Governour were unwilling thereto*. These speeches incensed the boldnesse of the baser sort. Now when scarcitie of victuals grew still more and more, upon hunger and furie withall, at the instigation of one *Eubulus*, a man of much reputation among them, they set fire to his stately and gorgeous house, and burnt it: and the foresaid governour,

nour, as being one delivered over unto them by an imperiall iudgement, they layed at and spurned with their heeles, knocked well and soundly with their fistes, and when as hee was halfe dead, piteously mangled and tare in peeces. After whose lamentable death, every man considering in the destruction of one, the like perill of his owne person, upon this fresh example was afraid of semblable measure. At the same time *Serenianus*, late * L. Warden of the Marches (through whose slacknesse and cowardise, as we have related before, * Cœle in Phœnicie was harried and wasted) being accused of high treason, and justly ended according to law, (uncertaine it is by what favour and mediation he could be acquit) was manifestly convicted, that he sent a familiar friend, with a cap (wherewith he used to cover his head) enchanted by the meanes of forcerie and unlawfull arts, unto an idoll temple where an Oracle was to enquire expressly, Whether there were fore-signified unto him the Empire firme and sure as he desired? And thus at one and the very same time there fell out a joynt and two-fold mischief: for that both *Theophilus*, a guiltlesse person, was cut off by an horrible accident; and *Serenianus* also, who had deserved the curse of all men, went away cleare, as harmlesse and blamelesse, notwithstanding the publique force of justice in manner openly gainfayd it. These pranks *Constantius* hearing of anone, and being informed of some particulars beside by the relation of *Tibalsius*, who, as he understood already, was now remooved and departed after the ordinary course, writing in very kind manner unto *Cæsar*, by little and little abridged him of the means and maintenance he had about him, making faire semblant, That himselfe was much disquieted, for feare that the souldiers having little or no employment, and therefore commonly given to be tumultuous, should conspire and complot his destruction; and so commaunded him to rest content and take up with the trained companies of the Palatine * souldiers, of the * Protectores, together with the * Scutarii and * Gentiles: and charged *Domitianus*, late high * Treasurer, now Præfect or Iustice, that when he was once come into Syria, he should in gentle and modest termes set forward *Gallus* in his journey, who, as he had oftentimes heard say, made hast into Italy. No sooner was *Domitian* arrived at Antioch, whither he hastened with all the speed he could, in regard of this Commission, but passing hard by the palace gates, and contemning *Cæsar*, whom it had well becomed him to have given the seeing, on he went to the Prætorium * with a goodly pompe and solemne shew: and pretending a long time sicknesse for his excuse, he neither set foot within the palace, nor went abroad into the citie; but keeping close, plotted many means to bring him to destruction, putting into his reports some unnecessary matters beside the purpose, which otherwhiles he sent unto the prince. At the last, being entreated and admitted into the * Confistorie, without any circumstance of words by way of preface premised, inconsiderately ynough, and bluntly: *Be gone Cæsar* (quoth hee) *as you are commaunded, and know this, That if you make any stay, I will cause forthwith all the provision for maintenance of your selfe and of your palace to be carried away*. With this peremptory speech and no more, thus malaparty delivered, he departed somewhat angry, and came not afterwards in his sight, although he was often sent for. Hereupon the other al in a fume and chafe, as one that suffered injuries and indignities, committed the said Præfect to ward, under the custodie of trustie pensioners of his guard: which when *Monius* understood, being at that time * Questor, a man verily of a rigorous nature, but yet somewhat enclined to mildnesse, called unto him the chiefe of the Palatine trained companies, and spake unto them in mild and gentle termes,

* Ex. her. Dur at the first was L. Warden of the inland Marches, and of litle authority than Cœle: how ever since the name is more honourable. *Pancr. in Notitiam.* *Polydore* called *Cælestia*.

* Council chamber.

* Gallus.

* or Treasurer.

* Cæsar.

* Hierapolis.

* Spectatorie.

* Confistorie. So called because the had Councils or parliaments. In this was a deputy lieutenant under Cœle.

tearines, saying, *It was neither meet nor expedient thus to doe*: but, proceeding without to other words in a chiding accent; *T hat if they liked and allowed of this course, after the Statues of Constantine were cast downe, they might wish lesse feare certainly decrease*. Gallus taking knowledge hereof, *sa- wise how to take away* [the *Emperours] life also. Gallus taking knowledge hereof, fa- ring as a serpent at which some dart is shot, or stone flung, abiding his utmost hopes, and seeking to save himselfe by any means, commaunded all his souldiors to af- femble in armes, and when they stood astonied, he whetting & gnashing his teeth, *Be prest* (quoth he) *right valiant men, to assist me in ieopardie together with you. Be- hold how Montius in a strange and unwonted humor of swelling pride, by these mutte- ring words of his chargeth us as rebels and spurners against the sacred maiesty of the Em- perour: displeased for sooth and angry, for has I commaunded in regard of feare onely, the malapart and slow Prefect, who made himselfe ignorant what the course of the world and State requirish, to be kept in ward.* This said, the military men, very desirous many times of stirres and troubles, without any longer stay, first set upon *Montius* (whose lodging was hard by) a weerish old man and a sickly, and with hairie cords bound fast to his legges, drew him stride long without any intermission as farre as to the *Prefects Prætorium. And in the same gary braid they tyed *Domitian* likewise with his head forward to a sled or ladder, and so harried and hurried them both together up and downe all over the broad streets of the citie. And now by this time that the knitting of their joints and limmes were plucked asunder, they clam- bering over their dead bodies, mangled and dismembred in most unseemely man- ner, as if now they had taken their fill of revenge, cast them soone after into the ri- ver. Now, these men so outrageous, desperat, and even woodagaine, one *Luscus*, governour of the citie, whom suddainly they had a sight of, had incensed to at- tempt these wicked designs, and together with him *Sthenelauus*, capitaine or leader of the Porters, inciting & often calling upon them to the execution and quick dis- patch of that which they had begun, who not long after was therefore burned quicke. And because *Montius*, readie to yeeld up his vitall breath, under their hands, that like butchers were tearing him in pieces, cried out divers times, and layd much blame upon *Epigonus* and *Eusebius*, without naming either their profes- sion, or place & degrees; much diligent search there was, What these persons should be: and that the businesse might not waxe any thing coole, brought out of Lycia there was *Epigonus* a Philosopher, and out of Mylia *Eusebius*, having his surname of Pietie, a quicke and vehement Orator: whereas the foresaid *Questor had ap- peached and charged, not them, but certaine masters of forges or worke-houses¹, who promised armour, if haply any commotion and trouble in the State should arise.

At the very same time *Apollinaris*, who had married *Domitians* daughter, late grand *Seneſchall, or steward of the palace, was sent from his father in law into Mesopotamia, a man out of all measure inquisitive among the military bands that abode there, Whether they received any secret letters of *Gallus* now projecting and plotting some higher designs: who having learned what had bene done at Antioch, passed through Armenia the lesse, and went to Constantinople: and from thence being brought backe againe by the *Guard-souldiors, was laied up fast, and kept close prisoner. Whiles these things were thus a working, intelligence was given of a royall robe woven secretly in Tyrrus, but it was not certainly knowne who put it forth to be wrought, or for whose use it was provided. The governor there- fore of that province for the time being, *Apollinaris* the father, for names sake was brought

brought in question, as privie thereto, and many others were gotten together out of divers cities, who had grievous imputations charged fore upon them of hay- nous and horrible crimes: and now, the trumpets resounding aloft intestine mile- ries and calamities, his turbulent spirit raged not covertly, as before time, but turned quite aside from the consideration of truth: and whiles no man enquired du- ly and by ordinary course into the truth of matters plainly charged upon men, or cunningly devised against them, nor once putting difference betweene the inno- cent and the guiltie, all right and equitie, as thrust out of the judgement places, was departed and gone quite: whiles also the lawfull defence of causes was put to silence, there was nothing so rife as the *hangman, sequestering of pillage, hood- wincking, punishing by the purse, and confiscation of goods every where through- out the East provinces, which I thinke it meet and convenient to reckon up, all save *Mesopotamia (set already in due place, when I treated of the Parthick warres) and Egypt, which of necessity I have put over to another time.

CHAP. VII.

The description of the East Provinces, all save Mesopotamia and Egypt.

After a man hath passed over the tops of the mountaine *Taurus, which toward the East rise up a great height, *Cilicia lyeth farre stretched out in length and breadth, a land enriched with all good things; and unto the right side thereof adjoyneth Iſauria, a fresh and goodly coun- trey in like sort, as well for plentifull vines, as abundance of come and graine, through the middle whereof runneth the navigable river Calicanus. And verily this region two cities (besides many other good townes) doe beautifie, to wit, *Seleucia, founded and built by king *Seleucus*, and *Claudiopolis*, which *Claudius Ce- sar* erected as a Colonie. For the citie Iſauria being afore time strongly walled and fenced, and long since subverted as a rebellious place, and wholly set upon deadly mischief, is hardly able to shew the tokens and remaines, and those verie few of the antient glorie that it had: But as for Cilicia that vaunteth it selfe of the river *Cydnus, ennobled it is by *Tarsus, a faire and goodly citie (the founder of it, by report, was *Perseus*, the sonne of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, or else one named *Sandan*, come out of Æthiopia, a wealthy man and a noble); by *Anazarbus also, which carrieth the name of him that first built it; and by *Mopsutrehia, the habitation of that famous Prophet or Divinor *Mofus*, who in his returne from the warlike voyage and ser- vice of the Argonauts with the Golden fleece that they tooke away, wandering a- part from the rest of his companie, and arriving upon the coast of Anickie, died so- dainly: and from that time his heroicke *Manes, covered under Punicke mold, as medicinable, and for the most part causing health, cure and heale sundry griefs and maladies.

These two Provinces long agoe in the Pirats warre, intermingled with bands of brigands and rovers, and by *Servilius* the Proconsul subdued and brought under subjection, became tributarie. And these countries verily, scituar as it were in a promontorie, are severed from that part of the world by the mountaine *Amanus. But the frontier bound of the East stretching forth along, and streight forward, reacheth from the banks of the river Euphrates, unto the borders of Nilus, bounding on the left hand upon the nations of the Saracenes, and on the right, lying open to the roaring sea: which tract, or coast, *Nicomedes Seleucus* being possessed of, very much

*at Tarsus.

*Prætorium præ- fecti, the house appointed for the Prefect.

*Montius.

*Apostolicus, or Episcopos.

*The prefect, or Governor of the City.

*Caristix, rapinam, sequeſter.

*Called now Az- mia, and Merdin, with sundry other names, by divers Geographers.

*Supposed to be the greatest in the world: and accord- ing to divers na- tions is knowne by sundry names. *Tureomania, and Finkia.

*Saldica, Nige.

*Caralis, Lamecia, *Tarsus, David Chytra.

*Azar, or Adenai.

*Mamilla, Cyces.

*or Reliques.

*Mount Negro, *Fekia & Salamis.

enlarged, when after the decease of *Alexander* the Macedonian, hee held the kingdomes of Persia in right of succession: *Selucus*, I say, a mightie and victorious king, according as his *surnames doth import. For making use to his owne advantage, of the multitude of people whom he had ruled a long time in peace, of rude and rustie call habitations he built cities, surely seated for much wealth and strength both; of which at this present, albeit they beare Greeke names, imposed upon them according to the founders pleasure, yet loose they not their primitive names quite, which the ancient erecters of them gave out of the Assyrian tongue. And after *Oldsoena*, which (as hath bene said) we have put apart from this description, first **Comagena*, now called *Euphratensis*, greatly riseth up by degrees, a countrey well knowne by reason of three great cities, namely *Hierapolis*, old *Ninus*, and *Samosata*. Then lyeth **Syria*, spread abroad along a spacious and large plaine: and this hath much renown by *Antiochia*, a citie wherof the world hath taken knowledge, with which no other may compare as paragon, for affluence of commodities, as well homebred, as thither brought: by **Laodicia* also, and **Apamia*, by *Seleucia* likewise, most flourishing cities all even from their first beginning. Next hereunto is *Phoenice*, bending up toward the mount *Libanus*, a region right lovely and beautifull, adorned with great and faire cities: among which, for pleasantnesse and name excellent *Tyros*, **Sidon*, and **Berytus*; and marchable to the same, **Emissa* and **Damascus*, built in auncient times. Now these provinces (which the river **Orontes*, as it environeth them, and running along the very foot and bottome of that high hill **Cassius*, discharge it selfe into the **Parthenian* sea) *Cneus Pompeius*, after he had vanquished *Tigranes*, tooke from the kingdomes of the Armenians, and layed unto the Romanes dominion. The last of all the *Syrie*, is **Palestina*, stretched forth faire and wide, having plecterous store of grounds well husbanded, trim and gay, with certaine excellent cities also, nothing inferior one unto other, but striving all as one would say by line and level, to be alike and equall: as namely, **Cæsarea*, which **Herode* founded out of the ground, in honor of **Octavian* the Emperour; **Eleutheropolis*, and **Neapolis*: in like sort *Ascalon*, *Gaza*, and *Iulia*, built in the age aforegoing. In these tracts there is no where to be scene a river navigable, and in most places hote waters of their owne nature arise out of the ground, medicinable and hole some for many purposes. But even these countries also, *Pompey* in like sort, when he had tamed the Jewes, and woon *Jerusalem*, brought into the forme of Provinces, committing the jurisdiction over them to a governour. Close unto this adjoineth *Arabia*, reaching on the other side hard to the *Nabateis*: a rich land, flourishing with varietie of trade and traffique, replenished also with strong castles and piles, which sort to repell the out-rides and invasions of neighbour nations, the men of old time in their watchfull care raised along the streights and passages, in meet places, and advantageous. This region also hath among some townes, cities likewise, to wit, **Bostra*, *Geraza*, and *Philadelphia*, with strong walls most surely fenced. And this very countrey, *Traian* the Emperour, when he had given it the name of a Province and set a governour over it, enforced to yeeld obedience unto our lawes, having many a time quelled and abated the swelling pride of the inhabitants, what time as he made glorious and brave warre upon *Media* and the *Parthians*. Semblably, the Isle *Cyprus*, disioined as farre off from the firme land, and full of havens, two cities among other townes standing thicke, doe make renowned, namely, *Salamis* and *Paphus*: the one in much request and reputation for the holy steins & shrines of *Jupiter*, the other for the temple of *Venus*.

Now

Now the same *Cyprus* aboundeth in so great and so manifold plenty of all things, that standing in no need at all of forraigne helpe, by the means that it hath of the owne, is able to build a great carrieke or shippe of burthen, from the very bottome keele beneath up to the highest top, sailes, and having rigged & furnished the same with all tackling thereto belonging, shooteth it to sea. Neither bath I to say, that the people of *Rome* invaded this Isle, rather upon a greedy mind to encroch, than any just title thereto. For, after that king *Ptoleme*, our confederat and allie, by occasion that our treasure went low, was by vertue of a decree, without any fault on his part committed, proclaymed **Outlaw*, and thereupon hee voluntarily made himselfe away by drinking poyson; both it became tributarie, and the spoyle also thereof, as of an enemy state, were bestowed in a fleet, and brought into *Rome* citie by *Cato*. Now will I come backe againe to the order of my historie.

CHAP. VIII.

Certaine persons, but principally *Epigonus* and *Eusebius*, by the commaundement of *Gallus* are executed.



Mid these sundry mischiefs and miseries, falling one in the necke of another, *he (on whom upon mine allegiance I was by the Emperour commaunded to give attendance) being sent for from *Nisibis*, the keeping wherof he had in charge, was driven to looke narrowly into the beginnings and occasions of these dangerous debates: a man gaine saying and repugning the flatterers that by whole troupes barked at him, and one, that alwayes had bene a dourie warriour, both souldior and captaine, but a meere stranger in law cases and troubles at the barre: who being much perplexed with feare of his owne danger toward, when as he saw those suborned accusers and judges associate and joyned with him, newly appearing and shewing their heads out of the same pits; what matters were in plotting and devising, either under hand, or openly, he by secret letters informed *Constantius* of, craving means of aid and assistance, for feare wherof, the proud and swelling humor of *Cæsar* so notoriously knowne might breath out and be spent. But by this over-much warinesse and circumspection of his, he happened to sticke fast among worse snares laied for him, as I shall shew hereafter, whiles his envious concurrents packed and patched grievous matter to entrap him unto *Constantius*, a prince otherwise indifferent and moderate ynough; but if any person whatsoever, base though he were, and unknowne, had once put into his head some such matter as this, very cruell & implacable, & in this *matter of causes in triall unlike himselfe. Vpon the day therefore appointed aforehand for these detestable inquisitions and examinations, there fate him downe as Iudge for forme and fashion, the *generall of the Horsemen, with other assessors to him, who were taught their lessons, and directed what they should doe: and assistant there were on either hand the *Notaries*, ready to carry in post hast what questions were demanded, and what answers were made, unto *Cæsar*; by whose commaundement, set wholly then upon crueltie, through the instigation of the queene, laying her care otherwhiles out through the tapistrie hangings, many, not permitted once to cleare themselves of the crimes objected, nor allowed any defence, were cast away and undone. First therefore of all others, came to the barre *Epigonus* and *Eusebius*, layd hard unto and fore wronged for the affinitie of their names. For I have said before, that *Monius* a little before his death blamed certain *masters

D ij

of

*Nicetor.

*Azar, Mar. Nig.

*Soria.

*Laodicia, Ortel.
*Hazon, Belon.

*Said, Nigra,
*Barusi,
*Camula, Nigra,
*Schem, or Sam,
*Orontes,
*Or Cassius, Larij,
*Therote,
*An time or part
of the Mediterra-
nean sea, thought
to be the gulf of
*Aiazus,
*Terra-Sandus, or
the Holy land,
*Azer, Prusa,
*the Great,
*Sardis,
*Hecera, some-
times, now Cal,
*In times past Sa-
lem, Schem, and
*Ephron, Hale.

*Buzza, Lucio, L.

*Tres, B.

*Sicarius.

*Cassius, Titus.

*Magister equitum
to wit, *Sicarius.*Fabricianus, ri-
bani.

of the Forges, who bare these names, as having promised some meanes and helpe to worke revenge when time should serve. And verily *Epigonus*, a Philosopher in habit onely and apparrell, when he had by much entreatie craved favour in vaine, after that his sides were tewed and gashed, yea and the feare of death was presented unto him, by a shamefull confession avouched himselfe to bee partie and accessarie in such plots and projects as never were, whereas hee had neither seene nor heard any thing, silly man he, as one altogether unacquainted in law matters and judiciall proceedings. But *Eusebius* standing very confidently to the deniall of the imputation, notwithstanding he was ^{hoysed} up aloft upon the rack, perfections layd upon him, and the same state, crying out, That this was plaine robbery, and no lawfull judgement. Now whiles hee called very instantly for his accuser, and supposing this liberty and free speech of his to bee pride, commaunded him to bee torne and mangled as an audacious and malapart slanderer: who beeing so rent and bowelled, as that he had no part of his body cleare for to beetormented any longer, crying up to heaven for justice, and smiling under a grim and angry looke, with grounded resolution continued stedfast and constant, not enduring to accuse himselfe nor any man else: and so at length, neither confessing nor convicted, together with his abject companion, was condemned to suffer death. And led forth he was to execution, with a fearelesse and unappalled courage reproching the iniquitie of those daies, and following the example of that ancient Stoicke *Zeno*, who having beenetortured a long time, for to expresse some lyes from him, plucked his owne tongue from the very root, and with his spittle all bloudy, spit it at the very eyes and face of the ¹ Cyprian king, as he questioned with him. After this, the royall garment abovesaid was sought for: and when the servants that died purple, upon torturing had confessed a little jacket for the body, woven without sleeves, there was brought in one named *Maras*, a Deacon, as the Christians tearme him, to give evidence: whose letters written in the Greeke tongue unto the Master or foreman of a Weavers shoppe in Tyrus, were produced: wherein very urgently hee called upon the said party, to have the peece hastened forward; but what peece he shewed not. Finally, the same *Maras*, tormented even to danger of death, could not yet be forced to confesse any thing. During this inquisition, which extended to sundry estates and degrees, when some things appeared doubtful, and others againe were found slightly committed, after the overthrow and undoing of many one, both the *Apollinaries*, father and sonne, were banished: and being come as farre as to a place named *Crateas*, a manor or village of their owne, standing foure and twentie myles from Antioch, according to commaundement given, their legges were broken, and they slaine. After whose death, *Gallus* as fierce and cruell as before, like unto a Lyon fished with carcasses, made straight search for many such cheats, the which to report in particular it skilleth not, for feare I exceed the bounds of my profession, a thing that I must carefully avoid.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Constantius highly offended with Gallus, levies warre upon the Aleman kings: unto whom craving peace, he with consent of the Romane armie granteth it.



Hiles the East parts endured this cruell tyrannie a long time, so soone as warme and open weather was come, *Constantius* in the seventh yeare of his owne Consulship, and in the second of *Cæsars*, departed estoones from ^{*}Arles, and went to ^{*}Valentia, minding to make warre upon *Gundomadus* and *Vadamaris*, brethren, kings of the Alemans, by whose often excursions, the lands confining upon the marches of the Gaulois, were layed wast. And whiles he stayed long there, waiting for the provision of victuall, the conveyance and transporting whereof out of Aquitaine, was hindered by the Spring raines that fell thicker than ordinary, and by the rising up of the brookes, *Arculanus* arrived, one of the ¹ Guard-band in ordinarie, the sonne of *Hermogenes*, late master of the Horsemen, torne in pieces long since in a petty riot and broile of the people, at Constantinople, as I have above reported: upon whose relation, and that most truly delivered, namely, what parts *Gallus* had played; hee lamenting fore for the hurts past, and standing in suspence for feare of those to come, palliated and stayed the griefe of his heart so long as he could. Howbeit, all the forces in the meane while drawne together unto ^{*}Cabillo, impatient of delays, grew mutinous and raging, incensed the more, for that they had not maintenance for their life, by reason that the usuall provision for food &c. was not yet come over to them. Whereupon *Rufinus*, at the same time Lord chiefe lustice, was driven to a very hard extremitie: for compelled he was himselfe in person to go unto the souldiors thus distempered, what with hunger, and what with fiercenesse of their owne (who otherwise are wont, of an in-bred disposition, to be alwaies bitterly bent and maliciously minded against those that are in ^{*}ordinary place of dignity) to give the satisfaction, and to shew what was the cause that the convoy of corne and victualls was letted. Which was a shrewd plot, cunningly of set purpose devised, that by this manner of traine the uncle of ^{*}*Gallus* might come to a mischiefe, for feare least he, so great and mightie a man as he was, should whet him on still, and embolden him in his wicked designes and ungracious attempts. But to prevent this danger, there was great policie and diligence used. *Eusebius*, Lord great ^{*}Chamberlaine, was sent unto Cabillo with a good summe of gold about him, by the dealing whereof in secret sort among the principall stirrers of those tumults and seditions, both the swelling rage of the souldiors abated, and the life also of the foresaid ^{*}Perfect or lustice was saved. And then, after victualls were brought in great abundance, at the day before appointed the campe removed. And so, when they had overcome many difficulties, and passed through a number of waies over-wheled and covered with snow, being come neere unto ^{*}Rauracum, a citie situate upon the banke of the river Rhene, where a multitude of Alemans were ready to make resistance, the Romanes minding to set a hanging bridge over the water made of ships linked together, were over-matched and impeached, by reason that on every side the darts and arrowes flew about their eares: and when this was thought to be an impossible peece of worke, the Emperour casting great matters in his head, stood amazed and doubtfull what course to take. But see, all of a suddain, and unlooked for,

* Arlene.
* Valentia, a colony or city in Gallia Narbonensis, which containeth Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphine. Ortel.

* Cavillon. Poldo a towne in Gallia Narbonensis.

* That exercise of jurisdiction.

* Rufinus, his mother's brother.

* The feast.

* Where now is Awdi, neere Basle and was sometime called also Augusta Rauracomm.

for,

for, there presented himselfe unto them a certaine guide, skillfull in those countries, and upon the receipt of a peece of money for his good service, he shewed unto them in the night a shallow place full of foulds, whereby the river was passable: and passed over it might have been, whiles the enemies were busily employed another way, but that some few of the same nation, who had a more honourable place and charge of warre-service committed unto them, gave intelligence hereof by secret messengers unto their owne countrey men, as some thought. And with the suspition hereof were touched and defamed *Larinus*, *Capitaine of the guard in ordinarie, *Agilo*, *great master of the Horse, and *Scudilo*, *Capitaine of the Squires of the body, who then were highly esteemed, as those that bare a chiefe stroke in the State, and ruled all in all. But the Barbarians taking counsaile according to the occurrents like presently to ensue, haply, because the *Auspicia* either distracted them, or prohibited them to encounter, now that by the authoritie of their religion, their rigor, by which they stood out more confidently, was well mollified, sent in embassage certaine principall persons of marke, to beseech pardon for their offences, and to crave peace. The Emperour therefore detaining with him still the embassadours of both the kings, and duly weighing a long while this affairst in hand, considering it was but right to have peace graunted, upon just and equall conditions requested, and seeing with a generall accord they went all one way, and approved it as behoofesfull and expedient, as the case then stood; assembled the whole hoast together, minding to make a brieft speech unto them according to the time: and so standing aloft upon the Tribunal, with a number of the higher powers and chiefe officers round about him, spake and discoursed in this wise:

Let no man marvaile, I pray you (quoth hee) that after the painefull labours of long journeyes spent and past, and plentiful store of victuals gotten together, now that I approach the territories and townes of the Barbarians (the confidence that I have in you, leading the way) as suddenly changing my mind, am diverted to a more mild and peaceable course. For every one of you in his ranke and iudgement duly considering with himselfe, findeth this to be true, That the souldior in all places, although he be strong and vigorous in body, looketh to himselfe onely, and defendeth his own life: But a Generall and Commander of all offices, whiles he, the keeper of other mens lives, is indifferently unto all, knoweth, that the regard and consideration of his people cannot but concerne his owne defence and safetie, and therewithall skilleth remedies that the state of businesse doth admit, ought to take hold of all advantages and good occurrents that by Gods will and providence are presented. To deliver therefore in few words, and to shew for what cause I was willing you should meet thus altogether, my most trustie fellow-souldiors, lend a favourable eare to what I shall very briefly declare unto you: for the words of truth be simple and plaine. The high steps and rising degrees of your glory, which same growing still in excellent wise spreadeth among the inhabitants also even of the utmost coasts of the earth, the kings and nations of the Alemans standing in dread and feare of, by these Orators whom you behold in place, crave in humble gesture and lowly manner, forgiveness of faults past, and peace for time to come: which I, as one taking leisure ynough, and a warie adviser and adviser of profitable wayes, iudge meet to be given unto them (in case you will say yea unto it) considering many reasons and motives thereto. First, that the doubtfull events of warre may be declined: then, that in lieu of adversaries we may gaine them to be auxiliaries, which they make promise of: as aine, that without bloodshed we might allay the businesse puffed of stoutnesse and pride, which oftentimes worke our provinces mischief: lastly, pondering and considering this, That he only is not the enemy vanquished, whose fortune

TUNE

is to die in battaile, borne downe forcibly with the weight of armours, and with main strength; but much more safely, even while the trumpet is silent, see that voluntarily is subdued and brought to subjection: who by experience findeth, that neither fortitude is winning against rebellious spirits, nor clemencie toward suppliants. In summe, I rest waiting upon you as umpires to know what ye advise, now that I a quiet prince determine and conclude it meet, upon so happy fortune falling unto us, in temperate wise to use moderation. For, this that is well resolved upon after due deliberation, shall not be attributed to your cowardise and want of courage, believe me, but ascribed to your modestie and humanitie. No souldier had hee ended his speech, but the whole multitude, forward ynough to effect what the Emperour affected, commended his counsaile, and gave their consent for peace, inooved especially thereunto in this respect, for that they knew full well by many expeditious and journeyes, That his fortune was watchfull over him, and attendant onely in civill troubles, but when soever forraigne warres were in hand, for the most part things fell out heavily on his part.

CHAP. X.

Constantius by sundry wily sleights ensnareth Gallus, berefts of his wife: and when he was by a raine brought unto him, purseth him to death.

THIS done, and a league made after the manner of those nations, with the solemne complements finished which were thereto belonging, the Emperour departed to *Millaine, there to Winter: where casting off all other weightie cares, hee thought upon *Cesar*, as the untowardest knurre and difficultie that now troubled him most, bending his whole endeavour how to shake and overthrow him: and as he consulted with those favourites next about him in secret conferences, and by night, what forcible meanes or cunning devise he might use to effect the same, before that he in his foole-hardinesse should more eagerly be set upon mischief, even to the marring and confusion of all, resolved it was, That laying aside all threats, the said *Gallus* should under a colour of some publique Diet or treatie as touching the State, be sent for by mild and kind letters, to the end that being destitute of all helpe, he might without any let in the way come to destruction. Now whiles all the sort of these weather-cocke flatterers stood against this resolution, among whom was *Arbicio*, quick and sharpe set to practise wiles; and *Eusebius*, then Lord great Chamberlaine, forward ynough to doe mischief: this came into their heads for to alledge, namely, That *Cesar* being once departed, a dangerous matter it would be to leave *Priscinus* in the East, were there none to keepe him downe, reaching as he did at higher matters. And with them joyned the residue of gilded Eunuchs within the court, whose covetousnesse and desire of having more still, was in those daies growne out of all measure, who taking the opportunitie of service and attendance in the privie and bed chamber, conveyed under hand by way of secret whispering, suggestions of matters, feeding fained imputations: who also brought into disgrace that tight *valiant man aforesaid, oppressing him with the heave load of most grievous envie, muttering softly, That his somnes, growne to be gentleness of time yeares, began already to favour of the imperiaall robe, as being for their lovely personage and youthfull yeares very gracious and highly favoured, to the manifold skill of armes and agility of body trained up and practised by daily exercises & proofes of activitie, and wine

also

also for to bee of discreet carriage and advised counsell: that *Gallus* of his owne nature fell ynough, was by certaine persons suborned for the nonce, animated to cruel acts for this cause, That after he was become odious, and had incurred the worthie detestation of all estates and degrees, the ensignes and ornaments imperi-
all might be transferred unto the *master of the horse mens children. When these and the like matters were once buzzing in his carefull and timorous cares, exposed alwaies and open to such rumours, while his mind was swelling and working divers waies; at the last upon counsell given he tooke the best course: and first he commaunded *Vysinius* in very honourable tearmes to come unto him, pretending this, that, according as the urgent occasions and affaires of that time required, there might by joint counsell and consent a good order bee set downe; and namely, what encrease of forces were requirit to repress the invasions of the Partbick nations that threatened open warre. And least before his comming he should suspect any harme toward him, *Prosper* a * Comes was sent as his vice-gerent or deputie, untill he returned: who when he had received letters, and had a licence granted to take up wagons for carriage, he made great journeyes, and hastened to Millaine. It remained now, that after this, *Cæsar* likewise should be sent for with speed: and for to put away all suspition, *Constantius* by many faire and flattering words solicited this wife *, now after so long time and so much desired and missed as she was, to come unto him. Who albeit she stood in doubt, as fearing him so often bloudily minded, yet in hope that shee might appease and pacifie him her naturall brother, shee taketh her journey: and when she was entred into Bithynia, in a certaine * station named Coenos Gallicanus, she died suddainly of a violent fever. After whose death, her husband seeing and considering that the trust and affiance wherewith he thought himselfe surely upheld was fallen, stood perplexed in pensive cogitation with himselfe what way to worke. For in the present estate of his, so troublous, so intangled and brought into the briers, his carefull mind ran ever upon this one thing, That *Constantius* measuring and weighing all according to his own will and pleasure, would neither admit satisfaction, nor pardon offence; but (as hee was a prince too much bent to the overthrow of his kintred) closely lay snares for him, and if hee tooke him once at unawares in a trip, would bee sure to put him to death. Being brought to this hard exigent, and looking for no other than extremite, unless he watched the better, he made no more adoe, but shot at the highest place of all, if meanes any way might have beene made unto it. But for want of faithfull dealing in his friends about him, forsaken he was in two respects; both for that they stood in great feare of him, a cruell and fickle minded prince, and also because they did much dread the fortune of *Constantius*, which in civile dissensions usually had the upper hand. Amid these huge heapes of infinite cares, letters he received continually from the Emperour, putting him in mind and praying him to come away, yea and shewing (farre otherwise than he meant) that the government of the Commonwealth neither could nor should be divided, but every man ought to his power for to lend his helping hand unto it, troubled as it was, and waving to fro, pointing herein at the wasting and spoiling of Gaule: to which reasons he alledged a precedent and example of no great antiquitie, namely, that unto *Dioctian* and his colleague, the * *Cæsars* not fitting still, but like * Apparitions, Sericants, and such like ministers running up and downe, yielded their obedience: as also that in Syria, *Galerius* * in his purple robes went on foot for the space almost of one mile before the chariot of the * Emperour, when he was angry. Well, after many

messengers, came *Scudilo* captain of the Squires, under the cloke of a nature somewhat rude and uncivile, in cunning perswasion his crafts-master, who by way of flattering words, intermingled with serious matter, was the onely man of all other that overcame and wooon him at last to set forward in his journey, with a counterfeited countenance many times iterating & redoubling these speeches, That his cousin * germane wished earnestly and desired to see him, readie as a mild and mercifull prince to remit and forgive what faults and follies had elapsed him: that he was taken to him as companion and partaker of his majestie, to the end he should be also a fellow labourer with him, whom both together the Northern provinces a long time out-toyled and wearied, called for. And, as it usually falleth out when the destinies lay hand on men, that their wits are made blunt and their senses dulled, by these allurements hee was raised up againe to the hope and expectation of better fortunes: and so departing out of Antioch in an ill houre, & without the guidance of Gods favour, went just as the old proverbe saith, out of the smoke into the light fire: and after he was entred into Constantinople, as in time of prosperitie, like one secured of his estate, he exhibited the games of * horse-running, and adorned the head of *Corax* the chariottier as victor, with a crowne. Which when *Constantius* knew, beyond all measure hee chafed: and least peradventure the same *Gallus*, doubtfull of the future events, might goe about in his journey to attempt some meanes expedient for his owne safetie, all the souldiors were of purpose removed, who abode in the cities that stood in the way. And at that very time *Taurus*, a * Questor sent into Armenia, confidently passed by and balked him, not vouchsafing to salute, or once to see him. Howbeit, some there came by commandement of the Emperour, in shew of doing divers duties and services, but readie indeed to observe and keepe him, that he might not be able once to breake out nor attempt any flight secretly. Among whom was *Leontius*, governour of Rome afterwards, as * Questor or Treasurer for the time being; also *Lucilianus*, as it were * captain of the guard, and the * Tribune of the Squires of the bodie, named *Bainobaudes*. Having therefore travailed a long way in the countrey, and the same lying plaine, when he was entred into * Hadrianopolis (a cite of * Hæmimontum) called before time *Vicudama*, refreshing himselfe wearied with travaile, for the space of twelve dayes, hee understood that the * Theban * legions, wintering in the neighbour to wnes, had sent certaine of their consorts and companions to encourage him upon their faithfull and sure promises to stay behind. Trusting then confidently in his owne strength, he bestowed them in the stations, bordering & confining there together. But such was the watchfull care and observing eye of those about him, that he could not catch any time or oportunitie either to speake ought, or to heare what intelligences they brought. Then, after more letters still received one in the necke of another, urging him to be gone, having withall the use of tenne waggons allowed by the State, according to a warrant given, leaving all the trayne of the palace, unless it were some gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and servitors at the table, whom he had taken to him to give neere attendance; all sorrowfull now, and even made of miseries, compelled he was to hasten his pace, by reason that many drave him forward, cursing ever and anon with shedding teares his owne folly and inconsiderate rashnesse, which had put him now a despised and abject catife under the will and pleasure of weak and feeble persons. Yet amid these troubles, during the time that nature tooke her rest, his senses and spirits were wounded with dreadfull spectres and fancies shrieking hideously round about him: and whole

* *Prosper*.* *Constantius* the
* *Constantius*.* *For* bairn place,
* *or* lodging.* *the* Apparitions.* *the* Egypt.* *Vt* Questor
* *pro* praefectus urbi.
* *Questor* domestico-
rum comes.
* *Scutarius*
* *Tribunus*
* *Hadrianopolis*.
* *A* Region in
* *Thracia*.
* *Theban* legiones.

companies of those whom he had killed, with *Dominian* and *Montius* leading the way, caught him up, presented him to the hookes and clawes of the Furies, as hee imagined in his sleepe. For the soule, loosened from the bonds of the body, being alwaies fresh and in motion, never wearied, subject also to the cogitations and cares that disquiet mens minds, gathereth night visions, which we call *Phantasias*. And thus whiles a most heauey destinie opened the way of fatal necessity, whereby ordained before it was, that he should be deprived both of life and imperiall dignitie, having passed all the journeyes betweene, by changing of fresh horses, he came to **Petobio*, a towne of the **Norici*, where the whole knot of covert and hidden traynes laid for him was discovered: and all on a suddaine *Barbario* the **Comes* shewed himselfe, he that under him had the charge of the **Guard* in ordinarie (together with *Apodemius*, a **Messenger* or *Purfevant*) leading a number of souldiors whom the Emperour had selected, as engaged unto him by the favours and good turnes that he had done unto them, assured that neither for reward nor pitie they could be turned aside. And now went not he to worke by way of shaddowed and dissimuled deceit; but whereas the palace stood without the wals, hee did beset it round about with armed men: and so entering into it before it was full day light, he tooke from *Cesar* all regall garments, and clad him in a coat and common souldiors cassocke upon it, assuring him and binding it with many an oath, as it were by the Emperours commandement, that he should not thenceforth sustaine any harme: and forthwith, *Rise up*, quoth he: and so mounting him ere hee was aware upon a privat chariot, led him into *Istria*, neere unto the towne **Pola*, where sometimes (as I have heard say) *Crispus Constantius* sonne was killed. And when he was kept there most secretly, not worth the ground he went on, but buried as one would say already (such was the terror of his end so neere at hand) there cometh thither unto him in all haste *Eusebius*, at that time Lord great Chamberlaine, with *Pensadius* the Notarie, and *Mellobaudes* captaine of the **Armature*, by commandement from the Emperour, to compell him for to say and shew particularly for what cause he had commanded every one of them to be killed that were put to death at *Antioch*: Whereto changing colour, and looking as pale as **Adrastrum*, he would have answered to this effect, That most of them he had murdered through the instigation of his wife *Constantina*: not knowing verily, that *Alexander* the great, when his mother lay hard upon him to kill a certaine innocent person, and said oftentimes withall, in hope of obtaining afterward what he desired, how shee carried him nine moneths in her wombe; wisely gave her this answer: *Good mother aske some other reward & recompence; for the life of a man is so deare, as no benefit can counterwaile it.* Now the Emperour when he understood this, falling into an irreclamable fit of anger and wrath, repofed all the assurance and confidence hee had of establishing his owne securitie, in making him away. And sending *Serenianus* (who as we shewed before standing indicted of the crime of Majestie, by means of certaine subtile sleights and juggling casts was acquit) *Pensadius* also the Notarie, and *Apodemius* the Messenger or Purfevant abovesaid, adjudged him to suffer death, and to lose his head: and so with his hands bound and pinnioned together, like unto some theefe and malefactor, his head was smitten off: thus when the beautie of his face and head was gone, there lay the trunk of his deformed carcasse left alone, which a little before was dread of cities and whole provinces.

**Petobio, Latin.
*Bavaria, or Beye-
rme.
*Comes,
*Dumesticus praefectus,
Judgemētarius.*

**otherwise called
Iulia Pacata.*

CHAP. XI.

The equitie of the heavenly power of God, shewed in the variable fortune and death of some great personages, and of Gallus especially, is here recommended unto us.

BVt here the equitie and justice of the heavenly power above had a vigilant eye, as well on the one side as the other. For, not onely it surpris'd *Gallus* suddainely with a cruell and bloudie end, but also not long after both of them died a most painefull death, who by their swearing kindly deluding and beguiling *Cesar*, an offender though he were, drew him on untill he fell into the net and toyle that cost him his life: of which twaine, *Scudilo* by a distillation or colliquation of the liver casting up his lungs, died: and *Barbario*, who a long time had falsely framed matter of crime against him, when, after he had bene colonell of the Footmen, he was by the secret whisperings and suggestions of some charged to aspire and reach over-high, and hereof condemned, to make satisfaction unto *Cesar's* *Majes*, that by his fraudulent practise came to his end, sacrificed his owne life by a reprochfull death. These and an infinite sort of such like examples, *Adrastria* (who hath a two-fold name, and is called also *Nemesius*) the revenger of wicked and ungodly acts, as also the rewarder of good deeds, worketh and bringeth about otherwhiles, and would God it did so alwaies. A certaine high power or authoritie of the mightie and operative heavenly Nature she is, according to the opinion and capacite of mens understandings, placed upon the sphere of the Moone: or as some define her, a substantiall Tuition or Defence, by a generall power president over the particular destinies: who, as the auncient Divines or Theologers, faining her to be the daughter of Iustice, doe reach, by vertue of a certaine hidden eternitie overseeth all earthly things. Shee as Queene of causes, and Iudge of matters, the also as an umpire to arbitrate, tempereth and shaketh the pot of lots, making alternative turnes and changes of accidents: and what our wils have enterprised and begun, bringing the same otherwhiles to another issue and end than they aymed at, shee shuffeth and rolleth manifold actions together, by exchange of one for another. And the same power, with the insoluble bond and hold-fast of necessity, binding the pride of mortall men, swelling in vaine, and turning to and fro, as she knoweth full well, the weights of increments and decrements both, of risings & fallings, one while presteth downe and weakeneth the stiffe necks of high minded men, another while raising up good men from below, advanceth them to an happie life. Now hath fabulous antiquitie therefore fitted wings to her, that by her slight-swiftnesse she might be thought present in all places: and given her the helme or rudder of a ship to carrie before her, yea, and put a wheele under her, that it might not be unknowne, how she running through all the elements ruleth the universall world. Well, *Cesar* being wearie even of himselfe, by this kind of untimely death departed out of this life in the nine and twentieth yeare of his age, when he had reigned foure yeares. Borne he was among the Thufcanes in **Maffa Veterensis*, whose father was *Constantius*, the brother of *Constantine* the Emperour, and his mother *Galla*, sister unto *Rufinus* and *Cerealis*, noble Consuls in their time, and honourable governours of provinces: a man of a goodly presence and well favoured, of comely shape and feature of bodie, his lims streight and proportionably compact: the haire of his head yellow,

**It keepeth still
the same names
Orul.*

low, and beard soft, by reason that the downe was but newly come upon his tender cheekes, yet so, as that he carried betimes a manly countenance: in manners and behavior as much difference there was betweene him and his brother *Julian*, as betweene *Vespasian* sonnes, *Domitian* and *Titus*. Being lifted up to the highest degree of honour that Fortune could give him, he had experience of those mutable motions of hers which play and make good game with men; now extolling some to the very starrie skie, then plunging them downe into the deepe pit of *Cocytus*: whereof there being innumerable examples, yet will I lightly touch and run over but some few. This variable and unconstant Fortune, made *Agathocles* the Sicilian of a Potter a King: and * *Denis*, that teriour sometime of the world, to be the master of a Grammar schoole. This aduanced to an high estate *Andriscus* the Adramitene, borne in a *Walke-myll under the name of * *Pseudo-Philippus*: and the lawfull sonne of *Persus* she taught the Ferrars craft, for to get his living. The same Fortune, caused *Mancinus*, after he had beene Lord generall of the field, and an absolute Commaunder, to be subiect to the Numantines: *Veturius* and *Glaucius*, pround and stout in the highest degree, to stoop unto the *Corsi*: *Regulus* also to yeeld unto the crueltie of Carthage. By the iniquitie and hard dealing of Fortune, *Pompey*, after he had gotten the surname * *Magnus*, was killed in *Aegypt*, at the pleasure of guelled Eunuches. And one *Eunus*, a very slave, kept hard to worke in a house of correction, had the leading of fugitives in Sicilie. And by the conniencie of this very same Ladie of the world, how many men of high birth and noble parentage, have submissively embraced the knees of *Virriatus* or *Spurius*? How many heads, that all nations did feare, have bloudie executioners severed from their shoulders? One is led captive in chaines; another is promoted to the rule of some high place that he never hoped for; another againe is cast downe from the highest pitch of dignitie. All which examples, if any man would know how many and sundry they be, and how ordinarily they fall out, he may as well (like a witlesse foole as he is) be able to number and tell the sands, or to weigh and peise the mountaines.

* *Dionysius* Tyrant of Sicilie.
* For Fulking myll: a Fullers forme.
* The false and counterfeit name of *Philipp*.

* *Great*.

THE



THE XV. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Constantius upon the execution of Gallus, become more fierce and outrageous, and by the wilie and subtilie devises of sycophants in the Court undone and overthrowne, goeth about to kill *Vrsicinus*, *Julianus*, and *Gorgonius*, men of especiall Nobilitie.



Thus farre forth, according as wee could search out the truth, and what we might not for our yeares see our selues, learne in some sort, though obscurely, by enquiring of such as were conversant in place, have we reported, declaring the order and proesse of diuers occurrences: the rest, which the text ensuing shall lay abroad, wee will to our abilitie performe and perfit more exactly, not fearing at all the back-biters and depravers of this so long a worke, as they hold it. For brevitie is then commendable, when cutting off impertinent and unseasonable delaies, it defalketh nothing from the knowledge of necessarie and materiall points. *Gallus* was not yet at *Noricum*, deuested out of his royall robes, when *Apodemus*, the very firebrand and kindler of all broyles so long as he lived, caught up his shooes, and carying them away, riding post with quicke change of horses, that through excessive enforcement he might spoyle and kill some, came to *Millaine*, as a fore runner to tell the newes: and being entred into the palace, threw them downe at *Constantius* his feet, as if they had been the king of the *Parthians* spoyles. And when suddain tidings were brought, giving intelligence of this unexpected businesse, and of so great weight and difficultie, with such facilitie fully performed to his mind; those that bare the greatest sway in the Court employing all their studie and desire of pleasing, as the manner is, to flatterie, extolled the vertue and felicitie of the Emperour up to the skie: at whose becke two princes, namely, *Veterano* and *Gallus*, although at diuers times were in manner of common souldiours and no better, thus cased. With the exquisite and fine affectation of which faire words, he being lifted up, and supposing confidently, that from thenceforth he should be freed from all displeasures and harmes incident unto mortall men, forthwith declined from justice so intemperately, that now and then he would not sticke to avouch and maintaine that same Externitie so much spoken of; in ending and writing with his owne hand, tearmed himselfe Lord of the whole world: which if other men had said, he for his part ought to have taken it in foule skorne and indignitie, as who laboured with all earnest ende-

vour, as he gave it out, to frame his life, and compose his behaviour to the example and patterne of civile princes. For, say that he did rule those infinite worlds of *Democritus* his making, which by the inciting of *Anaxarchus*, *Alexander* the great dreamed of, he should have considered this withall, by reading or hearing, that (as all the Mathematicians with one accord agree) the compasse of the whole earth, which unto us seemeth unmeasurable, compared to the greatnesse of the universal world, is no more than a little pricke. And now by this time, after the horrible fall of *Cæsar* thus put to death, whiles the trumpet of judicall dangers sounded the alarme, *Vrsinius* was accused of high treason, for that envie, hurtfull to all good men, grew more and more to the prejudice of his life and estate. For, surcharged he was with this one difficultie, in that the Emperours cares, fast stopped for admitting any equall plea and reasonable defence, lay open to the secret suggestions of close enemies, who devised, That the foresaid Generall, now that the name of *Constantius* became quite forgotten in all the tracts of the East, was much missed and wished for both at home and abroad, as the onely dreadfull enemy unto the Persian nation. But the magnanimous knight stood unmovable against all accidents whatsoever, very heedfull and warie, that hee might not seeme overbately to cast himselfe downe in despair: yet grieving & groning at the very heart, that innocencie had no sure place of safe repose; and in this one regard more heavily appaied, for that his friends, who heretofore flocked about him, were revolted to the mightier side, much like unto officers and sergeants, that according to the custome, are wont to goe from their old masters to new magistrats their successors. Moreover, his colleague *Arberio*, under a faire shew of counterfeit courtlesie, and by calling him many times a valiant warrior (as hee was passing skillfull in laying trains for to entrap a man of plaine and simple conversation, and withall in those daies of great authoritie) proved his heave friend, and set himselfe fore against him. For, like as a serpent under the ground, lying close hidden within his hole, and observing every one that passeth by, fiercely on a suddaine assaileth them: even so he, joyning his office also in warfare unto the power that he had to hurt, being neither harmed at any time, nor so much as provoked by him, polluted his conscience with an unsatiable will and purpose to doe mischief. Well, forced he is, making some few captaines privie to his secrets, closely to breake with the Emperour, and to reveale his mind. Agreed it had beene, that in the night following *Vrsinius* carried violently away farre out of the sight of the souldiers, should be killed without any condemnation: even as in times past, by report, ^a *Domitius Corbulo*, a trustie and wife defender of the provinces, was murdered in that troublous confusion that happened in *Neroes* daies. This plot thus layd, and the match set, when those that were appointed to doe the feat waited the time aforesaid, suddainly this counsell turned to be more mild, and commandement was given to put off so wicked an act unto a second consultation. And so from him, the whole engine of forging calumniation, was turned upon *Tulian*, newly brought thither (a renowned prince afterwards) and intangled within a two-fold crime, as the iniquitie and unjustice of men deemed it: first, for that from *Marcelli-Fundus*, a place lying in *Cappadocia*, he had fitted into Asia, upon a desire he had to learne the liberal sciences: and againe, because hee had seene his ^b brother as hee passed by, through *Constantinople*. Who when he cleared himselfe of these imputations, and shewed that he had done neither of these two things without warrant, yet at the urgent suit of a cursed crew of flatterers, he had died for it, but that by the gracious favour

of

of the heavenly power, *Eusebia* the ^{*The Emperesse} *Queene* stood his friend, by whose meanes he was brought to the towne ^{*Commo.} *Comum*, neere to *Millain*, and after he had abode there a little while, permitted to travaile into *Greece* according to his ardent desire, for to studie and apply his wit to learning. Neither wanted there henceforth matters arising out of these cases, which while they were to be punished by order of law, it would have displeased them to have had a good and fortunat issue: or else fell away without effect as void and vaine. But it happened sometimes, that the rich seeking for succour at greater and mightier mens hands, and cleaving close unto them as yvie doth to tall trees, bought their discharge and deliverie at an exceeding high rate: whereas the poorer sort, who had small meanes or none at all to defend their lives, were condemned downe-right, without all order: and therefore both truth was disguised and masked with lies, and divers times also false and forged matters went current for true. At the very same time was *Gorgonius* also brought into question, he that had the charge of *Cæsars* bed-chamber committed unto him: and when it appeared upon confession, that hee had beene a partie in those enterprises and designs of his, yea, and otherwhiles a setter and causer of them, yet through the complotting and praising of the guelded Eunuches, whiles justice was shadowed with lies finely framed, he wound himselfe out of danger, and went his wayes cleare.

CHAP. II.

Those that had taken part with Gallus, together with many innocent persons, are cruelly punished. Some that in taking their cups liberally had blurred out some foolish words against Constantius, were therefore put to dolorous torments, and kept in close prison.



Hiles matters thus passe at *Millaine*, brought there were to *Aquila* out of the East martiall men by whole troupes and companies, together with a number of ^{*Belonging to Gallus associates.} *Courtiers*, their limmes readie to fall in sunder among their chaines, drawing with much adoe that little breath which remained, and in so manifold calamities and distresses detesting longer life. For charged they were to have beene *Gallus* his ministers and right hands, in all his outrages; and by them it was thought verily, that *Domitian* was mangled and torne in pieces; that *Momius* also, and others after them, were hastily brought to utter destruction. To the hearing of their cause was *Arbera* sent, and *Eusebius*, then chiefe Chamberlaine, both of them men given to inconsiderate cracking and boasting, unjust alike, and bloudily minded: who having no deepe insight into matters, without putting any difference betweene the innocent and the guiltie, condemned some, after scourging or other tortures endured, to live in banishment; others they thrust downe to the meanest place of warre-service, the rest they adjudged to suffer death. Thus, when they had pestered the funerall places with dead bodies, they returned (as it were) in triumph, relating what worthe acts they had atchieved, unto the prince; who in these and such like matters was openly feneie to persist stiffe, resolute, and rigorous. Hereupon and thence forth *Constantius* minding more violently (as one would say) to breake and fore-doe the prescript, order, and course of the destinies, discovering what was within his breast, lay exposed to the perillous conspiracies of many: whereby there suddainly shewed themselves a number that hunted and listened after rumors, gaping with greedie bit at the very highest,

highest, and such as were in most honourable places : afterwards also at poore and rich indifferently, not licking in manner of hounds the tribunall of one only Lord Lieutenant, like unto those ^{Cybirate} brethren that attended upon *Verres*, but assisting and plaguing all parts of the whole Commonwealth, by reason of mischiefs that still happened. Among whom *Paulus* and *Mercurius* were without all question the principall, the one a Persian, the other borne in ^{Dacia} *Paulus* a Notarie, *Mercurius* a Minister * belonging to the Auditors office . And verily this *Paulus*, as hath beene shewed before , had the by-name of *Catena* imposed upon him, for that he was so cunning in framing and knitting malicious accusations together, that they could not be undone, sowing pestilent poysons, and sundry waies doing mischief, like as some skillfull wrestlers are wont in their wrestlings to hold fast by the heele. As for *Mercurius*, called commonly Captaine of Smell-Feasts, for that like unto a dogge softly and closely let in, readie upon an inward naughtie propertie to give a snatch, and to bite, yet wagging his taile, he used to thrust himselfe often into feasts and companies , and if it chaunced that any man had told ought unto his friend that he had seene in his sleepe, what time as nature raungeth at more libertie, the same with his venomous arts he would set a worse colour upon, and so convey it into the open eares of the Emperour : and for this cause the man obnoxious (as it were) unto an inevitable offence, was troubled with the heave load of blame and crimination. Now, when the common bruit made the most of these things, so farre was any one from uttering his dreames in the night, that men durst scarcely confesse in the presence of strangers that they slept at all : And some of the learned sort lamented, that they had not beene borne among the Atlantai, where, by report, there are no dreames seene : but whereof that should come, leave we to them that are of greatest knowledge in naturall causes. During these horrible kinds of inquisitions and executions there arose in ^{Illyricum} another mischief, which beginning upon foolish and vaine words, proceeded to the danger of many persons . Within the province of *Africanus*, ruling over ^{Pannonia} *Secunda*, some boone companions in ^{Sirmium} having taken their cups very liberally until they were well whiled, supposing no man to bee by for to heare their talke, fell freely to finding fault with the present government of the Empire, as most grievous and heave to the subjects. Of these good fellowes some gave out and affirmed (as it were) by certain presaging signes which they went by, That the wished-for alteration and change of the times were at hand: others in an unadvised humor of folly fed themselves with this conceit, That the Auguries of their auncelors were significant and meant by them. Out of the number of which men, *Gaudemus*, a braine sicke fellow, and one that in great matters used foolishly to run all on the head, had given information hereof as of a serious matter unto *Rufinus*, then the head and principall in the * office of *Præfectus Prætorio*, a man at all times affectionately given to entertaine the worst matters ; and besides, for his inbred lewdnesse notorious. No sooner was he advertised hereof, but immediately (as if he had beene winged to flie) he sped him in all hast to the Emperors * Court, and set him so hotely on a light fire (being a prince readie ynough to give care and beleefe to such manner of suspicions) that without any deliberation at all of the thing, both *Africanus*, and all the rest also present at this deadly supper, were commaunded to be hoisted on high upon the racke. This done, the said detestable informer, desirous still (as the manner is of men) and more hotely set upon things unlawfull and forbidden, had commaundement to continue that businesse which he

had

had in hand for two yeares, according as here required. Well, *Tenionemes*, a * Soul dior of the Emperours guard in ordinarie, together with his Colleague, was sent to apprehend them, who according to a warrant and commission brought them all laden with chaines. But when they were come as farre as to *Aquileia*, *Marinus*, * late a trainer of Souldiors, and then * our of ordinarie, the beginner of that mischievous talke, and otherwise a man of a hote spirit, whose hap was to bee left in a taverne, whilst things necessarie for their journey were a making ready, by chance met with a knife, and stabbed himselfe therewith into the side, and presently plucking forth his vitall parts, died. The rest were brought through to Millaine, and after they had beene put to cruell torture, confessing by force of torments, that in their merriment and among their cups they had uttered some sawcie and malapart words, commaundement was given, they should lye fast in prison, with some hope (though it were but doubtfull) of deliverie . As for those of the guard above said, after sentence pronounced to avoid the countrey and live in exile, (for that *Marinus*, with their privitie, was permitted to die) at the suit of *Arbetio* obtained pardon.

CHAP. III.

Warre against the Lentsiens, a people of Alemaine. The description of the Lake Brigantia. The Romane armie discomfised and put to flight, having wished in a while after vanquished the Alemans, returned to Millaine, there to winter.



His matter thus ended, within a while after warre was denounced against the * Lentsiens, people of Alemaine, who oftentimes brake into the marches of the Romanes, and made rodes all abroad. To which expedition the Emperour being gone forth, came to the * Rhætie and *Campi Canini*. And after long and sage consultation had, this was thought to be a course both honest and profitable to all, That *Arbetio* Generall of the Horsemen taking part of the footmen, and coasting along the sides of the lake * Brigantia with the stronger power of the armie, should march on thither, presently to affront and encounter the Barbarians: the description of which place I will briefly set down, as farre as my reason will give me leave. Betweene the winding of high hills Rhene running in and out with a mightie strong streame, holdeth on his course through the * Lepontij, and runneth by the downe-falls of water in manner of Nilus, with a swift current swelling immediately from his first head where he beginneth, and so with store of his owne water violently passeth forward in one single channell, and no more. And now by this time augmented with snow, melted and resolved into water, and raising as it goes the high banks with their curving reaches, entrench into a round and vast lake (which the Rhætians dwelling thereby, call Brigantia) carrying in length foure hundred and threecore * stadia, and in breadth well neere as much ; whereto there is no access by land, for the thicke growne, shade, and unpleasant woods (unlesse it be where that ancient and sober valour of the Romanes made a broad way) whilst both the nature of the ground and rigour also of the ayre impeached the Barbarians. This Mere therefore, the river, with frothing whirlpools breaking into and running through the still and standing water thereof, cutteth quite in the middest as it were just betwene two equall sides, throughout to the very end, and like unto an element severed apart by an everlasting discord, with-

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out.

A large country, containing in these parts Tamiylava, Walschia, and Rodavia.

The city naturalia

Sclavoria.

* Now within Hungary, Sirmich, Ortel.

* Appononia, the city of the same name.

* Constanz, or Council.

* Proteus de musica.

* Ex campidellere.

* Vacant.

* Lintagewer.

Scute.

Schwaben and Graupanner, or Grisoni. Ortelius readeth rather Cati than Canini.

* Bodenise. Ortel.

* Rhinwalder, Scute.

* The great fur-long, whereof it makes a mile.

out encreasing or diminishing one whit the streame that it carried in, saving both name and strength whole, maketh an end of his race; neither afterwards suffereth he the meeting or fellowship of other rivers, but enouch of himselfe into the gulke of the maine Ocean. And that which is a very great wonder, neither is the lake once stirred with that violent streame running through it, nor yet the river stayed in his hastie course, for all the muddie filth of the lake: and howsoever they be confounded together, yet are they not mixed into one bodie, which if the very fight did not prove to be so, a man would not believe by any meanes they could be parted one from the other. Thus Alpheus * rising in Arcadia, for love he beareth to the fountaine Arethusa, cutting quite through the Ionian sea, runneth forward, as fables doe report, to the very confines of his beloved. *Arberio* not expecting untill the messengers came to bring word of the Barbarians comming, although he knew that the beginnings of warres were usually very sharpe, fell within the danger of a privie ambush, and with this suddaine and unlooked for mischief was stricken (as it were) stone dead. Meane while were the enemies discovered leaping forth of their starting holes, and without any intermission shot & sticked with many kinds of darts whomsoever they could find: for neither was any of our side able to resist, nor to hope for other meanes to save their lives but by speedie flight. Wherefore, our souldiors being wholly bent to the avoiding of wounds, in a disorderly march scattering one from another to and fro, offered their backs to take all blows and harmes. Howbeit, the most of them dispersing themselves through the narrow lanes, and rid out of present danger by helpe of the darke night, upon the returne of the day light, after they had refreshed their strength, betooke themselves every man to their owne ranks and files. In this so heavie and unlooked for mischance, a very great number of souldiors, and tenne Tribunes besides, were missing: upon which defeature, the Alemans taking more heart to them, and very stoutly every day approaching neere unto the Romanes fortifications, whiles the morning mists dimmed the light, ran up and downe braving with their drawne swords, grating their teeth, and letting flye big and prowde menaces. Then on a suddaine the * *Targuetiers*, who sallied forth, when by reason of the troups of enemies affronting them, they were driven backe, and at a stand, provoked all their fellows with one mind and resolution to fight it out. But when the greater part of them were affrighted by the example of the foyle so fresh and lately received, and *Arberio*, supposing all behind would be safe ynough, held off; three Tribunes at once lustily issued forth, *Arminius* * depute colonell of the Armature: also *Semianchus*, who had the charge of the * horsemen troups, ⁴ belonging to the *Comites*: and *Bappo*, leading the * *Promoti* *, together with those that the Emperour had committed to his conduct. The common cause as well as their owne particular put them forward, whiles they joyntly altogether resolved to resist the force of the adverse part, after the example of the auncient inhabitants bordering upon the river: and so comming upon their enemies, not by way of a set battaile, but in running skirmishes, after the maner of Brigands, they put them all to shamefull flight: who dispersed and in disaray upon the opening of their ranks, whiles they make hast to escape with their heave load encumbered, were forced to disarme and lay their bodies bare, and so with many a blow and thrust of swords and speares, down they went and were slaine: and many of them slaine horse and man together, even as they lay, seemed still to sit fast upon their backs. At which sight all those issued by heapes out of the campe, who made doubt before to goe forth to battaile

with

with their fellows: and now unmindefull of taking heed to save themselves, they beat downe and trode under foot the barbarous sort (unlesse they were such as made shift, by running away, to escape death) trampling upon the heapes of dead bodies, and embued with the bloud of their slaine enemies. Thus when the battaile was done and ended, the Emperour with triumph and joy returned to Milaine, there to winter.

CHAP. IIII.

The wicked designements of some principall courriers against Silvanus, a most valiant warrior and captaine.



After this, there ariseth in the afflicted state of the Commonwealth, with like mischief unto the provinces, a tempestuous whirlwind of new calamities, like to have destroyed all at once, had not Fortune, the governess of humane chaunces, dispatched a trouble exceedingly feared, by a quicke and speedie issue. What time as Gaule through long neglect endured grievous massacres, pillages, and wasting by fire, so long as the barbarous nations licentiously made havocke, and no man did set to his helping hand, *Silvanus* * Colonel of the Infanterie, moved with anger hereat, and of power sufficient to redresse these outrages, first made head against them: and *Arberio* was earnest by all meanes possible he could to have this service set forward with all speed, to the end that he might lay upon the shoulders of his concurrent now absent, and whom it grieved him not a little to continue still quiet, the charge of a weightie and dangerous affaire. The * Clerke or Master of the princes sumpter-horles and carriages [*named *Dynamius*] had requested of him commendatorie letters unto divers of his friends, as one that would seeme most inward unto him, and of his familiar acquaintance. Having obtained this request (for the other suspecting no harme, had simply granted it) he kept the letters by him, the by to worke some mischief in time convenient. While therefore the Colonell afore said was employed for the good of the Commonwealth in traversing the countrey up and downe in Gaule, and repelling the Barbarians, distrusting themselves already, & put in feare, * the same *Dynamius*, being of a stirring and vnquiet spirit, like unto a wilie fox, and practised in deceit, deviseth a godlesse and fraudulent plot: having as an abettor under hand and privie thereunto (as the flying rumors went) *Lampadius* the * Praefect, and *Eusebius* who had been * Treasurer of the Exchequer, and was commonly knowne by the surname of *Muriocopa*, together with *Aedilius*, late Master of the Rolls or Records, whom the said Praefect had taken order for to be substituted Consuls, as his neere friends: and having with a sponge wiped out the rewes of the letters, and left the subscription onely untouched, he writeth above it another text farre different from the true and originall copie; to this effect, as if *Silvanus* in darke tearmes requested and exhorted his friends, conversing within the palace, or living private (among whom was *Tusculus Albinus* also, and many more) to aid him now, enterprising higher matters, and intending shortly to climbe up to the imperiall throne. Thus plotted hee this counterfeit packe at his pleasure, meaning thereby to endanger the life of the innocent man. Now was *Dynamius* also * appointed as chiefe Commissioner to search into these matters for the Emperour: who craftily working and contriving these and such like things, entrench alone into the most inward and privie roome of the Consistorie, hoping by taking advantage of

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his

* Orpheus, or
Nepheus.

* *Pedestris militie*
restor.

* *Astutus sacch-*
* *nalis principis*
* *mentem.*

* By that which
bold to supply
thus much.

* *Semarij.*

* *Arminius* de
* *Arminius* de
* *Arminius* de
* *Arminius* de

* By this it seemeth
that this whole
passage is de-
ceive or corrupted.
* *Præfess.*

* *Comite rei priva-*
* *te, or keeper of his*
* *privie purse.*

* *Tusculus Al-*

*Silvanus.

Gentilium reſtor.

Armeniaſis
tribunus.

*Præſect.

*Præſect.
*Ad Triumvirat
tribus Cremonenſis.

his time, to bind faſt y enough the right watchfull *keeper of the Emperours life and eſtate. And after he had read in the Conſiſtorie the contents of the ſaid letters ſo craftily and cunningly patched together, the Tribunes were commanded to ward, and thoſe private perſons to be brought out of the provinces, whoſe names the letters imported. And ſtreightwaies *Malarichus*, Capitaine of the companie or band of *Gentiles, calling to him his colleagues, tooke on exceedingly, and cryed out, That men employed in the State, and appointed to place of command, ought not thus to be circumvented through factions and cunning caſts: he requested withall, That himſelfe (leaving as pledges his neereſt allies and deereſt friends, and having *Mallobaudes* Tribune or Capitaine of the *Armature his ſurette, to undertake for him, that he ſhould ſpeedily returne) might have commiſſion to goe and bring with him *Silvanus*, who had not gone about once to attempt any ſuch matter, as thoſe moſt bitter wait-layers had raiſed of him: or, on the other ſide, he promiſing the like for his part, beſought, that *Mallobaudes* might be ſuffered to take a ſpeedie journey, and himſelfe would performe as much as he undertooke. For, he proteſted thus much of his owne aſſured knowledge, that in caſe any ſtranger were ſent of this errand, *Silvanus*, a man of his owne nature very timorous, even where there was no matter of great feare, might happily worke ſome trouble in the quiet State. And albeit the adviſe he gave was expedient and neceſſarie, yet ſpake he (as it were) to the winds in vaine. For, through the counſaile of *Arbetio*, ſent there was, with letters to call him, *Apodemius*, a cankred enimie of long time to all good men: who lighting upon the *prince in Gaule, and ſwerving from the directions agreed upon and given unto him at his ſetting forth, without ſight of *Silvanus*, or warning him by deliverie of letters to come, there remained: and joyning unto him an Auditor or Receiver, as if the ſaid Colonell of the Footmen had bene already out of protection and at the point to bee put to death, in very hoſtile rage abuſed his tenants retainers and ſervants. In this time nevertheleſſe, whiles the preſence of *Silvanus* was hoped for, and *Apodemius* troubleth the peace, *Dynamius*, that hee might by a ſtronger argument maintaine the truth of his wicked plot, diſpatched other letters (made of purpoſe agreeable in all points to thoſe which he had preſented unto the Emperour by the *Præſect) unto the *Maſter of the Worke houſe or Forge at ^h Cremona, in the name of *Silvanus* and *Malarichus*; by which the ſaid Maſter was put in mind (as one privie unto their ſecret deſignes) to provide all things with expedition. Who having read the ſame, ſticking and doubting a good while what this ſhould meane (for he remembered not, that theſe perſons whoſe letters he had received ever communed with him about any ſuch ſecret buſineſſe) returneth the very ſame miſſives by the carrier who brought them, and a ſouldior with him, unto *Malarichus*, praying him to explaine his meaning openly, and not to write in ſo darke tearmes: for he aſſured him, that himſelfe being ſomewhat rude, and a ſimple man, underſtood not what was ſo obſcurely ſignified unto him. *Malarichus*, when hee had quickly found out thus much, being even then ſorrowfull and ſad, and grievouſly bewailing the hard hap both of himſelfe and of *Silvanus* his countryman, taking to him the Franks, who flouriſhed in numbers at that time in the palace, ſpake now more boldly, and made an uprore, for that the traine laid and the ſaite-rous plot was come to light, by which it muſt needs be graunted, that their blood was fought. Theſe matters being knowne, the Emperour gave order (whiles thoſe of the Conſiſtorie and all the men of warre in generall conſidered of the buſineſſe) there ſhould be further enquire and ſearch made. And when the Judges had

*Agrippina pro
magiſtre officium.

*Præſidium.

*Corrector.

had y enough thereof, and began to loath the thing, *Florentius* the ſonne of *Nigrianus*, in *place then of under *Maſter of the Offices, viewing diligently the writing, and finding certaine remaines of the old prickes or accents over the letters, perceived then, that of the former contents new furniſhed, there was another made ſerre different from the tenor of that which *Silvanus* had ended; and the ſame ſet to in lieu thereof, according to the will and pleaſure of a packe of falſe forgers. Therefore after this miſt of fraud and deceit was ſcattered and diſpatched, the Emperour being truly enforced by a faithfull relation made unto him, commaundeth the *Præſect, after he was deprived of his authoritie, to be brought judicially into queſtion, and have his triall accordingly: but by the painefull travaile and conſent of many, he was acquit. As for *Eufebius*, late Treafurer of the princes Exchequer, being ſtretched on high upon the racke, he ſaid, That all theſe matters were broached and ſet on foot with his privitie: For *Ædeſus* ſtiffly denying that hee knew not what was done, went his way as guiltleſſe. So this buſineſſe was ended, and all they diſcharged, whom the information made of the crime had cauſed to bee preſented and brought into queſtion: and *Dynamius*, as one of his excellent ſkill and cunning made renowned, carried away with him the dignitie of a *Corrector. *Thufcus* alſo was commaunded to reforme the reſt of the credulous prince his militarie traine.

CHAP. V.

Silvanus through the unreaſonable abuſe offered unto him by his adverſaries, was driven to plot and take violent courſes, and in Gaule moumeth up to the imperiall dignitie, and ſo at length is ſlaine.



Hiles theſe matters were thus in handling, *Silvanus* making his abode in *Agrippina, and taking full knowledge by continuall meſſengers from his friends, what *Apodemius* was practiſing to endanger his whole eſtate; knowing alſo well y enough the pliant mind of the prince, eaſie to be induced and perſuaded in the ſaid cauſe; and fearing withall, leaſt abſent as he was, without ſentence paſſed againſt him, he might be held attaint and guilty, plunged thus into a very great extremitie, thought for to commit himſelfe to the fidelitie and protection of the Barbarians. But when *Laniogaiſus* then a Tribune (who onely whiles he ſerved in the warres as a *Candidat, was, as I have written before, with *Conſians* lying at point of death) prohibited him, and ſhewed, That the Franks, from whom he was defended, would ſurely either kill, or els for a reward received betray him; ſuppoſing, as his preſent caſe ſtood, there was no ſafetie for him, put himſelfe upon his utmoſt ſhifts: and ſo, after he had by little and little in ſecret wiſe conferred with the heads or captains of the *Principia, and they againe earneſtly endeavoured the ſame, in conſideration of a great reward promiſed, tooke forcibly away with him the enſignes of *Dragons and other banners for the time, and mounted up to the imperiall dignitie. Now, whiles theſe things paſſe in Gaule, toward the latter end of the day, unexpected newes came to Millaine, declaring in plaine words, That *Silvanus*, whiles of a Colonell of Footmen he endeavoureth to clime higher, by ſolliciting of the armie to his ſide, was advanced to be Emperour. *Conſtans* being with this weightie and unlooked-for accident ſtricken no leſſe than with a thunderbolt of ſatall deſtinie, called a counſaile about mid-night, and all the chiefe officers and rulers haſtened into the palace. And when every man

*now Colonia.

*not yet promoted to place of command.

*the chiefe officers of the armie.

man was to seeke what to aduise or speake to the point, namely, to make choise what ought to bee done; mention softly was made of *Vrsinius*, as a most worthie man for his policie in warre affaires, and one who had bene provoked, upon no desert of his, with grievous iniurie: for he was by the chiefe gentleman usher, a thing usually done by way of great honour: and no sooner was hee entred into the Councell chamber, but the purple robe was presented unto him: and so they set him as a suppliant at the Emperours feet, after the manner of forraigne kings, whereas we read that alwaies before, our Emperours were saluted like Iudges. Thus hee, who a little before with malicious and spightfull railing was termed the "Swallowing-pit or Waster of the East, yea, and complained of for aspiring to usurpe the soveraigne place by the meanes of his sonnes; then (forsooth) became a most politicke and wise leader, as who had bene a fellow-souldior with *Constantine* the Great: and hee alone was called for to quench the fire by good and honest meanes (I must needs say) yet covertly and by way of a traine. For great care was had, and diligence used, that *Silvanus* might be destroyed as a most strong and arant traitor to the State: or, if that should misse, yet *Vrsinius*, already exulcerate, and carrying rancour in his heart, be utterly abolished, to the end that no scruple should remaine behind, greatly to be feared. Therefore, whiles order was in giving to make hast and set forward on his journey, as the said Generall went about to repeale and confute the crimes that had bene objected unto him, the Emperour by way of prevention with a mild speech slayed him, saying, It was no time then to goe in hand for to traverse any cause, or put in his plea for defence, considering the necessitie of urgent occurrents, which was to bee mitigated before it grew more; enforced rather, that on both sides they should grow to tearmes of former concord and old love. After much debating therefore and long deliberation, this point was principally handled, What device to use, that *Silvanus* might think the Emperour had as yet no knowledge of his designs and doings: there being at length a probable matter found out to assure him thereof, advised he is by letters penned in honourable tearmes, That when hee had received *Vrsinius* as his successeur, hee should returne with his whole power and authoritie untouched. These things thus digested, straightwaies was this colonell or capitaine commaunded to take his journey: and forth hee led with him in companie to assist him in the necessarie and publique affaires of the State, tenne of the "Emperours guard in ordinarie, according as he had demanded: Of which number, * (also my selfe was one, together with my Colleague *Verianus*; all the rest were kinsmen, or allies and familiar friends. Now, so soone as hee was gone forth of the countrey, every man, in feare of himselfe, accompanied him a great way off. And albeit we, as those that are to fight with wild beasts, were cast before untractable savages; yet weighing thoroughly, that this one good thing yet evil and heave precedents have, That they substitute and bring in their place fortunate events; we admired that notable sentence of *Tully*, delivered and published even from the eternall Oracle of Truth it selfe, in this wise: And albeis (quoth he) most wished it were to be, that our fortune alwaies continued upright, flourishing and prosperous, yet hath not that condition of life so much sense and feeling of the owne good, as when from a wofull and desperate case there is a returne of fortune againe to a better and happier estate. We make the more speed therefore, and take great journeys, to the end that the ambitious * Commaunder of the Forces, before any rumor of his usurping tyrannie passed by the Italians, in the coasts and marches suspected might appeare. But for all the running hast

* That is, these domestics.
* *Verianus*, *Verianus*, the author of this Historie.

* *Verianus* was the name of the person whom before hee called *Verianus*, Collorell of the Infanterie.

we made, a certaine wandering and flying fame had gotten the start of us, and bewrayed the thing; so that being entred into Agrippina, wee found all above our reach. For by reason of a multitude of people, who (from all parts thither assembled) were in grounding sure the enterprises so hastily begun, besides other great forces gathered together, as the present state required, we took this to be the better way, That our pitifull and lamentable leader * should be framed and accommodated to the mind and will of this new Emperour, who assured himselfe by vaine mockeries of presaging signes, that his strength encreased: and all to this end, that whiles with sundrie counterfeit shewes of flatterie his securitie proked him forward to a milder course, he fearing no hostilitie at all, might be deceived. But the issue of this our project seemed difficult and dangerous. For, indeed, it would have stood better with good policie and our safetie, to take heed that our desires might have had a correspondencie with opportunitie, neither running before nor lagging behind it: which if they should breake out before their due time, sure we were all, by vertue of one writ or word, to suffer death. Howbeit, the said capitaine of ours being mildly received, and forced (the present businesse it selfe requiring no lesse) to bow downe and stoupe, yea, and to adore in solemne wise (as the manner is) him that aspired so high to the purple robe, was especially regarded and made much of: and being now most inward (as having easie and readie access unto him and the honour to sit at his royall table) such preheminance he had above others, that by this time hee was used in secret consultation about the maine points of importance, and the very Empire it selfe. *Silvanus* tooke it to the heart, that when unworthie persons were advanced to the dignitie of Consuls, and other honourable places of high government, himselfe and *Vrsinius* alone, after so great and manifold paines endured for the weale publique, were so despised; that he for his part cruelly abused by sisting and examining his familiar friends, and that under a base manner of proceeding and trial, should bee accused of treason: and the other againe, through the malice and hatred of his enemies baled out of the East, and brought home. These continuall complaints made hee both secretly and in open place. And yet for all these and such like speeches, terrified were we with the mutinous grumbling on every side of the souldiors, alledging their want, and hotly set in all the hast to breake through the streights of the * Cottian Alpes. In this perplexitie and doubtfull trouble of heart wee closely cast about and sought for some device like to take effect; and in the end, after many alterations of our mind by reason of feare, resolved thus, That when wee had with great industrie gotten warte ministers, and bound our communication with a religious oath and protestation, there should be solicited the *Braccari* and *Cornuti* ^a, companies wavering in their allegiance, and for large hire mutable and readie to turne every way. After therefore that this businesse was made sure, by meanes of certaine base mediators and brokers betweene, who for their obscure condition were meet to worke the feat, and set on fire beside with the expectation of rewards, when the Sunne was now arising, suddainly a crew of armed men breaketh forth: and as it falleth out in such doubtfull cases, being more bold and hardie after they had slaine the wardens, entred into the palace, plucked *Silvanus* forth of a little chappell, whither hee was fled all amared and breathlesse, and as he was going to a congregation of the Christian Religion, with many strokes of swords flew him out-right. Thus a brave leader, and a man of no meane desert, died this kind of death, even for feare of slanderous accusations, wherewith by the faction of his enemies he was in his absence

* *Vrsinius*.

* *Moree*, *Genes*, or *Mont*, *Cenis*.

enslaved and entangled; so that for the safetie of his life he was driven to proceed unto the utmost extremitie of all shifts. For, albeit in regard of that issuing forth of his so seasonably with young and gallant souldiers before the battaile at Mursa, hee held *Constantius* obliged unto him for a good turne, yet feared hee him as a prince variable and uncertaine; although he might pretend the valiant acts of *Bonitius* also his father, a Franke verily, and who in the civile warre behaved himselfe many times right manfully, taking part with *Constantine* against the * *Licinians*. Now, it happened so, that before any such matter was a working in Gaule, the people in the greatest Cirque or Shew-place at Rome (whether upon any ground of reason, or moved by some preſage it was unknowne) cried out with lowd voice, *Silvanus* is vanquished.

*The fashion of
Lacurus the uir-
per.

CHAP. VI.

Constantius through the great and glorious words of Flatterers, exalted now as he were up to the skie, exerciseth crueltie upon noble personages. Leontius representeth a sedition uprore raised in the Citie. A Romane bishop named Liberius, for favouring Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, is put from his See, and expelled the Citie.



When *Silvanus* therefore was thus slaine, as hath beene related, at Agrippina, and the Emperour had taken knowledge thereof with exceeding great joy (as he was a prince made altogether of insolent pride and vanitie) he ascribed this also to the prosperous traine and course of his owne felicitie; holding on still his old manner, which was evermore to hate men of action and valiant, as *Domitianus* did in times past. yet desirous by any contrarie flight whatsoever to overthrow them. Nay, so farre was he from praising his industrious acts, that he wrote how he had intercepted somewhat out of the treasure in Gaule, which in truth no man ever had once touched. And this commaunded he to be searched narrowly into; questioning about it with *Remigius* also, then * Auditor or Receiver to the office belonging to the said colonell [*Silvanus*] whose fortune it was long after in the daies of *Valentinian* to loose his * life by the halter, in the matter of the embassage of Tripolis. These things thus finished, *Constantius*, as one that now touched heaven with his head, and were to command all humane chaunces, was puffed up with the loftie speeches and big swelling words of flatterers, the number of whom himselfe encreased, and namely by despising and rejecting those that were not so cunning as others in that kind: as we read of *Craesus*, that he therefore thrust *Solon* by the head and shoulders out of his kingdome, because he could not skill off footing him up in his humor: also, that * *Demis* threatened to put *Philoxenus* the Poet to death, for that when all others praised him as he recited his owne absurd verses and such as carried no grace with them, he alone was never moved at the hearing of them: a thing that is a most pernicious soffreſſe of vices: for that commendation onely in very deed ought to be acceptable unto a great potentate and person of high place, when otherwhiles also there is rowme allowed for to entertaine dispraise of things done amisse. And now, after this care was past, and securitie obtained, inquisitions (according to the manner) and judiciall trials were holden; whereby a number after imprisonment in chaines and yrons, were punished as guiltie malefactors. For then *Paulus* that diuellish promoter, who could hold no longer, but brake out for very joy, rose up to praise more

*Ratimatio appa-
retur in amonition
mouit.
*For hee hangd
himselfe.

*Dignus.

*Constantianus.

more licentiously his venomous and pestiferous arts: and whiles both the * Counsellors of State and martiall men also enquired into the businesse, as commaundement was given, *Proculus*, one of *Silvanus* his household, was put upon the racke: and being a thin bodied man, and a diseased, all men feared, least when his poore carcase had beene wearied out with extremitie of excessive torments, he would cause many a man, one with another, indifferently to be called into question, and charged with haynous crimes: but it fell out with him farre otherwise than was expected. For remembering his dreame, whereby forbidden hee was, lying asleepe, as himselfe affirmed, to hurt any innocent person, notwithstanding hee was tormented almost to death, yet named not hee nor appeached any one, but constantly avowed the fact of *Silvanus*, shewing by evident prooffe, that he attempted that enterprise not upon any ambitious desire, but meereley constrained upon necessitie. For he alledged a probable reason inducing him thereunto, and the same well knowne by the testimonies of many, that upon the fifth day before he tooke upon him those princely Infules or ornaments, when he had given his foldiers their pay, in the name of *Constantianus* hee spake unto them, *To continue valiant and faithfull*. Whereby it appeared, that if he had gone about then to take presumptuously the ensignes of an higher estate, hee would have expended such a weightie masse of gold, as his owne. After him, *Pamenius* having his part with condemned persons, was haled to execution, and died: him I meane, who as I have related before, what time as the men of * *Triers* had shut the gates of their citie against *Casus Decemius*, was elected to protect and defend the Commons. Then *Aclepiodorus*, *Lurio*, and *Maudio*, all Comites, were killed, with many more besides. This was the obflinate selfe-will of the time, searching narrowly upon ambiguous tearmes and presumptions into these and such like matters: and whiles some deadly and pestiferous whirle-puffe raiseth up still these miseries of common mischiefs in the State, *Leontius* governing * Rome, gave many good testimonies and proofes of an excellent Iudge, in hearing of causes quicke, in deciding and determining most just, of his owne nature friendly and favourable (howsoever hee seemed to some for the maintaining of authoritie sharpe and severe) and withall very much enclined to love. The first device therefore to stirre up a seditious tumult against him, was most base and vile: For when *Philoxenus* the * Chariot-driver by commaundement was to be drawne and harried away, all the commons in generall following after, as readie to rescue and defend their owne deare child, with terrible violence did set upon the said * Governor, taking him to be a timorous man: but he persisting firme and resolute, sent in his sergeants and officers among them; some being attached and put to painefull torments, hee confined to the Islands, neither gain-saied him any man, nor made resistance. Some few daies after, when the communaeltie likewise chafing all in a broile, as they were wont, and complaining of the want of wine, met together at * *Septizonium*, a place of much resort, where *Marcus* the Emperour built his Baine, a sumptuous and stately piece of worke: the said Governour going thither of purpose, was very earnestly entreated by all his gownned followers and sergeants, not to put himselfe into the throng of so malapart and menacing a multitude, set upon raging still, ever since the former commotion: But he, hardly moved to be afraid of doing right, went forward; inso much as a sort of his said attendants and followers forooke him, albeit he hastened apace to enter into a throwd and suddaine danger. Sitting therefore in his chariot with a lovely shew of boldnesse and confidence, he beheld with piercing eye the faces of those

*Triers.

*Extremum arbitrium.

*or reactor.

*Tribunus.

*Sectionis.

unruly crewes (as if they had beene so many serpents) ruffling with a foule noise, and crie on every side: and taking knowledge of one fellow above all the rest, big and huge of stature, and with a reddish or yellow head, him he asked, Whether he were not *Peter*, surnamed (as he had heard him called) *Valvorneres*? and when he answered, and that in a kind of chiding accent, that he was the man, him he commaunded (as one whom he had knowne of old to be the chieftaine and ring-leader of seditious rebels) for all the contradiction and gaine-saying of many, to have his hands bound behind at his backe, and so to be hoisted and hanged * up in the aire. Who being seene once aloft, calling hard, but in vaine, for the helpe of those that were of his owne sept and tribe, all the whole multitude, that a little before stood so thicke thrust together, dispersed now into sundrie parts of the citie, vanished out of sight, so as that this hote and busie stirrer of commotions having his sides racked and torne, as it were in a secret judiciall place of torture, was expelled and sent away into * Picenum: where afterwards, daring to offer abuse and dishonour to a virgin of no meane patronage, hee was therefore upon sentence given by *Parminius* the * President, judged and condemned to loose his head. During the government of this *Leontius*, *Liberius* a bishop of the Christian Religion, was by a precept directed from *Constantius* sent to the * privie Counsell, as one opposing himselfe against the Emperours commaundements, and the decrees of many his owne consorts, in a matter which I will briefly run over. *Athanasius* bishop at that time of Alexandria, bearing himselfe too high above his profession, and one who went about to enquire into matters that to him belonged not (as the daily bruit and rumor went of him) the congregation (or the Synode, as they teame it) of the same place, excommunicated and remooved from the sacramental dignitie, which he held and celebrated. For reported it was, That being passing skilfull in Necromancie, and expounding the truth of oracles and prophecies, as also well seene in those things which the Augurall birds portended and praesaged, he had divers times fore-told future events. Over and besides these matters, charged he was also with other points, disagreeing from the purpose and meaning of that Law or Religion, whereof he was Prelate. This *Athanasius*, *Liberius* the bishop being of the same mind and opinion with the rest, was by commandement from the Emperour warned by his subscription to depose from his sacerdotall See: but hee stiffly withstood and denied so to doe, often crying out, That it was unlawfull even in the highest degree to condemne a man unseene and unheard; openly (as one would say) spurning against the Emperours will and pleasure. For hee, an enemie alwaies bitterly bent against *Athanasius*, although hee knew the thing was performed accordingly, yet earnestly desired, that the same might bee confirmed and ratified by that authoritie which the bishops of Rome enjoy. Which for that he could not obtaine, *Liberius*, without much adoe and great difficultie even at midnight (for feare of the people that loved him exceedingly) could not be carried away. And thus verily stood the affaires at Rome, as this former text hath shewed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

By reason of Gaule inclined to revells, Constantius not able to undergoe the charge, minding to take Iulian to him as his companion in the Empire, is hindered by flatterers: but in the end declares Iulian his Colleague, and investeth him in the purple Robe, with exceeding applause of the whole armie.

AS for *Constantius*, disquieted he was with newes continually, reporting how Gaule was now in a desperate case, while the barbarous enemies made waite and spoyle of all, killing and sleying in every quarter, and no man there was to withstand them. Now, as he tossed to and fro in his mind, what force to use for the relieving of these troubles, resiant still himselfe in Italie, as he desired, (for he thought it a matter of danger to thrust himselfe into parts farre remote) he hit at length upon the right way and meanes to effect the same: and it came in his mind to joyne with him as companion in the Empire his cousin * germane *Iulianus*, not long since for and brought out of Achaia, and even yet in his students cloake or gaberdine. When he had upon the urgent occasion of so many imminent calamities bewrayed thus much to his favourites and friends next about him, shewing in plaine tearmes, That himselfe, but one, shrunke now (which hee never had done before) under the burthen of so many necessities and troubles comming so thicke upon him: they being thoroughly taught how with excessive flatterie to beare him up, foolishified and gulled the man, telling him ever and anon, That there was nothing in the world so adverse and difficult, but his powerfull vertue and heavenly fortune together were able (as ever heretofore) to overcome: and many of them pricked in conscience for their offences committed, said thus much moreover, That he was from henceforth to beware of the name of *Cesar*; rehearsing therewith the lewd parts committed under *Gallus*. Against whom labouring hard upon this point, the Queene alone opposed her selfe, were it for very feare to sit into so farre countries, or that in her own naturall wit and wisdom she thought it good policie for the State, I wote not: but she said, That a kinsman ought to bee preferred before all other. And after much debating of the matter, by way of deliberation to and fro, this resolution stood firme: and so setting aside all frivolous and bootlesse disputations, hee fully determined to take unto him *Iulianus*, as his compartener in the imperial government. Now, when he was sent for and come at the day prefixed, the Emperour, after all the companies of fellow souldiors there present were called together, and a Tribunall erected upon an high banke, above which stood the maine standers of Eagles and other ensignes, he mounted up unto it, and holding *Iulianus* by the right hand, thus by way of a mild and gentle speech began to say. *Here stand we before you, right valorous defenders of the Weale publique, to maintaine in manner all with one breath and spirit the common cause, which I, being so plead, as it were, before equall Iudges, will briefly declare unto you. After the death of rebellious tyrants, whom rage and furie moved and egged on to attempt these designs which they projected, the Barbarians, as if they meant with Romane blood to sacrifice unto their wicked Names, invade Gaule and over-run it, having broken the peace of the marches, encouraged upon this confidence and assured persuasion, that extreme necessities bind us fast enough, by occasion of Lands so farre dis-ioyned asunder. This mischiefe therefore, which incroaches*

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* Upon a kind of racks,

* Marce Anconia,

* Consulari.

* Ad Crenatorem,

* Tarentum frant.

alreadie beyond the frontiers hard adioyning, if (while time permitteth) our helpe and yours together, after consultation had, shall joyfully with one accord meet with; but the neckes of these proud nations will not swell so big, and the bounds also of our Empire shall remaine entire. It resteth now, that the hope of our affaires which I doe conceive, see also strengthened with fortunate effect. This Iulianus here, mine unckles Sonne by the fathers side, well approved (as yee know well enough) for his modestie, in regard whereof, as well as of neereness in blood, he is deare unto us; a young gentleman of industrious action, which alreadie appeareth in him, I wish to ioyn with me, in the place and power of a Caesar: Which motion of mine, if you thinke the same profitable and expedient, is to be confirmed also by your graunt and allowance. As he was about to say more to this effect, the assembly interrupting his speech, in gentle manner stayed him, saying in a fore-knowledge (as it were) of the future consequence, That this was the will and choice of mightie Iupiter, and not of mans wit and understanding. And the Emperour standing still without stirring, untill they were silent, went more confidently through with the rest of his speech: For as much as (quoth he) your joyfull acclamation sheweth, that there is a correspondencie of your favourable assents, let the young gentleman endued with a peaceable vigour, and whose temperate behaviour is to be imitated rather than commended, rise up to this honour, seconded with your fortunate favour; whose singular towardsness, instructed with good arts, even herein, me thinkes I have fully shewed, in that I have chosen him. Him therefore by the grace and present direction of the heavenly God, will I clad in his princely robes. This said he, and soone after, when he had put upon Iulian his grandfathers purple, and declared him Caesar with the joy of the armie, he speaketh unto him somewhat sad, and carrying a demisse and lowly looke, in this manner: Thou hast in thy prime, brother mine, and the most loving brother that ever I had, recovered the glorious flower of thy parentage and originall: augmented (I confesse) is mine owne glorie, who take my selfe more truly advanced, by conferring a superiour power upon a noble prince of mine owne blood than by the souveraine power in selfe, which I enjoy. Come on therefore as partaker of paines and perils, undertake the defence and service of Gaule, as one ready by all bounsfulness to ease the parts afflicted: and if need require to ioyn in battaile with the enemies, stand to it with sure footing among the very ensigne-bearers themselves, a considerate exhorter and encourager to adventure in due time; by leading the way with advised warinesse heartening and emboldening them that fight; with succours and supplies strengthening those that be troubled, and in disarray; in modest warms rebaking the slushfull; a present and most true witness, as well to the industrious souldior, as to the idle coward. Therefore, as urged service requireth, on forth like a valiant Knight to lead likewise as hardie souldiors: we will be assistants one to another in our turnes by course, with firme and stedfast love: serve we will together, and another day (if God graunt our request) jointly governe the world with equall moderation and pietie. You for your part shall be in all places even present with me, and I againe in whatsoever you shall goe about, will not bee wanting to you: Hasten for my sake unto the highest enterprises, as having all mens wishes and prayers to ioyn with you, and purpose to defend by violent care the station (as it were) and ward assigned unto you by the very Commonwealth in selfe. These words once ended, no man afterward held his peace: but the souldiors all, with a terrible clattering, knocked their shields and knes together (which is a full signe of prosperitie and contentment: for contrariwise, when they smite their shields with their speares, it is a token of anger and dolour) and a wonder it was to see, with what and how great joy they all, except

some

some few, approved the judgement and election of the Emperour, and with worthie admiration they entertained Caesar, glittering in his resplendent imperiall robe: whose eyes carrying with them a terrour and amiable loveliness withall, whose pleasing countenance also, with an extraordinary quicknesse and lively vigour, as they wistly a long time beheld, they gathered what a one he was like to prove, as if they had thoroughly perused the old bookes, the reading whereof declareth by bodily signes the physiognomie or inward indowments of the mind. And to the end that he might be regarded with better respect and reverence, they neither commended him above measure, nor yet lesse than was meet and becoming: and therefore esteemed they were as the voices of Censours, and not of souldiors. In the end, being taken up to sit with him in the chariot, and received into the regall palace, this verse out of *Homers* Poëme hee softly whispered to himselfe:

"Ergo non possum divinare si casus regenda."

** Now purple death hath seiz'd on me,
And powerfull strength of destinie.*

These things passed thus, the *eight day before the Ides of November, that yeare in which *Arbesio* and *Lollianus* were Consuls.

CHAP. VIII.

Iulianus having wedded the sister of Constantius, came to Vienna: where by a certaine old wife his future acts as touching Religion are fore-told.



In few daies after this, when *Helena* the sister of *Constantius*, a virgin, was joyned in marriage to the same *Caesar*, and all things put in readinesse requisite for his speedie journey, taking with him a small traine in his companie, hee let forth the first day of December, accompanied on his way by the Emperour himselfe as farre as to a place marked with two Columnes, and it lyeth betwene **Laumellum* and **Ticinum*, and so holding on his journey streightforward he came to the **Taurini*: where he was stricken with heavie newes, which having bene brought lately to the **Emperours* Council, was notwithstanding of purpose concealed, for feare least all the preparation made for his voyage, should have bene lost and come to nothing. Now it purported thus much, That *Colonia* **Agrippina*, a citie of great name and importance in the second **Germanie*, was upon continuall siege layed to it by the Barbarians, layed open and with great forces destroyed. With which wofull tidings being foreastoned, as if it were the first hanell and beginning of evils coming toward him, muttering softly with monesfull words he was often heard to say, *Thas all which he had gotten was no more than this, To die and perish in more imprisonment and trouble.* And when he was come to Vienna, in his entrance thither, the people of what age and degree soever, came running to receive him honourably, as one wished for. I assure you, and their naturall Emperour: and the whole comminallie together, with the neighbour nation bordering upon them, seeing him a farre off, and saluting him as a mild and fortunate Emperour, as they went before entertained and honoured him with correspondent praises, beholding with more affectionate desire such royall pompe in a prince so lawfully elected: and in his coming repo-

* As if he should have said, I came upon my death, in robes of gold and purple. The first of November.

* *Laumellum*, a citie in times past, now a small village.

* *Pavia*.

* *Piemont*.

* *Germanie*, or Court.

* *Colcin*.

* *Nether Dutchland*.

sed

fed the remedie and redresse of common calamities, crying out with one voice, and thinking no lesse, that now there shone upon them a certaine blessed and comfortable *Genius*. Then a certaine old woman that had lost both her eyes, having learned by enquire, who came into the citie: that it was *Iulianus Caesar*, cried out, That he it was who should repaire the temples of the gods. Considering therefore that as that loslie Poet of *Mantua said before time,

*Maius opus moroe, & maior mihi nascitur ordo
Reverum*

*A greater worke I am to enterprise,
As greater traine of matters doth arise:*

I thinke it now a convenient time, to shew the tracts and situation of Gaule, least if I should when armies are readie to encounter, and among the variable chaunces of battailes cursarily tell of such things unknowne unto some, I might seeme to follow the example of slouthfull saylers and mariners, who when their worne sayles and frettid gables might have bene at more leisure prepared and repaired, are forced to mend and trim them up in the midst of waves and tempests.

CHAP. IX.

*Of the first originall of the Gauls. Their Bards, Eubages, and Druids.
The nature of the aire and soile among them: and
the description of the Alpes.*

THe auncient writers doubtfull as touching the originall of the Gaulois, left the knowledge of this businesse unperfect: but afterwards *Timagenes*, both for his diligence and language a Greeke, collected out of many and fundrie bookes those things which lay long unknowne: whose credite and authoritie we following (now that all obscuritie is remooved) will declare the same distinctly and plainly. Some have affirmed, That the people first sene in these regions were *Aborigines, called *Celts*, after the name of an amiable king; and *Galatæ*, according as his mother was named: for so are the Gaulois in the Greeke tongue termed. Others have reported, That the Dorienſes, followers of that more auncient *Hercules*, inhabited the coasts confining along the Ocean. The *Drasidæ record, That a part in very deed of the nation were home-lings, in-borne, and there bred: but others also from the utmost Islands and the tracts beyond Rhene, driven out of their owne native seats, what with continuall warres, and what with the inundation of the swelling sea, conflowed thither. Some say, That after the destruction of Troy, a few that fled from the face of the Greekes, and were every where disperſed, possessed themselves of these places then lying void. But the inhabitants of these countries vouch this above all other, (which also we have read engraven in their monuments of record) That *Hercules* the sonne of *Amphirry* made haste to destroy *Geryon* and *Tauriscus*, two cruell tyrants; of whom, the one infested Spaine, the other Gaule: And after he had vanquished them both, that he lay with the gentlewomen of the country, on them begat many children; and that they called after their owne names those parts which they had rule of. As for a people of Asia, from out of Phocæ, they to avoid the cruell rigor of *Harpalus* a lieutenant generall or capitaine under king *Cyrus*, sailed into Italie. Of whom, one part built *Velia in *Lucania, the other, *Messilia

in

in the province of Vienna. Then afterwards in the ages ensuing, they, as their puissance increased, founded many townes: But I must forbear such variety, which oftentimes hath satietie joyned with it. Meane while, as the men of this place were growne by little and little to civilitie, the studies of laudable sciences, begun by the Bards, Eubages, and Druides, mightily flourished here. And verily the Bards sung unto the sweet musicke of the Harpe the valorous deedes of worthie men composed in heroicke verse. But the Eubages, searching into the highest altitudes of natures worke, endeavoured to lay open and declare the same. Among these, the Druidæ of an higher wit and conceit, according as the authoritie of *Pythagoras* decreed, being tied unto societies and fellowships, were addicted wholly unto questions of deepe and hidden points, and they despising all humane things, pronounced, that mens soules were immortall. This climate of Gaule, by reason of the high and difficult risings of mountaines, and those alwaies covered over with hideous heapes of snow, before time unknowne almost to the inhabitants of all the world beside, unlesse it be where it coasteth upon the sea, is enclosed on every side with fences that environ it naturally, as if it were by art of man. And verily, on the South side the *Tyrrhene and Gaule seas both runne close by it: toward the North divided it from savage nations by the river Rhene: and Westward with the Ocean and the high mountaine *Pyrenæus: And what way it beginneth to mount up Eastward, it giveth place to the high banks of the Cottian Alpes: which king *Cottius*, after that Gaule was conquered and subdued, lying hidden alone close within the streits, and trusting upon the unaccessible roughnesse of the craggie places, when his feare was well at length allayed, and himselfe received into the friendship of the Emperour *Octavian*, in lieu of a memorable gift, with great and labourious workes made to serve for a compendious way, and commodious to travellers, as standing just in the midst betwixt the other old Alpes: as touching which I will report anone what I have learned and knowne. In these Cottian Alpes, which begin at the town *Segusio, there peaketh up a mightie high mount, that no man almost can passe over without danger. For, as men come out of Gaule, it bendeth steepe forward with a great downe-fall, terrible to behold, by reason of the cliffes hanging on either side, especially in the Spring: what time as the frost and yce thaweth, and the snow melteth with the hot breath of the winds, by the streits broken on both sides, and the holes or ditches hidden with heapes of frozen yce, men verily with staggering and slaying their feet make some shift to come downe; but horses and carts fall headlong forward. Now, for to put by this mischiefe, one remedie alone hath bene devised: namely, that most of the wagons with mightie great ropes tied fast unto them, and a maine strength of men and oxen both, straining behind to stay the same, scarcely with a creeping pace, somewhat more safely come rolling downe. And this, as I have said, happeneth in the Spring time of the yeare. But in Winter, the ground charged all over with a coat of yce, and (as it were) smoothed therewith, and thereby slipperie under foot, setteth men forward in their gate to run upon their noses; and the open valleys along the broad and wide plaines, not to be trusted, by reason that the yce will not beare, swallow up otherwhiles folke passing thereupon. In regard of which dangers, those that be cunning in the waies, and know the country well, pitch downe fast certaine piles or maine stakes of timber, bearing their heads above the ground all the way along the safer places, to the end that the wayfaring man directed by them, as they stand in a row, may passe without harme: which if they hap-

pen

*Mar Tolon, or
Mar de Marseille.

*Which now
hath many names
according to di-
vers parts thereof.

*or Segusio.
*Sala Lucania.
*Faventia.

*In-borne, Home-
lings; Home-bred.

*Partners, readers
Druides.

*Velia.
*Lucania.
*Messilia.

pen to lye hidden and hilled with snow; and namely, being overthrowne before with land floods or rivers falling downe from the mountaines, hardly are they passable with the guidance of the rustickall people, leading the way. Now from the very pitch of this Italian cliffe, there reacheth a plaine for the space of seven myles unto a stacion named Martis: and from hence another high hill more upright, and with much adoe to be passed over, stretcheth forward as farre as to the head or top of Matrona; the occasion of which name came by a chaunce that befell unto a noble woman: From whence the way verily lyeth steepe downe, but yet more easie and travaileable, as farre as to the Fort *Virgania. The Sepulchre of the said pettie king, who I have reported made those waies above-named, is at Segusio, very neere unto the wals, and his Manes for a two-fold reason are devoutly honoured, both for that hee had ruled his owne subjects by way of a just and moderate government; and also because he being received into alliance with the Romane state, procured perpetuall peace and rest unto that nation. And albeit this way which I have spoken of, be the middle one, and therefore compendious, and the shorter, yea, and more haunted, yet others also have bene made long before at divers times. The first of them, *Hercules* of Thebes, marching in a milder manner to destroy *Geryon* (as hath bene said) and *Tauriscus* caused to bee wrought neere unto the maritime Alpes, and this *Hercules* gave them their name: Semblably, the castle of Monœcus, and the haven, he consecrated to the everlasting memoriall of himselfe. Then, after the revolution of many ages, upon this occasion were the Alpes Poeninae devised. *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, father of the elder *Africanus*, when the Saguntines, memorable for their miseries and fidelitie both, were upon a constant resolution of the Moeres besieged, being about to goe into Spaine for to aid them, transported over a fleet, manned with a puissant power of fouldiors. But when the citie *Saguntum was by mightier forces destroyed, he not able to reach and overtake *Annibal* (who having three daies before passed over *Rhodanus, marched apace to the parts of Italie) crossed over betwene with swift fayle an arme of the sea, which was no long cut, and watched for him at *Genua, a towne of *Liguria, as he should come downe the mountaines; to the end he might, if fortune had given him leave and opportunitie, encounter him in the plaine, wearied with the roughnesse of those comberous waies. Howbeit, having regard to the maine chaunce and common good, he advised his brother *Cn. Scipio* to goe into Spaine, for to keepe backe *Hasturball*, who was likewise to get out and come from thence. Whereof *Annibal* having intelligence given him by fugitives (as he was a man of a nimble and craftie wit) taking the *Taurines, who dwelt hard by, to be his guides, came by the way of the *Tricastines and the utmost coast of the *Vocontians to the chace and forrests *Tricotij; and there beginning his worke, he made another way, which before had bene unpassable: for having hewed out the rocke that stood up on a huge height, which with making mightie fires, and pouring vinegre upon it, he had broken and dissolved, he marched along the river *Druentia, that runneth winding with a wandering streame, and seized upon the regions of Tuscane. Thus much as touching the Alpes: Now come we to that which is behind,

CHAP. X.

Gaul called Celtica, Aquitania, and Belgica, the principall parts thereof, together with the shapes and manners of the people, are described.



N ancient times, when these parts lay hidden as barbarous, thought they were to have bene three fons of people, divided into the Celts, (who are the same that the Galli) into the Aquitani, and the Belgi, all different in language, orders, and lawes. And verily the Gaules, who also are the Celts, the river *Garumna severeth from the *Aquitans: which river springing from the Pyrenean hills, after it hath passed by many a towne, hideth himselfe within the Ocean. The same nation also is seperated from the Belgæ by *Matrona and *Sequana, rivers of a *duple bignesse, which running through the province *Lugdunensis, after they have enfolded and compassed round about in manner of an Island, a castle of the Parisij, named *Lutetia, meet in one channell, and keeping on their joynt course together forward, neere unto *Castra Constantia, fall into the sea. Of all these nations, the Belgæ had the name in ancient writers to be most valiant, for that being farre removed from a civile kind of life and behaviour, and not made effeminate with daintie delights brought in unto them, they warred a long time with the Germanes beyond Rhene. For the Aquitans, (unto whose coasts, as being next at hand, and peaceable, marchandise used to be brought from other parts) after they fell once in their demeanour and carriage to be delicate, were soone brought under the Romanes dominion. Now, the whole countrey of Gaul, ever since that they were driven by so many urgent warres to yeeld unto *Iulius* Dictator, hath bene ruled by a *government divided into foure parts. Whereof Narbonensis the first, contained within it Viennensis and Lugdunensis: the second, had the rule wholly of the Aquitans: as for the upper and lower Germanie, together with the Belgæ, two jurisdictions governed at the same time. But now are reckoned within the whole circuit of Gaul, these provinces, to wit, the second Germanie, beginning first at the West coast, fortified with *Agrippina and *Tungri, great cities and wealthie: then, the first Germanie; where besides other free towne or boroughes; is, *Magontiacus, *Vangiones also, the *Nemetes and *Argentoratus, renowned for the overthrowes and defeatures of the Barbarians. After this, the first Belgica hath in the frontiers thereof *Mediomatrici and *Treviri, famous for the Emperours residence there. To this adjoyneth the second Belgica, wherein stand *Ambiano, an eminent citie among others, *Cathelani also, and *Rhemii. Among the *Sequani, I have seene *Bifontij, and *Rauraci, of greater note and estate than many other towne. As for Lugdunensis the first, adorned it is with *Lugdunus, *Cabillonnes, *Senones, *Bituriges, and *Augustodunum, of note for mightie and auncient wals. For *Rothomagi make shew of the second Lugdunensis, & *Turini, of *Mediolanum: also the Tricastini; the Alpes both Graie and Poenine, besides more obscure towne, have *Aventicum also, a citie verily now desolate and forsaken, but of no base account in times past, as appeareth even at this day by the buildings decayed and halfe downe. These I say are the goodly provinces and cities of Gaul. In Aquitania, that lieth toward the mountaine Pyrenæi, and that part of the Ocean which reacheth unto Spaine, is the first province Aquitania, very well inhabited and beautified with faire and great cities; but letting many others goe by, *Burdigala and *Averni doe passe;

*or Brigantium, about which standeth the towne Brantio.

*Moredra, *Rhodæ.

*Genua, *Poenæ de Genua, *Ortel.

*These of Pionmont
*Vocontians in Provence,
*Tricotij
*The Country of the Alps
*De Caux.
*Druentia.

*Garonne.
*hoie of Constance, according to Adrians.
*Marne.
*Seyne.
*or equal: *Gaulna magnitudinis.
*of Lyons.
*Paris.
*Constance in Normandie.

*or a Tetrarchie.

*Colein.
*Lugdun.
*or Magontiacum.
*Menz.
*Wormz.
*Speyr.
*Sezaburg, some read Argentorat.
*Mets.
*Amiens.
*Chalons in Champagne.
*Rhemus.
*Burgundia.
*Belgium.
*Angst, neere unto Basil.
*or Lugdunum.
*Lyons.
*Cavalon.
*Sera.
*Bordeaux, or Bourges rather.
*Aunis.
*Rovan, or Roan.
*Touraine.
*Saluden, or Melchen, as some think.
*Avenche.
*Bordeaux.
*Avergne.

likewise *Santones and *Picavi. *Aulci and *Vasara commend unto us nine nations. In the province Narbonensis is comprised *Narbona and *Tolosa, which carry the chiefe name of the cities. Viennensis joyeth in the beautie of many cities: of which, those of the better sort be, Vienna it selfe, *Arelate, and *Valencia: whereto *Massilia is annexed, by the societie and power whereof, wee read, that Rome otherwhiles in great dangers and distresses hath beene relieved and supported. Neere unto these, are *Saluvij, *Nicaea, *Antipolis, with the Isles *Stoichades. And for as much as by the traine of our text and historicall worke, we are come to these parts, it were unfitting and absurd to say nothing of Rhodanus, a river of the greatest name. This *Rhodanus flowing from the Pœnine Alpes, with store of Springs gushing forth in great plentie, and running downe apace directly toward the plaine country with his owne streame, and no more, hideth the bankes, and so engorgeth himselfe into the lake named *Lemanus: and albeit he runneth within the same, yet entermingled he is no where with other waters besides his owne: but gliding of the one side over the flower and more still furface of the water, seeking an issue, with a swift current maketh way forth of it. From whence, without hurt of any thing, he runneth through the thicke fennes, and the *Sequani, and after he hath gone a great way forward, passeth lightly hard by the province Viennensis on the left side, and Lugdunensis on the right. Having thus rid a great ground with his wavie streame, he taketh unto him *Araris, which they call Sauconna, running within the first Germanie, and giveth it his owne name. In which place beginneth Gaule. From thenceforth they use to measure their journeyes, not by myles, but by leagues: and there Rhodanus growne bigger, and charged with other rivers falling into him, carrieth exceeding tall and big shippes, that use oftentimes to be tossed with gales of wind: and ending among the vales which nature hath ordained to be his prescript limits, frothing now and foming, is incorporate into the Gaulish sea by an open frith or gulfie called *Ad gradus, lying from Arles almost tenne miles. Thus much as touching the site of the places. Now will I describe the shapen and manners of the people. The Gauls in manner all be of stature tall, of complexion cleere, white, and of ruddie haire, carrying in the cast of their eyes a kind of terrible and sterne grimme, given much to brawles, and exceeding insolent: for if any one of them be set a chiding and brawling, having the shrew his wife (who commonly of the twaine is the stronger by farre, and of a fallow hew) to take his part, a whole band of others that be strangers, is not able to match him: especially when she, setting out her necke with big swollen veines, fals a grating of her teeth, and levelling her snow white armes, and those of a mightie big size, begins once to lay about her with fists and heeles together, as if they were bolts and darts discharged violently from the writhed and wrestled strings of a brake or such like engine: the ordinarie words of most of them, as well when they are pacified as angrie, are, dreadfull and full of menacing. But all of them, with like diligence and curiositie, are neat and cleane: neither in those tracts, and especially in Aquitania, shall you see a woman (be he never so poore) in foule and ragged clothes; as in other places. Every age among them is most meet for warfare: and with like courage and hardinesse of heart is the old man brought into the field, and the lustie youth carrying about him limmes hardened with frost and continuall travaile, resolved to content many and those fearefull occurrents: Neither is there ever knowne any one of them (as in Italie) for feare of going to the warres, to cut off his owne thumbe, and such as so doe, they teame merittly by way of jeast, *Murra*. A

*Vindes.

*Poulers.

*Auche.

*Bazadois.

*Narbon.

*Tolosa.

*Arles.

*Valencia.

*Marteiles.

*Aix, neere unto

Solea.

*Nizza.

*Ambe Therte.

*Iles de Hyeres,

w: d'Ol. Orle.

*Rhodac.

*Lac de Lomagne

de Gascogne.

*Surgognois.

*Saoc.

*Araris.

*Sequani.

*Lugdunensis.

*Germanie.

*Aquitania.

*Murra.

*Ad gradus.

*Arles.

*Tolosa.

*Valencia.

*Massilia.

*Stoichades.

*Nicaea.

*Antipolis.

*Rhodanus.

*Lemanus.

*Picavi.

*Santones.

*Vasara.

*Aulci.

*Narbonensis.

*Tolosa.

*Vienna.

*Arelate.

*Valencia.

*Massilia.

*Stoichades.

*Nicaea.

*Antipolis.

*Rhodanus.

*Lemanus.

*Picavi.

*Santones.

*Vasara.

*Aulci.

*Narbonensis.

*Tolosa.

*Vienna.

*Arelate.

*Valencia.

*Massilia.

*Stoichades.

*Nicaea.

*Antipolis.

*Rhodanus.

*Lemanus.

nation greedily given to wine, affecting to make sundry fons of drinke resembling wine: and some among them, of the baser sort, having their wits and senses dulled by continuall drunkennesse (which *Cæsar* by his sentence hath defined to be a voluntarie kind of furie) are ravished and bestraght with wild and wandering cogitations: so as that may seeme to be true which *Tully* pleading for *Fornicius* saith, *Thas the Gaulois from henceforth would drinke their wine more delayed, because they thought it to be poison.* These regions, especially those that confine upon Italy, abhorred not much to come by little and little under the Romanes Empire; first attempted and tried by *Fulvius*; then afterwards in small battailes fore shaken by *Sexsius*; and last of all, tamed and subdued by *Fabius Maximus*: unto whom the compleat effecting of this businesse, namely, after he had vanquished that fell and stout nation of the Allobroges, gained him that surname. For all the Gauls, unless they were the quarters unpasseable by reason of meeres and marishes, as *Salust* mine author telleth us, after mutuall overthrowes given and taken for the space of tenne yeares warre together, *Cæsar* by a perpetuall covenant of league joined unto us in perfect societie. I have flowne out very farré, but returne I will at length to the matter which I have begun.

CHAP. XI.

The state of Gaule in the time of Constantius and Julianus Emperours.



After that *Domitianus* above said by cruell death was dispatched out of the way, *Musonianus* his successor governed the East in the place and authoritie of **Præfectus Prætorio*, or Lord Iustice, a man renowned for his eloquence in both languages: whereby hee arose to an higher degree than was expected. For *Constantine*, what time as he searched very narrowly into the superstitious sects of the **Manichees* and such like, and no meet interpreter could be found, made choice of him, as commended for a sufficient man in that behalfe: whom, for performing that office and function skillfully, hee would have to be named *Musonianus*, whereas before he was wont commonly to be called *Strategius*: and from this beginning having run through many degrees of honour, he mounted up to this dignitie of **Præfecture*, or Iusticeship; a prudent man otherwife, and well ynough endured of the provinces; mild also, and faire spoken: but upon any occasion whatsoever, and especially upon suits and actions in law (which is an abominable thing) wholly set upon filthie gaine and lucre, (whereby hee grew base and odious) as it appeared evidently among other things in the commissions and inquisitions holden about the death of *Theophilus*, a **Consular* Governor or Lieutenant in Syria, who for betraying of *Cæsar Gallus* was in a confused tumult and upore of the people torne in peeces: in which affaire poore men were condemned, even those who were knowne for certaine to have bene forth of the country when this outrage was committed; but the rich ones, authors in deed of this foule act, with the turning out of their livings and estates were let goe. Equall unto him was *Proper*, who had the command of the souldiers, in lieu of the general of horsemen abiding then in Gaule, a base coward and abject person, and such an one (as the Comical Poet sayth) as despising the art of close theverie, used open extortion and violent oppression. And whilst these two agreed together, and enriched themselves by mutuall commerce and reciprocal bringing of cheats to one anothers hand, the Persian capitaines bordering upon

Præfectus Prætorio*.Præfectus Prætorio*.**So called, not for that he had beene a consill, but bare the Consill en-figes.*

the rivers, while the king was busied in the farthest marches of his owne lands, by companies and crewes of Brigands made foule worke in our pale, boldly invading one while Armenia, another while Mesopotamia, taking their vantage while these Romane Commanders were employed in gathering together the spoyles of them that died.



THE XVI. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Reports in commendation of Iulianus, who setting behind all delights, some pleasures, and having quickly dispatched a long voyage, subdueth certaine parts of Gaule, and forceth them to be quiet.



While these things thus passe in the Romane world, at the dispose of that linked course and order of the destinies, *Cæsar* at Vienna, being by the Emperor (now the eighth time Consul) called to the fellowship of that degree, and entred into the kalender thereof (as his in-bred and naturall vigour did put him forward to action) dreamed of nothing but the crashing noise of battaile, and slaughter of barbarous enemies, preparing now alreadie to gather up the broken fragments of the province, if hee might once at length have beene seconded with a forward gale of favourable fortune. For as much as therefore those notable matters which throughout Gaule by his vertue and felicitie both he redressed, surpass many valiant deedes of men in old time, I will shew them every one particularly in the progresse and traine of this storie, minding to this purpose for to straine all the strings that my meane wit can afford, if happily they will serve the turne. Now whatsoever in this narration shall be delivered, that no subtilie falsitie forgeth, but the sound truth of matters fully relateth, and the same resting upon evident proofes, shall pertaine in manner to a laudative argument. For it seemeth, that a certaine set law and canonicall rule of a better life, accompanied this young gentleman from the very rocking of his cradle unto his dying day. For in his speedie growth and quicke proceedings hee made such a bright and shining shew both at home and abroad, that for wildome he was esteemed a second *Titus*, the sonne of *Vespasian*; for the glorious menaging and carriage of his warres, like for all the world to *Traianus*; mild and mercifull as *Antoninus*; in searching out the true and perfect reason of things, surable to *Mar-*

CM 3

cus; to the resemblance and imitation of whom he framed all his actions & whole deportment. And for so much as (according as we be taught by *Tully* a grave author) we take delight in the height of all noble arts, as we doe of trees, but not in their rootes and stockes: even so the rudiments and beginnings of this singular towardnesse were then covered with many things that shaddowed and darkened them, which ought of right to bee preferred before many and those wonderfull deedes of his afterwards, in this respect, That in the prime of his youth being fostered like *Erichtheus* in a rettyred place of *Minerva*, and fetched out of the quiet bowers of an Academie, and not out of a militarie pavilion, to the feats of armes, and fighting of battailes; after he had quieted Germanie, and allayed the stiffe stirres and troubles of Rhene, in one place he drew bloud of bloudie minded kings, and in another hung chaynes on their hands. Well, while hee passed a toilsome Winter in the towne afore said, among other flying rumors that ran abroad continually, hee understood, That the walls of **Augustodunum*, an auncient citie, carrying a large and spacious compasse, but for very rottennesse by long continuance of no strength, were on a suddaine forcibly besieged with a strong power of the Barbarians; That while the companies of souldiers there in garrison sat still and did nothing, the old beaten servitors in right watchfull care assembled themselves and defended the place; as oftentimes, utter dispaire is wont to put backe most imminent dangers of life and safety. Wherefore, remitting no whit of his provident cares, and casting behind him all servile flatterie that attended upon him, whereby those about him would haue drawne him to delights and riotous life, after all things were provided sufficiently, upon the eighth day before the Calends of Iuly, hee came to *Augustodunum* afore said; like as if he had beene a leader of long continuance, and of great name above others for courage & policy; ready to set upon the Barbarians fragling heere and there, whensoever he could see his opportunitie and advantage. After deliberation therefore had, together with the assistance of those that were skillfull in the Countries, what way he might make choice of to march with safetie, much was said to the point, to and fro: while some opined, That they must goe by **Arborosa*, others againe, by the countie of the *Leuci*: But when certaine of them secretly suggested, That *Silvanus* late colonell of the footme, passed venturously, though hardly, with eight thousand aid-souldiers by more compendious and shorter waies, howbeit suspected because they are darke and much shaded; *Cæsar* strived and strained much to imitate with all his might the venturous boldnesse of that hardie leader; and, because no delay might impeach this project, taking with him none but the men of **armes* and balistiers, unmeet souldiers to protect and defend their ruler, passed the same way through, and came to **Autofidorum*. Where after he had with short rest (as his manner was) refreshed himselfe and his souldiers, he marched on to the *Tricastines*; and as the Barbarians came violently upon him by troupes, part of them (for he feared them as farre more in number) he observed with strong wings and flankes standing close together; some againe by taking the advantage of the higher ground before, hee easily ran downe upon and trod underfoot; others, for feare yeelding themselves he tooke prisoners; the rest whose care was altogether imploied to make shift with quicknesse to escape, because, encombred as he was with heavey armour, he could not follow in chase, he suffered to goe away without harme. Now therefore upon a more assured hope, being confirmed in his resolution to resist all violent occurrents, through many dangers

*Vienna.

*Aurum in Burgundie.

*24. of Iann.

*Arbois in Burgundie.
*The about Toul.

*or coviders, footmen heavily armed at all places.
*Auxerre. Orrel.

dangers he came to * Tricasse, so unlooked for, that whiles he was in manner rap-
ping at the gates, such a multitude of Barbarians were spread all about, that for dread
of them there was no entrance into the citie without much ado, and many a cu-
rious circumstance of consultation. And when he had stayed there a little time,
while he provided for his wearied souldiers, thinking it not good to slacke his busi-
nesse, he goeth straight to the citie of Rhemes: Where hee assembled his whole
armie together, and charged them to give attendance, and wait his comming at
Vesontium: the governour whereof was *Marcellus*, who succeeded *Vrsicinus*;
and *Vrsicinus* himselfe was commaunded to abide in those parts unto the end of
this expedition. Wherefore, after many and sundry opinions delivered, when it
was agreed once to set upon the people of Alemaine in ten territories, the souldiers
in thicke squadrons marched thither more willing and cheerefull than they had
wont: and for that the day was so foggie and daike, that they could not see a ve-
ry small way before them, the enemies having this advantage, that they knew the
coast of the countrey, traversed a crosse crooked way behind *Casars* backe, and
charging upon two legions as they were gathering their armour together, they
had put them all well neere to the sword, but that a suddaine outcrie made, caused
the aid-forces of our associates to assemble themselves. From hence forward, sup-
posing that he could not passe either waies or waters without ambushments, hee
became very provident, tooke leisure, and cast more doubts: a speciall point of
good policie in great Commanders, and which is wont both to helpe and save
whole armies. Hearing therefore, that the Barbarians possessed of the cities **Ar-
gentoratum*, **Brotomagus*, **Taberna*, **Saliso*, **Nemetæ*, **Vangiones*, and **Ma-
guntiacum*, inhabited the territories lying about them (for the townes themselves
they avoid, no lesse than dennes and places beset round about with net and toyle)
he seized first into his hands *Brotomagus*; and as he advanced toward it, a power
of Germanes encountered him in the way, and offered him fight. Now, having
arraunged his men in a two cornered-battaile, when they began once to cope to-
ther, and the enemies were driven upon a two-fold mischiese, whiles some of them
were taken prisoners, others slaine in the very furie of the medley, the rest made
shift with speedie footmanship to escape and get away. When as no man there-
fore after this was seene in the field to make head, thought good it was to set for-
ward and recover **Agrippina*, which before *Casars* comming into Gaul had been
raced and destroyed: through all which tracts there is neither citie to be seene,
nor castle, unlesse it be at the **Confluentes*, a place so called, where the river **Mo-
sella* and *Rhene* meet together, and there standeth **Rigodulum* a towne, as also
neere unto **Colonia* it selfe one tower. Being therefore entred into *Agrippina*,
he stirred not out from thence, before such time as the kings of the Franks being
terrified, and their furie well delayed, he both established a peace for the good (in
the meane while) of the Commonweale, and also recovered the said citie, most
strongly fenced. He joyous of these good hanfels and overtures to conquest and
victorie, departed by **Treviri*, minding to Winter at **Sens*, a towne then of good
importance: where carrying (as they say) upon his shoulders a world of warres,
comming like a floud upon him, distracted hee was with manifold cares, namely,
how the souldiers which had forsaken their wonted garrison townes, might eie-
soones be brought to suspected places of danger: how hee might discomite and
scatter the nations that had layed their heads together, and banded themselves to
worke the Romanes mischiese: and how to foresee, that his armie like to range
divers

divers waies wanted not victuals. As he pondered and carefully cast these matters
in his mind, a multitude of enemies giveth an attempt upon him, mightily en-
amed with hope to win the towne; and the more confident in this their enterprise,
because they had learned by the information of certaine fugitives, that neither the
band of the *Scutarij* nor **Gentiles* were there, as being bestowed in sundry town-
ships for their better feeding and diet. When he had therefore shut the citie gates,
and fortified that part of the wall which was weake and undefensable, himselfe in
person, together with the armed souldiers, was usually seene both day and night a-
mong the bulwarkes and battlements, in boyling heat of anger setting to himselfe,
and gnashing his teeth, That having many times gone about to sally and breake
out upon the enemies, he was ever checked and impeached, by reason of the small
forces that he had presently about him. But in the end, after thirtie daies the Bar-
barians went away ill appaied and sad, mumbling softly to themselves, That vaine-
ly and foolishly they had ever thought of besieging the citie. Besides all this (a
thing that must be imputed as a great indignity) whiles *Cesar* was in this jeopardy,
Marcellus Generall of the Horse, who abode then but in the next stations, drave off
to aid him: whereas, albeit the citie had beene distressed without the princes bee-
ing there, it ought to have beene rescued and delivered from the calamities that fol-
low a siege, by making head againe with another power.

CHAP. II.

The verses of Iulianus, becomming a magnanimous prince, Ammianus
Marcellinus exactly describeth.



Cesar, a prince right puissant and of wonderfull action, was no sooner
freed from this feare, but in that constant carefulnes which he alwaies
carried, he provided for his souldiers, that after their long travaile they
might have some rest, though but short, yet sufficient to refresh their
strength: albeit those lands, soulely out of order by reason of extreame want (as
having beene so often wasted) afforded but small meanes meet for the main-
tenance of life. But when with watchfull diligence order was taken also in this be-
halse, his mind being lifted up with a sprinkling of more plentifull hope of pro-
perous successe, he bent the same to the practise and performance of many worthe
parts. The first thing therefore that he did (hard though it were) was this, that he
enjoyed unto himselfe rempeance, and kept the same full living as if he had been
tied to the **Sumptuarie* lawes; which being from the **Oracles of Icycurus* (that
is to say, *The shingles or tables of wood called Acones*) brought over to Rome, long
time observed, and beginning to grow out of use, *Sylla* the Dictator by little and
little restored, making this account, and tharout of the propheties or sage sayings
of *Democritus*, *That Fortune setteth out a sumptuous and superfluous table, but Ver-
tue, a scant and frugall*. For *Cato Tusculanus* also, who in regard of his severe and
precise life came to be surnamed *Censorius*, wisely defining of this point: *Great
care thou hast* (quoth he) *of trim furniture, and as great carelesnesse of vertue*. Fur-
thermore, reading continually as he did a little booke, which *Constantinus* sending
his sonne in law to the Vniversitie, had written with his owne hand, setting down
an order over-liberally, What should be the experience of *Casars* boord, he expresse-
ly forbad, That Fesant, and the daintie meat made of the mother and **udder* of a
young sow that newly farrowed, should be called for and served up to the table, as
con-

Rhetor.*Wherein the
Oracles or Lawes
were written.***His wives sonne.***Valerian & Julianus*

con-

**Strasbourg.*
**Brotomagus.*
**Taberna. Simulacrum.*
**A towne be-
tweene Strasbourg
and Treves.*
**Agrippa.*
**Metz.*

**Colin.*

**Culobene.*
**Stricell.*
**Agrippa.*

**Colin.*

**Treves.*
**Aquidunum.*

contenting himselfe with the course meat and such as came next to hand of a common labouring souldior. Hereupon it happened, that hee divided the nights according to a tripartite or threefold function, *For sleepe, for affaires of State, and for his booke*: a counsell that *Alexander* the Great, as we read, used to take. But this our prince did the same more stoutly of the twaine. For *Alexander* having a bason or pan of brasie set beneath by his beds side, held with his arme stretched out of the bed, a silver ball, that as sleepe came upon him, and had let loose the stiffe sinewes of his joints, by the ringing sound that the said ball made when it fell downe, he might breake off his sleepe: But *Iulian*, without any such devise or meanes, wakened as oft as he would; and rising alwaies at midnight (not out of a feather bed, or from under coverings of silke, glittering againe with sundrie bright colours, but from a quilt or tapistrie carpet spred on the ground, or some homely rugge, which the simple common people tearme *Sufurna*) secretly did his devotions, and prayed unto *Mercurie*, who (as we are taught out of the learning of Theologie) is the swift intelligence of the world, stirring up the motion of our minds; and in so great want of things, upon sure advertisements provided for the Commonweale. After which high and serious businesse ended, he turned himselfe to the exercise of his wit: and a man would not beleeve with how great and ardent desire in seeking after the profound knowledge of principall matters, and in gathering together certaine forage and stooover (as it were) for to feed his mind, climbing up still unto higher points of learning, he by way of wise disputation ran through all parts of Philosophie. But yet how effectually and fully soever he got the furniture hereof, he did not cast at his heeles the meaner sciences, as having an indifferent good insight into Poetrie and Rhetoricke (as may appeare by the uncorrupt elegance and mildnesse of his Orations and Epistles, joyned with gravitie) as also into the manifold histories both of our owne and also of forraigne acts. Besides all this, he was able to discourse and deliver his mind sufficiently in the Latine tongue. If then it be true which divers writers report, That king *Cyrus*, *Simonides* the Lyricke Poet, and *Hippias Elus* that most quicke and eage Sophister, had excellent memories, for that they attained thereto by drinking certaine medicines; we are to thinke verily, that this man also being then come to his full growth, dranke up a whole tunne of Memorie, if possibly it might any where be found. And these truly were the nightly signes of his modest temperance, and other vertues. But as touching that which he delivered by way of gallant speech, or pleasant conceit; or how he behaved himselfe in the preparation for fight, or in the very conflict of battaile it selfe; as also, what enormities in the civile State he reformed by his magnanimitie and the libertie that he tooke, it shall be shewed particularly in due place. Whē he was compelled, being a student yet in Philosophie, to exercise the first essays and introductions to militarie knowledge, as a prince, & learned the artificiall feat of footing with measures the warlike dance in armes, to the musick of the life and flute; he often naming *Plaso*, came out alowd with this old proverbe, *This is right, A pack saddle on a Cowes backe*; surely this is no burthen fit for my shoulders. When by a certaine solemne order or custome there were certaine *Messengers or Pursuivants brought into the Consistorie, to receive *gold, among others, one of their companie tooke it not, as the manner is, within the lap of his mantle spred abroad, but with the hollow ball of both hands: and with that, *These Pursuivants or Intelligencers* (quoth the Emperor) *can skill how to catch, and not to larch [money]*. Being given to understand by certaine parents, That their daughters, young vir-

* *Agitation in the law.*
* *For their pay or reward.*

gines, were forcibly ravished, he passed a decree, That hee who had abused them, upon conviction should be confined and sent away. Now, when the said parents of the maidens complained of the indignitie they suffered, in that the partie was not put to death, this answer he made: *Thus farre forth* (quoth he) *let the lawes blame my clemencie: but as for an Emperour, hee ought to excell others in the love of a most mild and gracious mind*. Hee was on a time about to goe forth to a certaine warlike journey or expedition, and many called upon him by the way for justice, as having sustained some wrongs; whom he put over and commended to the rulers of provinces, to have their complaints heard: and after his returne, he enquired what every one of them had done, and according to his gracious mercie that naturally he had, he mitigated the punishments of their offences. Last of all, setting aside his victories, whereby he put to flight or defeated the Barbarians, whom he slew in battaile, without touch many times of any contumacie, hereby most of all it appeareth, what good he did unto the Gaulois, labouring (as it were) for life in extreame penurie, in that when he entred first into those parts, hee found there was demanded by way of tribute five and twentie pieces of gold for every poll, but at his departure thence, seven onely for full satisfaction of all duties: in regard whereof, they joyced with cheerefull mirth and dauncing, as if the cleere Sunne after ugly darkenesse had shone upon them. To conclude, wee know, That unto the very end of his Empire, and to his dying day, he observed this one thing right profitably, that in matter of paying tribute he remitted not the overplus remaining and arrearages, by way of indulgences, as they call them: for well he wist, that in doing so, he should somewhat mend and better the estate of the rich; whereas well knowne it is, that the poore every where, in the very beginning of the *taxes and imposts, are compelled to make full payment, without any easement or relaxation at all. Howbeit, amid these courses and waies that hee tooke, to rule and governe with moderation, which good princes are to strive to imitate, the rage and furie of the barbarous nations brake out into a flaming fire: and like as wild beasts, wont to live of ravine and prey when keepers be slacke and negligent, use not to depart and leave their wont when these are removed, no not if stronger be set in their place, but growing outrageously wood for hunger, without regard of life, run upon whole herds and flocks of cattell: even so they also, when all was spent which they had gotten by spoyle and pillage, as hunger urged them, divers times raised and drave booties away, and otherwhiles againe, before they could meet with ought, came short and died for it.

* *Dispersed ravens.*

CHAP. III.

Troubles in the Courts of Constantius, whose eares lay open to all accusations. Arbetio brought into question by some, escaped without harme. Iulianus himselfe being accused, had for his patron Eutherius the Eunuch: the singular gifts of whose mind are here declared.



Hus for that year went these affaires in Gaule, doubtfull in hope, yet luckie ynough in the event. But in the Emperours *traine etvie ceased not to barke and carpe on every side at *Arbetio*, as one that made way alreadie to the imperiall purple robe, and would shortly attaine to the highest dignitie it selfe. And a certaine *Courtier, by name *Perissimus*, came borely upon him, letting slip with open mouth exceeding hainous matters, and namely

* *Comitatus, or Count.*

* *Courtier, or Counsellor.*

namely charging him openly, That being of a common souldior raised to a high place of service in the armie, he nothing contented therewith, as being but a small advancement, aspired to the chiefe and soveraigne honour of all. But especially one *Dorus*, who had beene Physician or Chirurgical to the Scutarij, was the man that challenged and followed him most, who being under *Magnentius* preferred at Rome to be Centurion of the * Niciterij, had (as I related before) accused *A. delphius*, governour of the * citie, as one that began to shoot at higher designs. Now, when the matter came to the sifting and iudiciall examination, and his inward friends were about this businesse detained in prison, so that now there was expected some prooffe of crimes objected, suddainly as it had beene in a maske or enterlude, by the helpe of some gentlemen of the bed-chamber (as the constant rumor made report) both the persons attached and imprisoned, as accessarie and privie to the thing, were delivered out of bands, and *Dorus* also vanished out of sight; *Verissimus* likewise quickly held his peace, and all was hush, like as upon a stage, when the play is done, and the hangings are taken downe. At the very same time *Constantius* being enforced at the mouth of such as chanced to come to the Court, that *Marcellus* succoured not *Cesar* when he was besieged at * Senones afore said, him he discharged of his militarie oath, and commanded to depart home to his owne house: who, as if he had received some grievous injurie, plotted and practised somewhat against *Iulianus*, presuming upon the Emperour, whose cares were open to every accusation. And therefore, when *Marcellus* was in his departure, *Eutherius* * chiefe Chamberlaine, was straightwaies sent after him, readie to confute and evict him, in case he should forge any untruths. But he not wate thereof, came shortly after to Millaine, bustling and keeping a foule stirre, (as he was a vaine talkative foole, and more like a mad man than otherwise) where being admitted into the Consistorie, he chargeth *Iulian* to bee a malapart person, and one that fitted himselfe already with stronger wings, that he might fore up higher, for these were the very words that he spake, and that with a great gesture and motion of his bodie. Whiles he fell a forging of these imputations in licentious manner, *Eutherius* (according to his owne request) was brought in place, and commanded to speake what he would; who in modest tearmes and few words sheweth, how the truth was coloured and covered with lyes: For *Cesar* (quoth hee) having beene long besieged in Senones, while the * Captaine of the Forces slackt his service and sat still (as it was verily thought) of purpose, by provident and watchfull industrie drave backe the Barbarians: and withall he undertooke even with the pawning of his owne head for it, that the said *Iulian* should continue during his life a loyall minister and dutifull servitour to his first founder. This present matter hath put me in mind to insert somewhat briefly as touching the same *Eutherius*; for that if *Numa Pompilius* or *Socrates* should give some good reports of a gilded person, and bind the same with a religious oath, they would bee charged to have swerved much from the truth: but, among brambles there grow roses, and of wild beasts some waxe tame and tractable. Wherefore, I will summarily declare the principall things that have beene knowne concerning him. Being borne in Armenia of free parentage, and taken prisoner by the enemies borderers, and even whiles he was a very little one carried away, sold he was unto a couple of Romane marchants, and brought to the palace of *Constantine*: where by little and little, what with skillfull training, and what with good government, he gave sufficient prooffe of an honest course and carriage of life, as also of wit and knowledge: as being instructed in li-

terature as much as might suffice one of that state and calling, passing quick of conceit in devising and inventing of doubtfull and scrupulous questions: it exceeded also, what an excellent memorie he had: very desirous to doe good, and full of righteous counsell: whom if *Constantius* the Emperour would have regarded in times past, when he was in his growth and youthfull yeares, he might have heard him as one of maturitie and stayed ripenesse, giving many precepts and lessons tending to honestie and justice, and then had he not sinned at all, or at leastwise committed but veniall trespasses. This *Eutherius* being * principall Chamberlaine, now and then would seeme to reforme even *Iulian* also, nuzzled and engrafted in the manners of Asia, and therefore vaine and unconstant. Moreover, having retired himselfe aside to a quiet life, and afterwards being taken estoones into the palace (as he was of sober behaviour alwaies, and passing well stayed) two notable and singular vertues, Faithfulnesse and Continence, he embraced so, as that he was not challenged at any time, as the rest have beene, either to have disclosed a secret, unlesse it were to save another mans life, or to have burnt in greedie desire of getting and having more. Whence it came to passe, that withdrawing himselfe anone after to Rome, and there settled and resiant until he was well steeped in yeares, carrying about with him a good conscience to keepe him companie, esteemed hee is and loved of all degrees: whereas such kind of persons are wont commonly, after they have gotten riches by unjust and indirect meanes to seeke for secret corners, as flyers of the light, shunning the sight of the multitude whome they have wronged. To which of all the gilded Eunuches in old time I should compare this *Eutherius*, in perusing many a time the monuments of antiquitie, could I never find. For there were long since in our auncestors daies, some of them, though very few, trustie and profitable [to their lords,] yet stained and spotted with certaine vices: For with those speciall good qualities which any one of them had gotten by studious endeavour or naturall wit, he was either given to greedie extortion, or over-siercelly and felly bent, or hotely set upon doing mischief, or too too kind and pleasing to those that loved him, or else excessive prowd in the over-weening of his own greatnesse: but of any one Eunuch, every way so skilfull and well qualified, I confesse I never read nor heard, notwithstanding I have presumed upon the sufficient testimonie of our age. But if happily any curious reader of Antiquities, set in opposition against us *Menophilus*, an Eunuch to *Mithridates* king of Pontus, let him upon this advertisement call to remembrance, That nothing hath beene recorded of him but this onely, which he gloriously shewed in his utmost extremitie: The foresaid king, after he had in a mightie great battaile beene vanquished by the Romans and *Pompeius*, flying to his ancient inheritance the kingdome of * Colchi, lett within the castle Sinhorium his daughter named *Direpsis*, grievously afflicted with sicknesse, as committed to the charge of this *Menophilus*: who keeping this virgin most safe for her father, now that she was by all the meanes that physicke could afford, persily cured, what time as the said fort wherein she was enclosed began to be besieged by *Manlius Priscus*, the Lord generals lieutenant, when he perceived that the defenders of the place were minded to render it up, fearing least to the shameful reproch of her father the young maiden now marriageable should remaine a captive, and her bodie be abused, killed her first, and soone after with his sword stabbed himselfe in to his very bowels.

CHAP. IIII.

Other examples of Tragedies acted in Constantius his Theatre. The confident and fortunate liberitie that Vrsulus an honourable person used in defence of the truth. The stupiditie of Constantius maketh way to civile troubles and calamities: whereof there be examples laid open worth the observation.



Now let me returne from whence I have digressed. After that *Marcellus* (as I have said) had taken the foile, and *Serdica* (the place of his natiuitie) was destroyed; within the Emperours * *Campe* many horrible acts, under pretence of maintaining his imperiall maiestie were committed: For if one had sought for counsell unto any of these cunning men or wifards about the squeaking of a rat, the meeting of a weazill in the way, or for any such praefaging signe; or if hee had used any old womans charme and enchantment to mitigate paine (a thing that by the warrant of physicke may be avowed) the partie being hereof enformed against (how and by what meanes he could not guess) and therupon in all hast endited and arraigned, suffered death for it. About the same time the report went, there was a certain man named *Damus*, whom his wife onely upon a feare and terror had accused of slight matters, guiltie indeed or unguiltie whether hee were, I list not to avouch; but for want of defence hee was by *Rufinus* insulted over and beguiled: who gave information of some particulars that he knew, by *Gaudensius*, a Pursivant or Intelligencer, and by *Africanus* the * *Consulare* governour then of Pannonia, when they had given notice of the principall in the office belonging to *Præfatus Prætorio*, whiles also * hee as chiefe actor by way of vow and earnest promise, twice, as the speech went, induced and brought the wavering and fickle minded woman, after hee had filthily lyeen with her, into danger of doing her selfe hurt, and persuaded her, by packing a number of lyes together, for to accuse her guiltlesse husband of treason, and namely to forge thus much, That he had stolen a purple garment or covering out of *Dioclesians* sepulchre, and with the privitie of some hidden it. Having thus framed these matters to the utter destruction of many, * *himselfe* (in hope of greater booties) hies apace to the Emperours campe, there to raise false flanders after his wonted manner. Knowledge being taken of this thing, commaundement was given, That *Marcellus*, then * *Lord chiefe Iustice* under the Emperour, a man of high resolution, should with streight inquisition looke throughly into the crime, having joynted with him in commission to heare the case, *Vrsulus* * *high Treasurer* to the Emperour, a man likewise of commendable severitie. After this matter therefore was aggravated according to the condonion and good liking of those times, when nothing upon the torture of a great many could be found, and the Iudges were at a fault, and to seeke what to do; at length the truth (which had bene over-much oppressed and smothered) breathed againe, and upon the very point of necessitie the woman confesseth *Rufinus* to be the author of all this machination, neither suppressed thee the filthie adulterie committed: and howsoever presently with contempt of lawes much debate and canvassing there had been to and fro, yet at length by order and justice both of them had sentence of condemnation given, to dye. *Constantius* having intelligence hereof, fared and fumed; lamenting also, that the protector (as it were) & defender of his life was perished, sent out his horsemen post, and

* *Court*: five
military
nearmes
were
allegorically
there taken up.

* *Consularen*.

* I greatly suspect
this place to be very
corrupt and defective,
untilt these
fewe more perished
scriptures may be found,
it must passe in this
manner.

* *Rufinus*.

* *Præfatus Prætorio*.

* *Longissimi comitis*.

and commaunded in threathening manner *Vrsulus* to returne unto the Counsell. And he verily rejecting those that would have stayed him, brake through them fearelesse: and being entred into the Conffistorie, with free speech and bold heart declared what had bene done: and thus having stoutly stopped the mouthes of all flatterers, that they had not a word to say, delivered both the Prefect or Iustice above said and himselfe out of a great danger. Then happened that in Aquitaine which fame bruited farther abroad: A certaine craftie coulsener being invited to a sumptuous feast (whereof there be many in these countries) seeing a paire of fine * *linnen counter-points*, with two buttons so exceeding * *large*, as that by the side of the servitors they might meet and close together, and a table spread with the like naperie, carrying in both hands the fore-part of his cloke, the whole furniture within, as the clothes had adorned and set it out, together with the principall things; a rich patrimonie (I assure you) he * *swoop* away. With like malicious naughtinesse a certaine Pursivant or Intelligencer employed in Spaine, bidden seembly to a supper, when he heard the boyes that were bringing in lights at evening crie out as the manner is, *Vincamus*, i. *Let us winne*, making a wicked and hainous interpretation thereof, brought to ruine and destroyed that noble house. These and such like pranks were played every day more and more, for that *Constantius* beeing exceeding timorous, feared alwaies, that he was the marke they shot at, even as *Denis* that tyrant of Sicilie: who upon the very selfe-same infirmities taught even his owne daughters to play the barbers, because he would not commit his face to any stranger for to be haven & made smooth, and that little house or rowme in which he was wont to lie, he environed about with a deep ditch, and made over it a draw-bridge, that might be unjointed & taken asunder every peece, the dis-jointed planks and pinnes whereof he carried over with him when he went to bed, and the same he set together againe in their joynts when he was to goe forth in the morning betimes. To these trumpets that sounded the al'arme of civile troubles, the great men likewise in the Emperours house gave blast, to the end that they might beg the goods of condemned persons, and unite them to their owne. For as it appeared by manifest proofes, *Constantine* was the first of all that opened the innes of these favours: but *Constantius* was he that fedd himselfe with marrow of the provinces. For under this Emperour the heads and principals of every state and degree were infinitely enslaved with a greedie desire of riches, without respectie difference of justice and right: among the ordinarie * *Judges*, first *Rufinus*, * *Lord chiefe Iustice*, and among the militaie and martiall men, *Arbeto*, * *Master or Generall of the Horsemen*, and * *Provost of the bed-chamber*. *Vrsinus* also, Prefect or * *Captaine of the Knights* order, and in the * *citie Antium*, the * *Quæstor*, or Treasurer: who aiming in his posteritie at a prince-like and royall port, could never be satisfied with extraordinary possessions. But the Persians in the East, by theiving and robbetrie, rather than (as their usuall manner was) by encountering in the field and by battaile, raised booties both of people and of cattell, by which sometimes they gained, as coming upon a suddaine, and otherwhiles over-matched with multitude of soldiers, they lost. Now and then also they were not permitted once to have fight at all of that which might be carried away. Howbeit, *Julianus* * *Lord chiefe Iustice*, in those parts, furnished (as I have said before) with many good ans, yet a corrupt man, given to briberie, and for money easie to be turned from the truth, by means of certaine spies suborned and sent out of purpose, cunning artificers in deceiving and juggling, enquired after the projects and plots of the Persians, joyning with him

* *Toralum*, on table cloth.
* Neither is this
passage so sound
as it should be.

* *Exortis*, or *Exortis*.

* That exercise
civilis jurisdiction.
* *Præfatus Prætorio*
* *Equitum magister*
* *Præfatus equestri*
* *Præfatus equestri*
* *Præfatus equestri*
* *Rome*.
* *Quæstor*.

* *Præfatus Prætorio*.

him in such consultations *Cassianus** Lord & Warden in the marches of Mesopotamia, a warrior hardened in sundry services and dangerous exploits. Who notwithstanding plaine intelligence giuen unto them by the faithfull relation of the said spies, agreeing all in one talke, that [king] *Sapor* in the utmost marches of his kingdome, after much slaughter and blood shed of his people could hardly repell the nations that infested his dominion; yet by the meanes of base and obscure souldiers in secret conferences, they were in hand with [the* Lord Warden] *Sapor*, who lay very neere unto our province, that if opportunity might serue, he would by letters aduise the king to make a firme peace, now at length with the Romane Emperor; whereby, he being secured on every side, might tame and subdue his enemies that continually molested him. *Sapor* the faide* Warden condescended hereunto, and having gotten thus much, and trusting thereupon, enformeth the king, that *Constantius* much encumbered with most grieuous warres, by way of entreaty required to haue a peace. And whiles these letters were sent unto the Chionites and Halani, in whose confines king *Sapor* wintered, a long time passed betwene.

CHAP. V.

Constantius, a cowardly prince, shrinketh upon a triumph: and with a mischievous long traine, which is here as largely described, in greates pompe enueth Rome.



Hiles these matters were in disposing thus, according as the times required, as well in those parts as in Gaule, *Constantius* hauing now shut up the temple of *Ianus*, and vanquished all his enemies, was very desirous to see Rome, and to triumph without any glorious matter of name, (after *Magnentius* his overthrow and death) even over Romane blood: for neither vanquished he by himselfe any nation that made warre, nor understood of any conquered by the valour of his owne captaines, nor laid aught unto the Empire, ne yet was seene in extremitie of daungers, either formeost, or among the formeost: but only forsooth, that he might shew a goodly pompe (reaching out a mighty length, his banners stiffe againe with goldsmiths worke, and a beautifull traine of his gard,) unto the people liuing now in much tranquillitie, and neither hoping nor wishing ever to see the like sight againe: as he that knew not peradventure, that some of the auncient princes in time of peace verily contented themselves with the attendance of their serjeants and officers; but when the heat of battailes could abide no slacknesse, one* in all hast to haue committed himselfe to a forward gale of winds to a fishers boate; another after the example of the Decij to haue given away his life for the Common wealth; another againe, in his owne person among the meanest souldiers to haue viewed the enemies camp as a spie; and in one word by diuers noble and valiant acts, to haue growne famous; to the end that by a renowned memoriall they might commend their glorious acts unto posteritie. So soone then, as he had disbursed much in preparation of roiall furniture and bestowed gits upon every man according to their deserts, in the second* Præfectship of *Orphius*, after he had passed by* *Orciculum*, lifted up on high with great honours, environed also and garded with a traine of admirable troupes, conducted he was, as it were, in battaile aray, and all mens eyes became wholly fixed and bent in the beholding of this sight. Now when he approached the citie, as he

he beheld with a gracious countenance the Senatours according to their places giving attendance in dutifull wise, and the reverend presence of the noble Patricians; he thought not as *Cyneus* that embassadour of *Pyrrhus* did, that a number of kings were assembled together, but the very temple & sanctuarie of the world was there in place. From whom, when hee had turned himselfe toward the common people, he wondered exceedingly, how quickly all the men in the world thus conflowed to Rome. And as if hee had beene to terrifie Euphrates or Rhene with a shew of armour, as the ensignes went on both sides before, himselfe was mounted alone upon a chariot of gold, glittering againe with bright precious stones of sundrie sorts, with whose shining there seemed to be a certaine mingled light, and manifold degrees, in an alternative course, of high powers in authoritie: whiles others againe were compassed about with the Dragons, wrought with woules of purple thred, and those fastened to the tops of speares, all gold, and set with costly gems, gaping and blowing with wide mouth, and therefore hissing as if they were angry, and therewith leaving their winding tails to wist in the wind. And on both sides marched a double ranke of armed men, with targuets and crested helmets, sending raies and beames from them of brandishing light, wearing upon them fine* habergeons: and the men of armes here and there entermingled on bard horses, whom the Persians use to call *Clibanarij*, harnessed all over with good coferlets, and bard about with guards of Steele: so as one would haue taken them for Images finely polished by the hand-worke of *Praxiteles*, and not for men indeed: about whom also there went thin plated hoopes, made fit and handsome for the bending of their bodies, and running all over their limmes; so that which way soever they had need to stirre and moove their joynts, the apparrell or habiliment would agree thereto, the joyning thereof was so meet, and served so well every way. He therefore being saluted with luckie acclamations by the name of *Augustus*, whiles the noyse of voice and trumpet together thundered out a broken sound, trembled againe, shewing himselfe just in that sort, and so unmooveable, as hee was wont to be seene in his owne provinces. For both he bowed downe his bodie (and that was very low) as he entred in at any high gates, and also with a stiffe necke, as if both head and it had beene of one piece all armed, casting his eye directly before him, he turned his face neither on the right hand, nor the left, as if he had beene the image of a man: neither was he seene so much as to give a nod with his head, when the wheele shogged, nor to spit or wipe his lips, or blow or rub his nose, no, nor once to wag his hand: which albeit he did with an affectation, yet were these gestures and some other besides which he used in the rest of his life, no small tokens of patience and speciall gifts that he alone had, as it well might be thought. Moreover, that during all the time of his Empire he neither tooke up any man to sit with him in his carroch, nor admitted any privat person to be his companion in the honourable estate of Consul, as princes haue been wont to do: as also many other things, which he (raised though he were to an high conceit and pride of himself) observed as most equall and indifferent lawes, I omit to set down, remembering well that I related the same when they occurred.

CHAP. VI.

What deeds and words passed at the same time in that citie. Eusebia the wife of Constantius reacheth at the person of Helena, Iulians wife, by wicked arts. Constantius terrified with continuall and certaine news, as touching the waiting and robberies that some Nations made, leaveth Rome.



Herefore, being entred into Rome, the very seat of the Empire, and habitation of all virtues, and come to the Rostra, that most renowned Hall of justice in time of ancient rule and government, he became astonished: and being dazed with the sight of so many wonders of the world, on what side soever he cast his eyes, after he had spoken unto the nobilitie in the Senate-house, and to the people before the tribunall and judgement seat, received into the palace with much favour and applause, he was fully possessed now of his wished-for joy. And oftentimes, as he exhibited the games of horse and chariot-running, he tooke much delight in the merrie jests and scoffes of the common people, as long as they were not proud and insolent, nor swerved from the manner of their in-bred and native libertie, himselfe also in good respect and reverence keeping a due meane: For he suffered not (as in other cities) the games to bee ended at his owne pleasure, but (as the manner is) permitted many things, and yielded unto divers chaunces. Afterwards taking a full view as well of all parts of the citie, situate within the tops of the seven hills, partly upon the bending of them, and in part on the plaine beneath, as also the suburbs without the walls by the citie side; whatsoever was presented to his sight first, that thought he to surmount all the rest; and namely, the temples of *Jupiter Tarpeius*, as farre surpassing as heavenly things excell the earthly: goodly Baines built in manner of provinces: the huge frame of the Amphitheatre strongly raised up and wrought with Tiburtine stone, closely layed and couched together; up to the top and loover whereof hardly can a man see: the Pantheon, like unto a round region supported with arch-work right beautifully, of a great height: also the lofty pulpits and mounts, elevated with ascents up to them by winding staires, carrying the counterfeits and personages of Consuls and former princes: likewise the Temple of the citie. the Hall of peace, the Theatre of *Pompeius*, the *Odeum^a and Stadium, *i.* the Race; besides other stately buildings and beauties, among these, of that eternall citie. But when hee was come to the goodly Hall of *Traianus*, the most singular piece of worke under heaven (as we thinke, yea, and by the assent of the very gods admirable) he stood still as amazed, while he considered and thought of those gyant like workes round about, so ineffable, and not of mortall men to be reached at and attempted againe. Without all hope therefore to endeavour or attempt any such thing, onely the horse of *Traian*, standing in the midst of the Court yard, on which the Emperour himselfe is portraied sitting, he said: *Thou hast been would and also could diminish: whereat Hormisdas, a prince of the blood royall, standing hard by him (whose departure out of Persis I declared before) shaped him this answer, and that after the manner of his country gesture: Command O Emperour (quoth he) she like stable to be built before, if thou be able: then the horse which thou art disposed to make may come after and take up as*

^aThe Theatre of Musike and Poesie.

^bPerfian, or a Persian Courtesier.

large

large a rowme as this dorch which wee behold. This very potentate being asked, What he thought of Rome? said; *Heeooke contentment in this onely, that hee had not learned, How even there also men are mortall.* The Emperour therefore, after he had seene many things that stricke him into a dreadfull astonishment, complained of Fame, as if she were either of small force, or else maliciously disposed, which using alwayes to make every thing more than it is, yet in the blasfing abroad of these monuments in Rome, fayleth of her strength: and after long deliberation, What he should doe? he determined in the end to adde somewhat to the ornaments of the citie, namely, to erect in the Cirque or shew-place that stood next, an Obeliske, the originall and forme whereof I will shew in place convenient. In this meane while *Eusebia* the *Queene, being her selfe baraine all her life time, practised even then against *Helena*, the sister of *Constantinus*, and wife of *Iulianus Caesar*, who was brought to Rome under a colour of love and affection, and by a wyle drew her on to drinke a medicine little better than poyson, which she had gotten for her, to this end, that so often as she was conceived with child, she might miscarrie, and cast an untimely fruit: For before time also in *Gaule*, when she had brought forth a man child, she lost it by this deceitfull cast: for that the midwife (bribed for a piece of money) by cutting away the navell-string of the new-borne babe (more than was meet) killed it: so great care and such diligence was used; that the issue of so valiant a man might not come to light, or grow to good proofe. Well, the Emperour very willing and desirous to make some long abode in this seat, of all others most full of majestie, to the end he might thereby enjoy more pure repose and pleasure, was terrified with continuall newes, and those reported for certaine, which gave him to understand, That the Suevians made roades into the *Rhaetia*, that the *Quadi* also invaded **Valeria*, yea, and that the **Sarmatians*, a people most expert in theiving and robberie, wasted the upper **Mæsia*, and the second **Pannonia*. Wherewith he being much mooved, upon the thirtieth day after he entred into Rome, to wit, the *fourth before the Calends of June, tooke his journey from the citie, and hastened by the way of **Trent* into *Illyricum*. From whence, after he had in the place of *Marcellus* sent *Severus*, an experienced warriour and by long continuance grounded, he commanded *Vrsinius* to repaire unto him: and hee having received these letters gladly, came to **Sirmium*, accompanied with his fellows: and after long pondering and consulting about the peace, which (as *Masonianus* had related before) might be established with the *Perfians*, sent backe he is againe into the East with the autoritie of **Generall* of the Cavallerie: and when the elder sort of our companie were **advantaged* to the conduct and rule of souldiours, we the younger men had commandement to attend upon his person, readie to performe whatsoever he should commaund, in the behalfe of the Common-wealth.

*or Emperesse.

*part of Pannonia
Tartarians,
Moldavia of France.
*part of Hungarie.

*29. of May.

*per Tridentum.

*Sirmich, Orzel.

*Magister,
Provost, forte
Prefect.

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CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Iulian having passed the Winter at Senones, invaderth the Alemanes, raging above their wonted manner, passeth over the Rhene at a foord, and after he had with many foiles and overthrowes weakened them, forceth them to retire out of the Islands of Rhene into the further parts.



BVt *Caesar* having passed a troublesome Winter at **Senones*, in the year that the Emperour was the ninth time Consul, and himselfe the second, by occasion that from Germanie there were menaces thundered out on every side, remooved in a fortunate houre and with good prefiging tokens, and made halt to Rhemes, more cheerefull and joyous, because the government of the armie was committed to *Severus*, a man neither given to discord, nor yet arrogant, but of approoved frugalitie a long time knowne in warfare, and the souldiors were readie to follow him directly going before, as being a leader also himselfe guided by his commission. In another part, *Barbario* after the death of *Silvanus* preferred to bee Colonell of the Infanterie, by commaundement from the Emperour, with a power of five and twentie thousand armed men came to Rauraci. For devised it was, and carefully ordered beforehand, That the Alemanes, who raged above their wonted manner, and raunged all abroad, by a redoubled power of our forces marshalled in manner of a paire of tongs, being driven into a strait, should be beaten downe and hewed in pieces. Howbeit, whiles these projects, so well thought of and digested in good order, were hastening forward to the execution, the Barbarians right joyous, and as cunning to take their times for to steale and rob, passed by in secret wise betweene both armies where they lay encamped, assaulted **Lugdunum* and losse was no sooner knowne, but *Caesar* sent out three cornets of light armed, and those right valiant, horsemen, and observed three waies, knowing that by them (without all doubt) these robbers would breake away and escape. Neither failed he of effecting that which he projected: For all they that went out by those waies were cut off, and the whole pillage recovered untouched: they onely escaped cleare without harme, who passed in securitie by the fence and fort where *Barbario* lay, suffered to slip away, because *Bainobaudes* a Tribune, and *Valentinian* (Emperour afterwards) with troups of horsemen which were in their regiment, ordained for the execution of that charge, were by *Cella*, *Tribune of the Scutarii (who joyning with *Barbario*, came to that piece of service) forbidden to observe that passage, by which they had intelligence: the Germanes would retorne. The Colonell* of the footmen not content herewith, being himselfe a coward, and an obstinate backbiting depraver of *Iulianus* his glorious deedes, knowing that himselfe had given that commaundement against the good of the Romanes (for so much confessed *Cella*, when he was charged with this point) deceived *Constantinus* in making relation thereof; and he fained, That these very same Tribunes came with a pretence of some publike negotiation of the state, to sollicite the souldiors whom he had conducted. For which

cause,

cause, being deprived of their place of commaund, they returned home to their houses as privat persons. At the same time the Barbarians (who had seated themselves on this side Rhene) affrighted with the comming of these armies, some of them skilfully by hewing down mightie strong and big trees, stopped up the waies quite, which otherwise were hard to travaile in, and of their owne nature full of steepe cliffes, and well neere unpasseable: others having gotten the Islands lying thicke scattered along the river Rhene, making a piteous yelling and howling, rayled a good both at the Romanes, and also at *Caesar*: who being highly displeased and wroth for to catch and attach some of them, craved of *Barbario* eleven of those shippes, which hee (as minding to passe over the river) had provided to put and joyn together for bridges: who, because nothing might be obtained at his hands, set them all on a light fire. At the last, advertised by the information of spies and discoverers newly taken prisoners, that being now the hote season of Summer, the river might be waded over, after exhortation given, he sent the auxiliarie light armed souldiors, together with *Bainobaudes*, *Tribune or Captaine of the Cornuti, with the favour of Fortune minding to achieve a memorable exploit: who one while wading through the shallow foulds, and sometimes bearing themselves upon their shields in manner of troughes, or small punts, swam over to an Island neere by: and being landed, they killed all they found one with another, without any regard of sex, male or female, and of age, old or young, as if they had beene so many sheepe. Now, after they had gotten to them some emerie boats, rowing by the meanes of them, tottering though they were, they brake into many of such places; and when they had their fill of slaughter, being laden with rich spoyle (a part whereof they lost by the violence of the river) they returned all in safetie. And upon the knowledge hereof, the residue of the Germanes abandoning the Islands as an untruistie place of defence, got away their wives, children, and dearest friends, together with their corne and barbarous riches, unto places further remote.

CHAP. VIII.

A Fort named Tres-Taberna he reedifyeth. Chonodomarius and Vestralpus, Aleman kings, after they had put to flight Barbario, Colonell of the Romanee footmen, and chased part of the armie with a puissant army, set them downe neere unto Argentoraturn, and by their embassadours insuls over Iulianus.



C*Caesar* turning from hence to the reedifying of Tres-Tabernæ, a fort so called, not long since, by the obstinate assault of the enemies destroyed, which if it were once re-built, sure he was, that the Germans might be kept off from entring into the in-land parts of Gaule, as they had wont, he both finished this worke sooner than was looked for, and laid up for one whole yeare for those that were to bee placed there, to defend the place, food sufficient, which had beene gathered together by the souldiors hand, without feare of danger, even out of the Barbarians harvests. And verily, not content herewith onely, hee purveyed also for himselfe victuals to serve twentie dayes. For these warriors the more willingly made use of that which they had gotten

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with

*Cem.

*Lyons.

*Tribune Scutarii.

*Barbario.

*Tribune Cornuti.

with their owne right hands, as taking great snuffe and indignation, because they could have nothing of that provision of corne which was newly brought unto them: for that *Barbasio*, when he passed hard by, proudly caught it up before hand, and the residue which remained behind, helayed upon an heape, and burnt it every jot. Which, whether he did like a vaine and braine-sicke foolke, or boldly enterprised many wicked attempts by commandement from the Emperour, was not then knowne. Howbeit, this was bruited abroad in all places, and rife in every mans mouth, That *Iulian* was not chosen [*Cæsar*] to give easement to the distressed state of Gaule, but that hee might by most cruell warres there come to his end, being then (as it was thought) but a fresh-water souldior, and one that could not endure so much as the clattering noyse of armour. Well, whiles the worke about the sayd fort goeth apace forward, whiles part of the souldiors maketh fore-fences abroad in the fields, and others againe gather corne warily, for feare of ambushments, the barbarous multitude preventing with exceeding celeritie the rumour of their comming, having violently on a suddaine set upon *Barbasio* and the armie which hee had the conduct of (as hath beene said) divided and severed from them by a Gaulish fortification, and following them in chase as farre as to the Rauraci, yea, and further as long as they could, after they had carried away the greatest part of their carriages, labouring beasts, and campe slaves, returned home againe. And he, as if hee had performed a notable and fortunate expedition, bestowed his souldiors here and there in their Wintering harbours, and returned to the Emperours Court, minding to frame an action and accusation against *Cæsar*, as his manner was, readie at all times bitterly to assayle and vex him. When this foule foyle and terror was once disperfed and spread abroad, the Aleman kings, *Chenodomarius* and *Vesltrapus*, *Prinus* also, and *Vrsacius*, together with *Secapio*, *Suomarius*, and *Horvarius*, assembling all their forces and power together into one place, sat them downe neere unto Argentoratum, supposing that *Cæsar* was retyred for feare of utter extremie, whereas he continued still busily employed about the finishing of the fort above said. Now, that which made them the bolder to beare their heads more confidently, was a certaine false and fugitive (*Scutarius) who fearing punishment for a crime committed, fled unto them after the departure of his captaine put to flight, and declared, that there remained not above fiftene thousand armed men with *Iulianus*: for that number (indeed) followed after, whiles the fierce and cruell Barbarians were on every side set upon rage and furious fight. Upon whose constant avouching still of the same tale, they were pricked on with boldnesse to dare greater matters; and so sending their embassadours away, imperiously ynough commanded *Cæsar* to depart out of those landes which they had conquered by their valour, and at the swordes point.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Whiles the enemies thus proudly brave it out, Iulianus politiquely looking to himselfe, exhorteth his armie to fight. The souldiors and captaines of the Forces cheerefully approve the counsell of their Generall and Commandeur.



Cæsar, who could not skill of cowardly feare, was neither driven into a fit of anger, nor stricken downe with griefe and sorrow, but laughing at the vaine presumption of the Barbarians, kept these embassadours untill the worke of the fortifications was fully ended, and persisted still in the same degree of resolution, and stirred not a foot. Moreover, king *Chenodomarius* bearing himselfe big in every place, and the chiefe setter of dangerous enterprises, kept a great stirre, and made a trouble and confusion of all beyond measure, lifting up his browes aloft with a proud looke, as one highly conceited, in regard of the fortunate successe many times of his affaires: for not onely in a plaine pitched field he encountered *Decemius Cæsar*, and gave him the overthrow, but also rased and sacked many wealthie cities, yea, and for a long time invaded and over-ran Gaule at his pleasure, whiles there was none to gainelay or withstand him. And that which confirmed yet more his confident boldnesse, was the fresh discomfiture and flight of a great *Leader, who for number and puissance had the ods. For the Alemans beholding the badges and armes of their shields, knew them to be the same souldiors, who had let some few of their brigands and robbers enjoy land, for feare of whome, sundry times when they buckled in close fight, with losse of many, they went away disperfed and in disarray. Whereat *Cæsar* was very penfive, and tooke the matter grievously, that having (upon urgent necessitie driving him thereto) escaped such daungers, he was now enforced with a few (though valorous men) to affront and encounter so populous nations. And now that the bright Sunne beames began to appeare, and the trumpets to sound, the footmen were led forth marching faire and softly, and the troupes of light horsemen flanked them on the sides as wings, betweene which were bestowd the *Corselettiers and the Archers, a dreadfull kind of armed souldiors: and for as much as from the place whence the Romanes advanced their standers unto the Barbarians fort, it was foureteene leagues, that is to say, one and twentie myles, *Cæsar*, in good regard as well of vantage as of securitie, called backe the fore-runners that pricked forth before, and after silence proclaimed by the usual Oyes unto his souldiors, standing about him by bands and companies, made according to his naturall disposition this mild speech: *The regard of maintaining the common safetie, urgeth Cæsar (so speake most sparily) a man of no base and abject mind, for to exhorte and beseech you my fellow souldiers, that presuming as you doe upon your well growne and stout valour, you chuse rather the warie way either to endure or to put backe the perils feared, than that which is over-bastie and doubtfull. For as in dangerous adventures meet it is there should be a forwardnesse of manhood and boldnesse, so (if occasion require) the same ought to be regible, advised, and considerat. What mine opinion is therefore, if your iudgements shall accord thereto, and iust indignation enforce, I will in brieve declare. The day groweth well now to nooneside, and we (retired out and wearied with a tedious journey) shall be welcommed with stonie and blind maies, the night in the wane and eide of the Moone, not likey to have helpe of any shining starres, the better before*

*Barbasio.

*Corselettiers, in complete harness, or armed at all pieces.

*One of the band of cavalry.

before us burns up with heat, have no comfort or succour of waters: which if any man should make good and effect, that we may well and with ease passe through, when whole troups of enemies after rest and refectiō of meat and drinke come rushing violently upon us, where are we then? What vigour can we have (seeing our bodies are enfeebled with hunger, thirst, and travaile) to make resistance? For as much therefore, as against most difficult busineses a dispose and order thought upon in time hath oftentimes afforded remedie, and when right counsell given hath bene taken in good part, divine meanes even from heaven above sometimes have recovered and set upright the tottering estate of mens affaires; here, I beseech you, let us (empaled within a rampire and trench) take our rest, dividing the watches by turnes: and having for the time enjoyed the benefit of sleepe and food convenient, advance forward (with the leave of God be it spoken) at the breake of day our triumphants standards and victorious ensignes. The souldiers, that could not well endure untill the end of his speech, gnashing and grinding their teeth, and shewing their hot desire to fight by knocking their shields and speares together, besought him earnestly, That they might be led forth to give the enemy battaile, who now was within sight, trusting upon the favour of God in heaven, confident also in themselves, and presuming upon the approved vertues of their fortunate leader and director, and (as the end shewed) a certaine comfortable *Genius there in place readie, so long as he was present, excited them to fight. To help forward this alacritie and cheerefulness of theirs, there was the full assent also of the great captaines and high officers, especially of *Florentius*, *Præfect of the Prætorium; who all with one accord agreed, That great reason they had on their side to fight, (though it were with much danger) whiles the barbarous enemies pressed on all in plumpes and heapes; who if they once should turne aside out of the way, hee said, that the stirres of our souldiers (given too much upon an in-bred heat of theirs to feditious commotions) would be intollerable, as who could hardly endure, without the attempt of some extreme course, the victorie (as he thought) wrested out of their hands. Furthermore, a two-fold consideration there was, that encouraged and emboldened our men, calling to remembrance, that the yeare last past, when the Romans raunged at their pleasure all over the countries beyond Rhene, there was not scene any man to defend his own dwelling house, or to make resistance: but when the lanes and wayes on every side were stopp'd up with the lopping and cutting downe of trees lying thicke together, during the nipping cold of mid Winter, the Barbarians thus remooved farre off, had much adoe to live: as also, that vpon the Emperours entrie into their lands, they not daring eyther to resist or to shew their heads, upon their humble request and entreatie obtained peace. But no man considered all this while, that the case of the times was altered, for then they were combed & kept downe with a three-fold mischief: namely, while the Emperour lay fore upon them in Rhætia, *Cæsar* hard by, permitted them not to escape any where, and the next borderers (whom civile discords caused to be their enemies) were readie in a manner to tread upon their necks behind, being thus hemmed in on every side. But afterwards, upon a graunt of peace the Emperour being departed, those neighbor nations now after the matter and cause of their brawles allayed, were reconciled and growne to agreement: and withall, that most dishonourable departure of the *Romane leader, much encreased their pride and stoutnesse naturally in-bred in them. Likewise it went worse on the Romans part by another meanes, and that upon such an occasion and occurrent as this. Two brethren there were of the bloud royall, who being fast tied by vertue

of that peace which they had obtained from *Constantius*, durst neither raise any uprore, nor so much as once stirre. But within a while after, when one of them, named *Gundomadus*, the greater person of the twaine, and more firme of his word, was by a traine murdered, all his people conspired and banded with our enemies, and presently withall the common sort also of *Vandomarus* his subjects (as it was affirmed) joyned themselves to the forces and regiments of the Barbarians that made warre. Well, when all the armie from highest to lowest gave their allowance, that it was even then a convenient and meet time to joyne battaile, and slack'd nothing of their resolute minds fully bent to fight, all on a suddaine the Standard-bearer cried out in these termes. On forth most happie and fortunate *Cæsar*, whither the kind favour of fortune leadeth thee. By thee at length we have a sence of valour and militarie policie. Advance forward, and lead the way, as a luckie and valiant warrior, marching in the vaward band before the standards. Good proofe thou shalt have, whas souldiers (in the sight of a warlike leader and an *inseparable witnessse of service to be performed) will be able upon these motives and encouragements to do, in case it may please the God of heaven to assist them.

CHAP. X.

The order of the Alemans armie, and the principall commanders thereof. Iulianus a second time wisely encourageth as well his owne men as strangers to give battaile.



When they heard this, without any further respire or delay the whole armie marched on, and approached an hill of a pretie height and easie ascent, spread all over with standing corne, now ripe and readie for harvest, not farre distant from the edge or banks of Rhene. From the top whereof, three horsemen of the enemies lying there in espiall, rose up, and readie to give notice suddainely, that the Romane hoast was neere at hand, made hast to their companie. But one footman, not able to follow, was taken by the quicke pursute of our men, who told us, That the Germanes for three dayes and three nights together passed over the river: whom, when our leaders espied hard by arraunging themselves thicke and close together into squadrons, they made a stand, and thrust not a foot, whiles the *Antepilani, the *Hastati and the foremost of every ranke in the vaward stood firme and fast, like a strong and insoluble wall: and with semblable warinesse the enemies kept their ground, and made no hast forward. And when (according as the foresaid fugitive had told) they saw all the Cavallerie on the right side opposite unto them, the very flower of their horsemen they bestowed thicke thronged together in the left wing; and among them here and there they entermingled skirmishers and footmen lightly appointed. For well they wist, that an horseman of theirs (though a skilfull souldior otherwise) fighting with our man of armes in complete harnais, whiles he holdeth his shield and reines of the bridle, by shaking and casting his speare with one hand, can doe no hurt unto a warrior hidden wholly under an yron armour of proofe: but that a footman in the very point and heights of dangers (when no man is wont to take heed of aught but that which commeth in his way and encountereth him) as he creepeth close to the ground, by digging into the horse side is able to throw the rider over his horse head, ere he be aware, and then may he with small adoe be killed. Having marshalled the matter thus, the right side of the battaile they flanked and made

*Individua.

*chief of the maine battaile.
*Pikemen.

made sure with secret and blind ambushments. Now, the chiefe leaders of all these warlike and fierce nations were *Chonodomarius* and *Serapio*, in higher place of power and authoritie than the other kings. And *Chonodomarius* verily, the mischievous fire-brand of the whole warre, with a flame-colour wreath or tassell fitted to his crest, advanced before, and led the left wing (a man bold, and trusting upon his wonderfull strength of bone and brawne) where the heat of battaile was looked for, mounted on high upon a lustie frothing couster, bearing with him a great breadth, and bignesse of bulke, with his lance in rest, and that of a terrible bignesse, all bravely to be seene in glittering armor, both an hardie souldior aforetime, and also a good leader above all others. But the right side was conducted by *Serapio*, even then a lustie gallant, with tender downe growing on his cheekes, but for action more forward than his yeares, the sonne of *Chonodomarius* his brother, *Medericus*, a most perfidious wretch all his life time; so called, for that his father, kept as an hostage or pledge a long time in Gaule, and having learned certaine hidden Greeke mysteries, changed the name of this sonne of his (who originally at the first was cleped *Agenarichus*) into *Serapio*. After these followed kings or potentates, next in power unto them, in number five, and princes of the bloud royall tenne: also a great traine and ranke of nobles, with five and thirtie thousand fighting men all armed, levied out of sundry nations, partly for wages, and partly upon covenant and agreement to have the like service tendered unto them againe. By this time terribly sounded the trumpets of alarme; and then *Severus*, a Romane leader, who had the commaund of the left wing, when he drew neere unto the trenches above said full of armed men (from whence order had beene given afore, that lying there close and hidden, they should start up of a suddaine, and breake the arrayes) he stood still without all feare, & being somewhat suspitious of blind ambushments, hee attempted neither to recule backe, nor to step forward any further. Which when *Cæsar* saw (as he was courageous to enter upon the services of greatest danger) guarded with a troupe of two hundred horse, according as the heat of the service required, and riding swiftly among the footmen where they stood embattailed, he gave them comfortable words of encouragement. And considering that to speake unto them all at once, neither the large ground that they tooke up stretched forth in length, nor the number of so great a multitude assembled would permit; and otherwise, he avoided the heave load of envie and displeasure, for feare he might be thought to affect that which the Emperour supposed due to himselfe alone, taking good heed unto himselfe, and riding apace without the shot of the enemies, with these and such like speeches he animated the souldiors, knowne and unknowne, one with another, to play the men, and doe their devoire valiantly. Now (quoth he) *is come the full time of fighting (my good friends and companions) which you and I have long since wished for, and which heretofore yee required, calling for armes after an unquiet and misunio manner. Likewise, when hee was come to others behind the* ^{Ensignes} and placed in the rereward: Behold (saith he) *my fellow souldiors, the long hoped for day is now here, which compellerh us all so wash away the former staines and blots received, and so to recover unto the maiestie of the Romane Empire their owne due honour. These are the Barbarians, whom excessive furie and rage, to the utter overthrow and destruction of their whole estate, hath forced to come in the way of our puissance, so be foiled and troden under foot. Semblably, others well experienced by long practise in the warre, as he arraigned them in better order, he encouraged with these and such like exhortations: Let us rouse up and be-*

stirre

stirre our selves, right hardie knights, let us put away by that forniude which is fit, the shamefull reproches fastened upon our associates, which as I beheld (with much doubting and delay-making though it were) I yielded to take upon me the name of Cæsar. But whomsoever hee perceived inconsiderately to call for the signall of battaile, and with unruly stirres like to breake his commaundement: I beseech you (saith he) doe not marre the glory of our future victorie, by following over-greedily the enemies, whom yee are so put to flight; nor any of you give ground and yeeld before extreame necessity. For such as shall bee about to flye, doubtlese I will forsake: with them that are so wound the enemies backs I will be present, without any difference, and even as one of you, in case this may be done with moderate and warie advisement.

CHAP. XI.

A bloudie battaile fought betweene the Alemans and Romanes, wherein the wisdom, valour, and invincible courage of Iulian especially appeareth.



He often iterated these and such like words after the same manner, he opposed the greater part of the armie full against the fore-front of the Barbarians: and suddainly there was heard a noyse of the Aleman footmen, mixt with indignation, crying out with one accord and voice, That the princes of the bloud royall leaving their horses, ought to converte and keepe companie with them; for feare, that if ought should happen but well, they would leave the miserable common souldiors, and make shift easily to bee gone out of the field. Which beeing knowne, *Chonodomarius* quickly alighted from his beast on foot, and the rest following his example without delay did the same: for there was not any one of them made doubt that their side should win the day. When as the signall therefore of battaile was by sound of trumpets solemnly given, they encountered one another with great violence. Then were the darts and arrowes discharged & seene flying in the aire: and the Germans running with more hast than good speed, & drawing weapons with their right hands, with hideous gnashing of their teeth flew upon the troups of our horsemen: and as they fared and raged above their wonted manner, their long shag haire made a terrible sight, and from their very eyes a certaine furie sparkled forth: against whome the [Romane] resolute souldiors covering their heads by putting their shields betwene, what with holding out their swords, and what with brandishing their darts threatening death, greatly terrified them. And whiles at the very point of the medley on both sides, the horsemen strongly entrouped themselves, and the footmen stoutly fortified their owne sides, making a front by joyning their bucklers most close and fast together, there were raised up clouds of thicke dust: much running there was, and traversing of the ground betweene them divers waies, whiles our men one while made head, and another while gave ground: and some of the Barbarians (as most skilfull warriours) striving to oppose and set their knees forward, laboured hard to repell the enemy. But such was the exceeding resolution of them on both sides, that presently they came to handie strokes, and their buckler pykes thrust one another; so that the skie rang againe with the lowd voyces, as well of them that shouted, as those that were feld and readie to die. And when our left wing advancing forward still with full pace, had by maine force driven from them so many bands and companies of the Germanes, preading hard upon them; and with a great noyse in angrie mood charged upon the

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Barbarians, our horsemen which kept the right wing, in great disarray beyond all expectation left the battaille: and whiles the foremost of them that fled hindered the hindmost, so soone as they were within the protection of the legions besome, they stayed and renewed the fight againe. Now, this fortune upon this occasion, that whiles the broken ranks and files were a setting againe in order, the men of armes in their complete harness seeing their captain lightly wounded, and one of their consorts killed with the weightie armour of his horse fallen upon his necke, slipped out of the way, and made shift every man as hee could: and with treading the footmen down, they had put all in rout, but that they, close thronged together, and bearing one upon another, stood their ground sure, and mooved not. When *Cæsar* therefore perceived a farre off, that the horsemen looked all about them, for nothing but how they might make meanes to escape by flight, he galloped his horse toward them, and like a barre in the way restrained them. Whom when they had taken knowledge of, by the purple ensigne of a dragon fitted to the top of a very high lance, as if it had beene the pendant slough of a serpent, a certaine Tribune of one troupe stood still, and being stricken with feare, and looking pale upon the matter, rode backe againe to renew the battaille: and, as men love to doe in doubtfull cases, *Cæsar* after a mild manner rebuking them: *Whither goe wee backe (quoth he) most valiant souldiers? Know yee not, that flight (which never found safe) becometh the folly of a vaine attempt? Returne we to our companie, so be partakers at least wile hereafter of glorie, how ever we forsake them inconsiderately, whiles they are fighting for the Common wealthe.* By these words which he spake with good respect, he brought them all backe againe to undergoe the offices of warfare, having followed herein the example of old *Sylla*; who when he had brought forth his forces into the field against *Archelaus*, a captaine under *Mithridates*, and was in a hote battaille wearied out and forsaken of all his souldiers, ran to the foremost ranke in the vanguard, caught up a banner, and when he had sung it to the other side against the enemies: *Now goe your waies* (said he) *you that were chosen to be my fellows in all dangers, and so as many as shall aske you, Where I your Generall am left? answer thus, and saile not, He is left alone in Beotia, fighting for all us with the spending of his owne blood.*

CHAP. XII.

A most sharpe conflict of the footmen fighting close as hand strokes, and that with variable fortune. At length the Alemans put to flight, are defeated, and suffer a fearefull overthrow.

THe Alemans therefore, after they had discomfited and disbanded our horsemen, charged upon the forward and front of the footmen, minding by casting away all mind and purpose of resisting, to make head first, and cause them to recule. But after they were come once to cope at hand-strokes, the fight was maintained a long time in equall termes. For the Cornui and Braccati (redoubted souldiers through long experience of warres) manfully received them, being now at the point to set up a mightie great shout, called *Barrus*: which outcrie in the very heat of the medley, beginning with a small humming, and growing bigger by little and little, riseth higher, in manner of waves beating against the rocks. After this, as the arrowes and darts flew thicke to and fro with a singing noise as they flew, the dust that arose by the equall stirring

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of both sides, tooke away the eye-sight, and caused them to run their armour and bodies one upon another. But the Barbarians without all order, what with violence and what for anger, burnt like a flaming fire, and the close jointed shield-fence which defended our men in manner of a rouse, they hacked and hewed with many a stroke of the sword. Which being knowne, the Baravi, together with their kings (a puissant and terrible troupe) ran in with speed to helpe their fellows, ready to rescue and deliver them (with the assistance of fortune) in that extremity, compassed in, as they were, round about. But the Alemans, as they began fiercely to fight, puffed and blowed hard, as if in some furious fit they would have utterly destroyed all that stood against them in their way: Yet gave not over the javelines and casting-darts, yea, and the yron headed arrowes were let flye, although in close fight also one weapon stricke upon another, and the habergeons were cloven with swords; and such as were wounded, before all their blood was shed out, rose up againe to doe some service before they died, for they were after a sort very even matched: the Alemans strong and the taller; our souldiers by long experience and practise cunning: those, fierce, fell, and turbulent; these, quiet and warie: the Romanes bold of heart and courageous, the other presuming upon their mightie big bodies. Howbeit, otherwhiles the Romanes with the weight of armour driven back, rose up againe: & the Barbarian, when both his knees were wearied with stepping and pressing forward, bowing his left ham backe, would ease himselfe, and lye close behind, ready yet to give an assault upon his enemy; which is a token of obstinacie and stiffe resolution in the highest degree. And so there leapt forth suddenly a gallant troupe of the nobles, among whom the kings also fought, and having the common sort following after, before all other brake within the battailions in the vanguard of our men, and so making themselves way, came as farre as to the legion of the *Primani*, *placed in the midst, which guard and strength they use to call *Castra Prætoris*; where our souldiers thicker arranged in many ranks and files, and therefore in manner of towers standing their ground firme and fast, with greater courage fell to fight againe: and so carrying an heedfull eye, how to ward all venies, and covering themselves close in manner of a sword-fencer, with their drawne swords ran their enemies into the sides, where by reason of their hote and furious anger they lay most open. And the Barbarians againe, fully bent to spend their lives for to gaine victorie, assayed to leuse our battaille so jointly knit together: but seeing a number lying dead in rewe all the way before them (whom the Romanes now, upon taking better heart unto them, had layed along) followed on (as many I meane as remained alive) in place of the laine: and when they heard many a groane of those that lay a dying in the place, for exceeding feare they were stricken astonied. Outwearied at last with so much painefull toyle, their strength served them thenceforth onely to flye, and so by divers and sundry lanes they made shift with all the speed they could to get away; much like unto mariners, who make hast from out of the midst of furling waves in a boisterous tempest at sea, to be cast upon land which way soever the wind carrieth them. The Romanes then upon this victorie (a thing rather wished than hoped for, as any man will confesse that was there present) worship the gracious power of God, so propice and mercifull unto them. Howbeit, our souldiers without all mercie slashing and hewing them upon the backs as they fled, when otherwhiles, by reason their swords were bent and rebated, they had not wherewith to strike any longer, thrust the Barbarians to the very heart with their owne weapons: neither was there one of

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them that for all this wounding satisfied his anger with bloodshed, nor thought his right hand had ynough yet of slaughter, or for any humble entreatie and supplication would take pitie and give over execution. Thus therefore lay a mightie number of them thrust through the bodie to death, craving none other remedie, but quickly to bee dispatched of their lives. Some halfe dead, when their breath began now to faile, fought about yet with dying heaue eyes for meanes to liue longer: others had their heads cut in manner quite off with huge weapons, so as they hung downe, and had no more hold than by the very throats: a number of them in the micrie and slipperie ground chauncing to slide and fall downe in the blood of their fellowes, although no weapon touched their bodies, were over-whelmed with the souldiors rushing and running over them by heapes, and so killed. The winners having got so good an hand of their enemies, yet preassed on still more forcibly, so that the points and edges of their weapons waxed blunt and dull with striking so thicke, and the bright helmets and shields together lay tumbled under their feet. The Barbarians at last seeing themselves driven to this utmost extremitie, and that the heapes of dead carcasses rose so high, that they stopped all passage out, fought for the onely helpe that remained, even of the river, which now ran hard at their backs. And because our souldiors (running a great pace even under their armour) were not wearie, but preassed still upon them as they fled, some of them supposing that by their skillfull swimming they should bee able to rid themselves of all danger, committed their lives unto the waves of the river. In which regard, *Cæsar* together with the Tribunes and captaines, in a quicke fore-cast, fore-seeing what dangers might ensue, cryed out after a rebuking manner, and gave straight charge, That not one of our men, in hote pursute after the enemy, should venture upon the streame, so full it was of whirle-pits. Whereupon this order they tooke, that standing upon the banks of the river, with sundry sorts of darts and casting-weapons they sticke the Germanes: of whom, if any one happened by swift nimblenesse to get away from the deadly dint of shot, with the weight of his bodie thus plunged, he sunke downe to the bottome of the river: and like as it is in a certaine Theatricall spectacle (where the hangings make shew of strange wonders) a man might now without feare have seene many fights: some, that could not skill of swimming, to sticke close and take hold of them that were good and stout swimmers: others, to float aloft like logs of wood, when they had spent their strength and became faint: a sort of them wound within the waves, and devoured with the violence of the streame, striving (as it were) against them: and some againe carried upon their shields, declining by crooked turnings aside the high furies of the mightie billowes readie to come full upon them, after many a perill passed gaine the bank: on the further side. To conclude, the very forming channell of the river stained and died with the Barbarians, blood was even amased to see such strange and vncouth fights.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Chonodomarius fetched backe out of his sight, and brought unto Iulian, was with clemencie received and sent to Rome, where he ended his daies. The syrophanis in court eclipse the light of Iulians victorie, the glorie whereof (like as of all other exploits valiantly and happily achieved against the enemies of the Empire, in farre distant places) Constantius then being in Italie, arrogantly and fondly durst ascribe to himselfe.

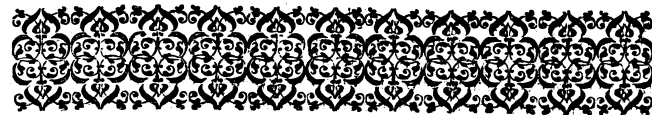
MEane while, king *Chonodomarius* having found meanes to get away, slipped through the heapes of dead bodies, and with some few of his guard hastened with all the quicke speed he could make, unto the campe, which neere unto *Tribunci and *Concordia, two sorts of the Romanes, he had pitched when he was in no feare, to the end, that embarking himselfe into those vessels which were in readinesse for him within secret coves and noukes, against all doubtfull accidents that mought befall him, he might escape. And for that he could not possibly goe into his owne territories without hee passed over Rhene, hee covered his face for feare of being knowne, and so faire and softly retyred. Now, when hee drew neere unto the banks of the river, going about a certaine ditch standing full of moorish water, to see where he might passe over, he ventured upon it, and after his horse had slounced & floundered with his heeles in the soft and clammy mud, he got out of it at length: and straightway, a fat corpulent and heaue man though he were, he recovered for his succour a pretie hill hard by: and then, being knowna (for it could not bee concealed who hee was, the greatnesse of his former estate so bewrayed him) straightwaies, a cohort of horsemen with their Tribune riding as fast as their wind would serve, after they had compassed with armed men the hill, all over-spread with woods, beset it round about right warily, but durst not breake in, for feare least by some deceitfull stratageme and hidden ambush among the darke shadie boughes, they might be welcommed to their cost. Which when the king saw, and how he was driven to the utmost extremitie of feare, forth he went alone, and of his owne accord yelded himselfe. Now, those of his traine and companie, to the number of two hundred, and three of his most inward friends, supposing it a foule shame for them to live after their king, or not to die in his quarrell, if the case so required, delivered themselves up to bee bound as prisoners. And as the manner naturally of these Barbarians is, to be humble in aduersitie, and of a contrarie humour in prosperitie, drawne he was as a vassale and servant to the will of another, with a pale looke and abashed, tongue-tied also and silent, by reason of a conscience guiltie of foule offences: a wonder how much changed and different from that man, who after cruell and wofull outrages insulting over the ashes and reliques of Gaule, threatened to do many and horrible mischiftes. These exploits thus by the favour of the God in heaven achieved, at the end of the day, upon the sound of retreat the most invincible souldiors were called back, and marched neere unto the side of Rhene; where fortifying themselves with a rampier (as it were) of many courses of shields set together, they tooke their repast and repose. There died in this battaile of Romanes 243, and Commanders foure, to wit, *Bainobaudes* Tribune of the Cornuti, and likewise *Laipsoallo Innocentius*, who had the leading of the horsemen, armed at all pieces; and a certaine Tribune *out

*Tribun
*Concordia
*Koblenberg.

of

of ordinarie, whose name I doe not remember : but of the Alemanes found there were lying along in the field six thousand bodies, and whole heapes of dead corpses that could not bee reckoned were carried downe among the waves of the river. Then *Iulian*, as he was a man of greater marke for his place and fortune, yet more powerfull in his deserts than in his command, being by an uniforme acclamation of the whole armie saluted Emperour, rebuked and rared the souldiors as overbold and malapart, binding it with an oath, That he neither hoped for that name, nor was willing to have it. And to enlarge the joy of this happie event, hee commaunded *Chonodomarius* to be presented unto the counsell of warre there assembled : who at the first bowing his bodie downe, and afterwards humbly prostrating himselfe upon the ground, and craving pardon *peaceably after his country manner, was willing to bee of good cheere. And within some few dayes beeing brought to the Emperours court, and from thence sent to Rome in the * mansion of strangers, which standeth upon the mount *Cælius*, died of a Lethargie. After these and such like exploits fortunately performed, within the palace of *Constantius*, some finding fault with *Iulian* (to give delight and contentment to the Emperour himselfe) tearmed him *Victoria*, or *Victorinus*, because that in modest wife making his relation, as often as he gave charge and command, he declared many times that he had vanquished the Germanes. And in the heaping up of vaine commendations and ostentation of things seene openly ynough, they puffed up (as their usuall manner was) the Emperour, of his owne nature too high minded, ascribing whatsoever was in the world fortunately exploited, unto his auspicate direction and happie government. Wherefore, being lifted up on high with the glorious words of these flatterers, both then and thenceforth in his edicts that he published, full arrogantly he made many a lowd lye, writing sometimes, that he alone (forsooth) when God wot he was not in the action at all, both fought the field and woon the victorie, yea, and raised kings of whole nations up on their feet againe, when they humbly made supplication to him upon their knees: and if, for example sake, some great captaine, even whiles himselfe abode in Italie, had performed any valiant piece of service then against the Persians, he would send his letter dight with lawrell unto the armies lying in the provinces, without any mention made of the said captaine in all that long tenor thereof signifying (and that with a most odious vaunting of himselfe) how he personally fought in the vaward. Finally, there be yet extant his edicts in the publique records of the Emperours, truly engrossed, telling memorable reports, and exalting himselfe up to the skie. What time this field was fought at *Argentoratum* (from whence he was fortie daies journey off) hee taking upon him to describe the manner of the fight, untruly relateth. That himselfe arranged the armie in order of battaile, stood among the standerd-bearers, discomfited the Barbarians, and caused them to run headlong away, yea, and encountered *Chonodomarius* hand to hand : ô shamefull indignitie ! without one word speaking of the glorious acts of *Iulian*, which he had quite buried for ever, but that fame could not skill of concealing such brave deeds, howsoever many would seeme to darken the same.

THE



THE XVII. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Iulian infesteth the Alemanes, and after hee had put them to sundry losses, forceth them to crave a truce, which for ten moneths they obtaine.

THIS varietie of occurrents which I have now in order set down thus achieved, the marriall knight [*Iulian*] (now that Rhene after the battaile of *Argentoratum* carried a quiet streame) void of feare, yet carefull withall, least the cursed soules of the aire should devour the bodies of them that lay flaine in the field, commaunded, they should all indifferently one with another be interred : and after hee had released and dismissed those embassadours, who before the said foughten field (as I related ere while) brought certaine prowd messages, he returned to the fort of *Tres-Tabernæ* : from whence he gave commaundement, That together with all the captives, the pillage also should be brought unto * *Mediomatrici*, there to be kept untill his returne : and himselfe intending in person to goe to * *Maguntiacum* (that when he had passed over the river by a bridge framed and set together, he might seeke out the Barbarians in their owne territories, since he had left none behind him in ours) was by the clamorous gaine saying of his armie prohibited : howbeit, with sweet words and eloquent speeches he wrought them so, as he brought them to his owne will and pleasure. For, such was their love, growne now (after triall and experience had of him) more affectionate, that it incited them willingly to follow him a painfull and diligent fellow-souldior with them, a brave leader and commander of them, yea, and wonted, as it evidently fell out, to enjoyne himselfe more toylefull labour than the very souldior. And soone after, when they were come to the place aforesaid, they passed over the river upon a floored bridge of ships, and possessed themselves of the enemies land. But the enemies, who then feared little that they could possibly be disquieted, living as they did in such rest and repose, were stricken with this so great an accident; and thinking carefully by the mischief befallen unto others, what might hang over their owne heads, under semblance of craving peace, to decline the violent brunt of the first tempest, sent embassadours with words in their mouths so framed and placed, as that they pretended & shewed no other but a firme assurance of league and concord : but upon what policie, or to what purpose I know not, they changed their minds, and by other embassadours dispatched in all post hast, they menaced our men most cruell warre, unlesse they departed out of their countries. Hereof certaine intelligence being given,

Cæsar

Cæsar in the very beginning of the night embarked in small and swift pinnaces eight hundred fouldiors, giving charge, that ^{twentie} of them, after they had layled and made way up the river, should set a land, and with sword and fire destroy whatsoever they could meet withall. Thus order being given, at the very Sunne rising, when the enemies were discovered upon the hill tops, hee led the fouldiors now more cheerefull and forward up to the higher grounds : but finding none there (for the enemies imagining as much, were departed) behold forthwith they saw a farre off a mightie deale of smoke wauming up into the aire, declaring plainly, that our fouldiors had broken into the enemies territories, and began to waite and spoyle the same. This object daunted the courages of the Germanes very much, so that forsaking their ambushments, which along the narrow straits and lurking places they had addressed against our men, they passed in all hast over the river named **Mænus* to succour their deere friends. For as it usually falleth out in such doubtfull times of trouble and danger, beeing affrighted on the one side with the suddaine rode of our horsemen, and on the other with the violent invasion of our other fouldiors that came embarked thither, they (skilfull in the coasts of the country) found speedie meanes to get away and escape : upon whose departure, our fouldiors marching on at libertie, rifled rich villages full of corne and cattell, making spare of none : and when they had fetched the inhabitants as prisoners out of their houses (built somewhat curiously after the manner of the Romanes) set fire thereupon, and burnt them downe to the ground. And thus having over-run the country for the space by estimate of tenne myles, so that they were come neere unto a wood that carried an hideous and fearefull shew of darkness, they stood lingering a long time, as being advertised by a fugitive, that within certaine hidden caves under the ground, and trenches running out many waies, there were a great number secretly bestowed, ready to issue forth when they espied their opportunitie. Howbeit, they adventured all of them most boldly to approach the place, and found the foot waies over-layed with holmes and ashes cut downe, yea, and a mightie barricado made against them. And therefore marching backe more warily, they perceived (and that with such indignation and anger as their hearts could hardly hold) that they could not goe forward beyond it, but by fetching long circuits and hard turnings about. Now, for as much as by reason of the rigoros and piercing aire they strugled in vaine with most difficult extremities (for now was the *Æquinox* of the Autumne past, and in those tracts both mountaines and champion plaines were covered with deepe snow) they tooke in hand a memorable piece of worke : And whiles there was no man to withstand their enterprize, a certaine strong fortesse (which being built upon the *Alemans* ground, *Traian* would have to beare his owne name, and had of late been very forcibly assaulted) was by them in hastie manner suddainely repaired ; where for the time were placed fouldiors to defend the piece, and thither the *Viuals* were conveyed which they had gotten out of the very bowels and heart of the *Barbarians* country. Which preparation, when the enemies perceived so speedily brought about for their destruction, fearing least the thing indeed would come to passe and take effect, they assembled themselves together in all hast, and by way of prayer in most humble manner sent their Orators and craved peace ; which *Cæsar* (directed by all policie to take the surest way, & alledging very many motives that carried good probabilitie with them) granted for tenne moneths ; and namely making this account, as he was a prince of provident forecast, That those holds and for-

fortresses which he had seized into his hands, even beyond his hope, and more than he could wish for, without impeachment taught to be fortified with offensive engines planted upon the wals, and other strong ordinance and munition. Prefuming confidently hereupon, there came in from among those that had sent aid to them which were vanquished before *Argentoratum*, three most fell and cruell kings, fearing now at length their owne estates, who tooke an oath in a set forme of words after the manner of their country : *That they would not stirre nor trouble the peace, but truly keepe the covenants agreed upon to the prefixed time expired (because that stood with the will and pleasure of our men) together with the forresse above said safe and whole, yea, and bring corne shisher even on their shoulders, in case the defendants thereof made it knowne that they wanted :* and verily, by reason that feare was a bridle to curbe their perfidious disloyaltie, they performed both the one and the other.

CHAP. II.

The Frankes keeping foule rule about Colonia Agrippina and Iuliacum, hee reprehesh, having besieged and recovered the towne Castellum. Then he takes order, that provincially people should not unreasonably be over-charged with new taxes and tributes, which the Lord chiefe Iustice thought to levie and gather of them.



IN this memorable warre, worthie to be compared verily with those against the Carthaginians and Teutones, and atchieved with the least expence and hurt of the Roman estate, *Cæsar* rejoyced and magnified himselfe as a fortunate and happie prince : and well might a man have beleevd his backbiters, who devised this and gave it out, That therefore hee demeaned himselfe so valiantly in every place, because hee wished rather to die a glorious death, than in the ranke of condemned persons, like unto his brother *Galba* (as they hoped) to be put to death ; had he not with semblable purpose and resolution after the death also of *Constantinus*, become renowned for his admirable exploits. Well, these affaires thus firmly sealed, as in such case might be, returning to his Wintering place of abode, he found the remains fill of his laborious achievements standing in these tearmes. *Severus* Generall of the Horsemen, going by the way of **Agrippina* and **Iuliacum* toward *Rhemes*, lighted upon right strong companies of the Frankens, consisting (as afterwards appeared) of six hundred light armed skirmishers, as they wasted and spoyled the quarters that were without garrisons, who tooke this opportunitie to actuate their boldnesse in doing mischief, because whiles *Cæsar* was busily employed out of the way in the secret parts of the *Alemans*, and none at hand to give them the checke, they thought verily to make up their mouths and fill their hands with rich booties : but for feare of the armie now returned, they possessed themselves of two forts, which in times past were abandoned and left void, and there defended themselves as well as they could. *Iulianus* much troubled with this new occurrent, and guessing whereto it might turne, in case he passed by them undealt withall, kept his forces still about him, and determined to beleaguer the towne **Castellum*, hard by which the river **Mosa* runneth : and so for the space of foure and fiftie dayes, to wit, during the moneths of December and Ianuarie, he stayed about the siege, whiles the *Barbarians* with stout hearts and incredible resolution held out and withstood him. Then

*Colin and Gulich.

*Cælid in Croyde.

*Mænis, or Mænis.

Cæsar a most prudent prince, fearing much least the Barbarians by taking advantage of the night should passe over the river hard frozen, upon the yce, tooke order, that certaine souldiours should every day from time that the sunne began to set until the breake of day in light barges and whirries to and fro froud up and downe upon the river, to the end that by breaking evermore the yce as it began to gather to a coat none of them might easily have means to breake away from him. And by this stratagem being wearied out with hunger, long watching, & utter despaire, they yeelded themselves of their owne accord, and were sent out of hand to the Emperours counsell: for the rescue of whom out of this danger, a multitude of Frankers went forth, but when they understood how they were taken prisoners and carried away, without adventuring any further they retired to their owne holds. Then *Cæsar* having performed these acts, returned to Paris, there to Winter. Now for that it was feared, that many nations would with greater force make head together, this well advised governour casting how deceitfull the issues were of warres, was much perplexed with huge heapes of care. And whiles he verily thought, that during the truce and cessation of armes, short though it was, and full of businesse, he might remedie the miserable losses and burthens that landed men or farmers sustained, he disposed and set in order the accounts of tribute: and whereas *Florentius*, *Lord chiefe Iustice, having taken a survey and review of all as he endevored, did avouch, that whatsoever was wanting in the *poll-tribute, he supplied out of the goods gotten by conquest; he being ware of such dealings, said plainly, That he would forgoe his life sooner than suffer this to be done: for well he wist, that the incurable wounds of these and such like provisions or everfions rather, to speake more truly, brought provinces many times to extreme povertie: which very thing, as afterwards shall be shewed, was the utter overthrow of *Illyricum. Hereupon the said L. Iustice *Florentius*, crying out that he could not endure thus on a suddaine to be made an unfaithfull officer, unto whom the Emperor had committed the immediate managing of the state, *Iulian* after a temperate & sober sort appeasing his mood, by an exact and true computation proved, That the reckoning and summe taken of the foresaid poll-tribute was not only sufficient, but yeelded also an overplus to the necessarie provision of victuals. Yet nevertheless, for a long time after, when an augmentation of taxe and impost was presented unto him, he could not endure either to read or subscribe, but flung it in the floore. And when he was advertised by the Emperours letters, upon information that the said Iustice had given, not to deale so strictly and precisely as that *Florentius* might seeme to be touched in his credite, he wrote backe again, That they were to rejoyce and be glad, if the provinciall inhabitants, wasted so as they were on every side, might yeeld at leastwise their ordinarie and customeable tributes, if not increment & augmentation, which no punishment is able to extort from the poore and needie. And so it came to passe then & thenceforth, through the stout courage of him alone, that no man went about unjustly to fetch from the Gauls **Camelasy*, any thing but the usuall customes. And without any example precedent, thus much by way of intreatie had *Cæsar* obtained at the *Præfects hands, That the ordering and dispose of the second Belgica, which had bin overwhelmed with many sorts of calamities, should be committed unto him, and namely with this condition, That no minister or officer, belonging to Præfect or President, should urge any man to pay. By which comfortable order taken, they being all eased, whom debt distracted apart to take care for themselves, without any calling upon paid their duties before the day appointed came.

CHAP. III.

A long narration as touching the Obeliske, which was erected in the greatest shew-place as Rome.



IN these good beginnings of easement and refreshing given unto Gauls, whiles *Orphius* as yet *governed the second time as *Præfect, the Obeliske was erected at Rome in the great Cirque or Shew-place: concerning which, I will now, because it is a fit time and place therefore, make some briefe discourse. The citie *Thebes in auncient time built, famous for the sumptuous and stately wall, as also for the entrance into it at an hundred gates, the first founders thereupon termed Hecatompylos, after the denomination whereof there is a province at this day called Thebais. This citie, what time as Carthage began to spread her dominion farre, the Carthaginian captaines by a suddaine and unexpected rode surpriséd and destroyed: and afterwards when it was reedified, *Cambyjes* that renowned king of Persia, a prince all the while he lived encroching upon the territories of other kings, and cruell withall, after he had broken into Egypt, gave the attempt to assault it, that from thence he might carry away a mightie masse of riches and pillage, forbearing not so much as the temples and the gifts offered there unto the gods: who whiles he busily bestirred himselfe among those that fell to spoyle and laccage, chaunced by occasion of his loose and large garments that entangled him, to catch a fall forward: with which suddaine and forcible fall, his owne *dagger that he wore close unto his right thigh happened to bee unsheathed, and so dangerously to wound him, that he had like thereof to die. Long time after, *Cornelius Gallus* procurator of Egypt, whiles *Octavian* was Emperour of Rome, pilled and beggered this citie, taking to his owne use the most part of the wealth thereof: and upon his returne home, when he was judicially accused for his robbérie & wasting of the province, fearing the nobilitie, unto whom the said Emperour had committed this matter to be enquired into and examined, who also were highly offended and bitterly bent against him, he fell upon his owne sword, and killed himselfe. This is that *Gallus* the Poet, if I take not my marke amisse, whom *Virgil* bewailing after a fort in the latter end of his Bucolickes, in a mild kind of verse maketh a dittie of. In this citie among mightie great cisternes, and sundry huge massie pieces of worke, exprefely resembling the images of the Egyptian gods, we saw many Obeliskes standing, and others lying along and broken, which the auncient kings, after they had in warre subdued other nations, or growne proud of their prosperitie and high estate, hewed out of the bowels of mountaines (which they stucke not to search for, even among the utmost inhabitants of the earth) erected on high, and in their religious devotion dedicated to the Gods in heaven. Now an Obeliske is a most hard and rough stone, broad beneath, and sharpe above, rising by little and little to a mightie height, and because it might resemble a ray or sunne-beame, waxing smaller and smaller, it is with foure-faces brought up to a narrow top, and the same is smoothed also artificially by the workemans hand. The infinite number of Characters and markes of sundry shapés, termed Hieroglyphickes, which we behold cut every where into it, the auncient authoritie of sacred wisdome from the very first beginning hath ennobled. For they engraving many kinds of birds and wild beasts, even those of another world, by reason that the memoriall of their Emperours more

*at Rome.
much like to a
Lord Iustice or
Mayor.
*in Egypt.

*or Rapias

*Traffellus Præfectus.

*or head-filure.

*Sclavonia.

*Camelages: happily
will for Camelica-
rize.
*or chiefe Iustice.

whom Apollo, a lover of truth, Lord of times, and Vulcane, father of the gods, hath chosen for Mars: a King full of all mirrh, (some of the Sunne, and beloved of the Sunne. From the East part. The first text. The great God of Heliopolis, heavenly, mightie Apollo, the sonne of Heron, whom the Sunne loved, whom the Gods have honoured, King of the universall earth, whom the Sunne hath chosen, a valorous King for Mars, whom Ammon loveth, and he that is wholly full of light, hath procured to be a King eternall.

CHAP. V.

The embassage of Sapor king of Persia unto Constantius, as touching a peace upon certaine conditions to be concluded.



When *Datianus* and *Cerealis* were Consuls, whiles the affaires of State generally throughout Gaule were with more carefull and warie endeavour, in reducing to a better frame; and the feare which possessed the Barbarians for their losses past, quailed their out-rides: the king of the Persians making his abode still within the confines of the frontier nations, and having now made a sure league and amitie with the Chionite and Halani, most fierce and eager warriors, was minded to returne into his own kingdome, then received the letters of *Sapor*, giving intelligence, That the Romane Emperour by way of entreatie desired peace: and thereupon imagining that hee went not about such matters, but that the puissance of his Empire was abated and growne weake, bare him selfe very big, and tooke highly upon him, as seeming to embrace the name of peace, but withall propounding hard capitulations and conditions. Having dispatched therefore in embassage one *Narsens* with presents, in that in-bred humour of pride which accompanied him in all places, he sent his letters unto *Constantius*, the tuncour whereof, as I have heard, was to this effect. *Sapor, King of Kings, partner with the Starres, brother to the Sunne and Moone, unto Constantius Cæsar my brother, in most ample manner greeting. I reioyce and take much contentment now at length, that you have betaken your selfe againe to the best way, and acknowledged the uncorrupt sentence of equitie, as having by experience found what havocke and slaughter the obstinate desire of other mens territories hath divers times caused. Because therefore the words of truth ought to be as libertie and free, and it becometh persons in high place and estate to speake and thinke the same, I will in few words deliver what my purpose and intent is, as calling to my remembrance, how often I have repeated whatsoever I am now to say. That my ancestors Seignorie hath reached as farre as to the river Strymon and the marches of Macedonia, even your owne ancient records do beare witness. These territories and dominions meet it is that I (without arrogance be it spoken) who excell in glorie and number of brave vertues the auncient kings my progenitors, should claime and demand. But evermore and in all places it doth me good, to call to mind and remember, that from my very youth and childhood I have bene so bred, as that I never did any thing whereof I had cause to repent: and therefore I ought to recover Armenia, together with *Metoposamia*, which by fraudulent packing was caught from my grandfather. As for this principle which yee say so much to affirme, namely, That all fortunas events of warre (without difference of vertue and deceit) should be prayed, it hath been never accepted or entertained among us. To conclude, if you will be ruled by mee that give you good and wholesome counsell, see nought by this small parcell which hath alwayes wrought much woe, and cost blood, that you may rule the rest in securitie: wisely considering also,*

also, that even expert Physicians and skilfull Chirurgery proceed on herwhiles to cure, rize and launce, yea and cut away some parts of the bodie, to save the rest whole and sound for use: yea, and that wild beasts are wont to doe the like; who when they perceive wherefore especially they are hunted and taken, forgoe the same willingly of their owne accord, so the end they may live afterwards void of feare. And thus assuredly I intimate and pronounce, That if this my embassage speed not, but returne without effect, after the time once past of Winters rest, with all my forces put in readinesse (considering that I ground the hope of good successe upon fortune and the equitie of conditions offered) I will make haste, as reason shall permit, to come into the field.

CHAP. VI.

The answer of Constantius unto Sapor his letters: The *Tuthungi*, certaine Alemans, are vanquished by Barbatio.



After these letters were a long time well pondered and weighed, answer was returned with an upright heart (as they say) and considerately in this wise: *Constantius, alwaies Augustus, conqueror both by land and sea, unto Sapor my brother, in ample manner, greeting. For your health verily and welfare I reioyce in your behalfe, as minding (if your selfe will) to be a friend hereafter: but this greedie desire of yours alwaies unweild and still more and more encroaching, I mightily blame. You demand *Metoposamia* as your owne, and semably Armenia: you advise me also, where the body is sound, to take off some members thereof, that so it may afterwards continue safe and whole: which counsaile of yours is to be refused rather than by any consent of mine approved. Heare therefore from me the truth, not covered with any subtil delusions, but apart and open, not to be terrified with any vaine threats whatsoever. My chiefe Justice [*Musonianus*] thinking to enter upon a businesse for the behoofe of the Weale publique, had conference and speech without my private and advice by the meanes of certaine ignoble and base persons with a *Marquess* of yours, about a peace: which we neither refuse nor refuse, if so be it may stand with honour and honestie, and not prejudice any ioreinherit our modestie or maiestie. For absurd it is, and undecent, when by the orderly course and traine of our expells achieved, the worlds eares are opened, which envie hath many waies enclosed against us, and when by overthrow of tyrants and a sursers, the whole Romane world is brought under our obediensce, to betray and surrender those Seignories, which we being drawne into the streits of the East parts, have kept so long untouched. But give over I pray you those fearefull menaces, which (as the manner is) be denounced against us: considering no doubt can be made, that we not for slouth and cowardize, but upon meeke modestie, have now and then made defensive warres rather than offensive, and use so often as we are provoked, with a most valiant spirit of courage and resolution to hold and maintaine our owne: as knowing thus much both by experience and reading, that in some particular battailes the Romanes have otherwhiles though seldome received a foyle, but in grosse and in the maine managing of warres never bene overthrowne and defeated. Upon this embassage, sent backe againe without any thing obtained (for there could bee no answer made more fully to the kings unbridled and unmeasurable desire) there followed some few daies after *Prospere* a *Comes*, and *Speffatus* a Tribune and Notarie: likewise, by the suggestion of *Musonianus* the Philosopher, *Eustachius*, one that for persuading was his crafts-master, carrying with them missives from the Emperour, and gifts beside, readie with all their best endeavors by some cunning fetch to stay the prepa-*

* *Præfatus Prætor** *Comes Dux** *Comes*

preparations that *Sapor* made, to the end that the provinces in the North might be extraordinarily fortified. While things stood in these doubtfull tearmes, the *Iuthungi a nation of the Alemans bordering upon the tracts of Italie, forgetfull of the peace and league which they had by curreatie obtained, in turbulent manner wasted Rætia, in so much as beyond their wonted guise they attempted the besieging of townes. To the repressing of whose invasions, *Barbaris* promoted in the place of *Silvanus* to be colonell of the footmen, was sent with a puissant armie: who albeit he was a coward, but full of big and bragging words, yet such was the forward resolution and courage of his souldiors, that most valiantly he overthrew a number of them, in so much as a small portion of them, which for feare of danger fled, hardly escaped, and with weeping eyes and lamentations saw home again. In this bataille, *Nevius* a captaine of the horsemen troupe, who afterwards became Confull, both was (by report) present, and also fought right manfully.

CHAP. VII.

A Report or Historie as touching the dreadfull Earthquakes which shooke the mountaines and many townes of Macedonie and Pontus, together with a Physicall consideration of these Earthquakes.



In those daies there were terrible Earthquakes in Macedonie, Asia, and Pontus, which with continuall thumping shooke many towns and mountaines. But among the examples of manifold calamities, the fall of *Nicomedia, the mother-citie of Bithynia, was remarkable, the accident and event of whose ruine I will both truly and briefly relate. Upon the *ninth day before the Calends of September, early in the morning by Sunne rising certaine thicke gatherings or globes of blacke clouds over cast and darkened the face of the skie, which a little before was cleare and lightome; whereby the bright shining of the Sunne was chafed so away, that things neere at hand, or standing hard by, could not be seene: and thus the eye-sight being dazled, a hideous bleakenesse of a thicke and mirke mist settled upon the ground and over-spread it: then, as if the highest power of heaven discharged and shot off fatal and deadly thunderbolts, raising withall the winds from the principall points and poles of the world, there fell a mightie tempest of raging stormes; by the violent force whereof, the mountaines were so beaten upon, that they groined againe, and there was heard the crashing noise of the sea shore dashed violently upon. After all this followed horrible whirlwinds and fierie impressions, together with a fearefull trembling of the earth, which over-turned the citie and suburbs from the very foundations. And for that many houses standing upon the rising of hills were carried on end, one fell upon another, and all places clattered againe with the monstrous noise of their ruines. Meane while the high and stately tops of buildings resounded with the sundry out-cries of those that sought for their wives, their children, and what neere kinsfolkes and deere friends belonged unto them. In the end, after the second houre of the day, and long before the third, the air now become faire and cleare, discovered all the wofull and deadly downefalls that were hidden before. For behold, some folke thrust and crushed together with an huge deale of rubbish falling upon them, were under the weight thereof pressed to death: others, that stood up to their neckes buried (as it were) within heapes thereof, whereas they might have beene saved, if any had come to helpe

helpe them, for want of succour perished: others againe stucke fast, hanging at the sharpe ends of timber-logs bearing out. With one blow were a number seene slaine, men and women but a little before, but then confused heapes of dead carcasses pell mell huddled together. Some there were, whom the finials of houses leaning forward, bare up, otherwise unhurt, but that they were to die with anguish and hunger. Among whom, *Aristaneus* (governing and taking charge as depute lieutenant of that diocesse or province so affectionately loved, and which *Constantius* in honour of his wife *Eusebia* had named *Pietatis) by this mishap, after long labour and paine yeelded up his vitall breath. Some, having their heads bruised and squized together, or their shoulders or legs severed from their bodies, lying thus in doubtfull plight betwene life and death, piteously crying for Gods sake unto others in the same case, to helpe them, were quite forlorne and left unto themselves. And verily, the greater part of sacred churches and private houses, yea, and of people also might have beene saved, had not the outrageous flames, dispersed here and there for fittie daies and nights together, burnt up and consumed whatsoever was combustible. And now I thinke it a meet and convenient time to report as touching Earthquakes what auncient writers have by way of conjecture collected: for, the hidden depth of the truth it selfe, not onely this vulgar ignorance of ours, but the very everlasting wits also of naturall Philosophers, after long studie upon this point not yet exhaust or worne out, could never reach unto. Whereupon provided it is both in the ceremoniall bookes and also in the rites under the pontifical priests and their Colledges, That by naming one god for another (since unknowne it is which of them thus shaketh the earth) there bee no hainous scandale and damnable sinne committed. But according to the Philosophers opinions, among which *Aristotle* is much perplexed and troubled, these earthquakes fall out to be either within the small caves of the earth, which we [in Greeke] call Syringas, whiles with thicke and often beating the waters wave to and fro, and cast up furies: or els verily, as *Anaxagoras* affirmeth, by reason of violent winds getting close within the ground below; which when they happen to hit and beat upon the sides thereof, hard baked or felled together, finding no way of issue, shake those parts of the earth at which they entered when they were moist. Whence it is, that men observe for the most part, that during an Earthquake, we above the ground perceive no winds to blow, because they are busie in the most remote nookes of the earth beneath. *Anaximander* is of opinion, That the earth waxing drie upon a long and extraordinary drought, or after much moist weather & store of raine, openeth very great chinkes and wide chawnes, at which the aire above with violence and in exceeding much quantitie entreteth, and so by them shaken with a strong spirit, is stirred and moved out of her proper place. For which cause, such like terrible accidents chaunce either in excessive hote seasons, or after immoderate fall of raine from heaven. And hence it is, that both auncient Poets and Theologers also have termed *Neptune*, who hath dominion over the moist elements, **Ennosigaeon* and **Sisichthona*. Now, these earthquakes are observed to be foure manner of ways: for they are either *Brafmatiz, which heaving and raising the earth within, force upward most huge mounts: in which sort, in Asia, *Delos appeared above the water, and *Hiera, likewise *Anaphe and *Rhodus, called in the fore-going ages Ophiusia and Pelagia, drenched in times past with a golden shower: also Eleusin in Boeotia, and the Island of **Vulcane* among the Tyrrheni, with many more beside: or secondly, **Climatiz*, which rushing askew, or sidelong and crooked, lay cities,

*For so much as with Eusebia's name in Greeke.

*i. a shaker of the earth.

*Sables, and thereupon it seemeth to be named Delos.

*Mareum.

*Rhodes.

*Naphos.

*Vulcano.

houses, and mountaines flat: or else Chafinatiz, which by a greater kind of motion suddainly opening wide gulfs, swallow up parts of the earth: as in the Atlantick sea, an Island more than all Europe; and in the gulfe * Crifus, Helice and Bura: as also in Citminia, a part of Italie, the towne Succinientie, swallowed up all in a deepe gaping chinke, lye hidden for ever in perpetuall darkenesse. Among these three sorts of Earthquakes, those that be heard with a menacing noyse, are termed * Mycermatiz, namely, when as the elements by loosening of their joynts encounter and run one upon another of their owne accord, or fall backe, as the ground doth ferde: For then of necessitie the crashing noyse and rumbling of the earth within must bellow and rore like a Bull. But proceed wee from hence to the historie that we have begun.

CHAP. VIII.

Iulianus whiles he maketh his abode in Paris, warresth upon the Alemans. After that the Franks, Salij, and Chamani were defeated and subdued, ther fell out a famine, which in the armie caused a summs and hor murine; which being quenched, our souldiors passe over Rhene, and lay wast the Alemans territories.

BVt *Caesar* whiles he wintered in Paris, hastened with all diligence possible to prevent the Alemans, who as yet were not assembled together; but now after the battaile of Argentoratum become all audacious & cruell beyond all measure, and waiting still for the moneth Iuly, whence they of Gaule use to begin their warre-service and to come into the field, he was much troubled a long time in his mind: For go forth he could not before that come was brought out of Aquitaine, upon the breaking of the cold weather and frosts, by reason of the mild Summer season. But, as diligent and considerate regard is the conquereffe in manner of all difficulties, calling many and sundry things in his head, this was the only way he found, namely, without expecting the full season of the yeare, to encounter the Barbarians before he was looked for. And in this settled resolution he tooke come for twentie daies (out of that store which was provided to be spent in the standing place of abode) baked thoroughly, for to last, into bisket bread, such as commonly they call Buccellatum, and layed it upon his willing souldiors shoulders: and so, confident of this helpe, in a good houre, as before, hee tooke his journey, thinking that within five or fixe moneths two urgent and necessarie expeditions might be performed. Which things being put in a readinesse, first of all others he marcheth against the Franks; those I meane who commonly are termed Salij, and who in old time durst in the Romane ground, at a place called *Toxiandria, very boldly place and plant themselves. Now when hee was come to * Tungri, an embassage of the foresaid people meeteth him, supposing the Emperour was to be found still in his Wintering harbour, pretending peace upon this condition, That no man might eyther provoke or molest them, whiles they remained quiet as in their owne territories. These embassadours, after hee had fully digested and disposed his affaire, and opposed certaine ambiguous and doubtfull conditions, as if he meant to stay in those tracts untill their returne, he sent away rewarded. No sooner were they in their way homeward, but he followed hard upon them, sending out the Generall *Servus*, and suddainly having set upon them all along the ivage, he smote them, as it had beene a whirling thunderbolt, or flash of lightning: And now when they fell to entreatie;

rather

rather than to make resistance, turning the effect of victorie to a commodious course of clemencie, upon the yeelding of themselves, their riches, and children, he tooke them to mercie. The Chamavi likewise, who had given semblable attempts, he set upon, and with the same celeritie partly he put to the sword, and partly, when they stoutly resisted and were taken alive, he hung yrons upon; others, that tooke them to their heeles, and fearefully in all hast fled, he permitted for the while, to get away without hurt: unto whole embassadours, sent afterward to make supplication and to provide for their estates, lying humbly prostrate upon the ground before his face and under his very eye, he granted peace with this capitulation, to returne in safetie to their owne home. Thus when all things succeeded according to his hearts desire, hastening with most vigilant care to found by all means possible the good of the provinces, he thought (as the time would permit) to repaire three skonces or forts, situate directly in a rew upon the banke of the river Mosa, which lately had bene overthrown by the obstinate selfe-willed Barbarians: and forthwith, omitting the warres for a small time, reedified they were. And to the end, that the policie wisely begun he might by quicke dispatch make safe, out of the severenteene daies provision of corne which the souldiors as they marched forward in their expedition carried on their neckes, he defalked a portion, and layed up in the same holds; hoping, that so much as was taken from it might bee supplied out of the Chamavians corne fields. But it fell out farre otherwise: for, by reason that the standing corne was not yet ripe, the souldiors having spent what they carried, and finding food in no place, fell to threatening teames in the highest degree, provoked *Iulian* with foule names and opprobrious language, calling him a vaine Grecian of Asia, and a deceitfull, yea, and one that, under the shew of wisdom and learning, was a very lob and foole: and, as usually there be some found even among armed souldiors, that have readie and rolling tongues of their owne above their fellows, they stucke not to mumble many of these and such like speeches: *Whither are we drawne without all hope of better? in times past verily we endured hard travaile and most inke some to be abidden even through snowes and the pinching cold of bitter frosts: but now, o shamefull indignitie, when we are upon the point finally to vanquish and defeat our enemies, readie we be to pine away and consume for very famine, the most inglorious and base kind of death that is. And that no man may thinke us to be murmurous and given to raise commotions, we protest, that it is for our life onely that we speake, craving neither gold nor silver, which long agoe we might not have, nor so much as once see; so denied it was us, as if we had been committed to have undertaken so many toylefull paines and perils even against the State and Commonweale.* And to say a truth, good reason they had thus to complaine: For among so many courses of probable or allowable matres, and doubtfull points of necessitie, the souldiors out-toyled and spent with the painefull servies of Gaule, had gotten neither *donative nor wages, since time that *Iulian* was thither sent: for that neither himselfe could come by aught to give, nor *Constantinus* after the wonted manner permitted any such allowance to be bestowed. And hence it appeared plainly, that this was done upon fraudulent malice rather than nigardize; because, when the said *Caesar* had given a small matter of no value to a certaine common souldior, asking somewhat according to his need to goe unto the barber for to be trimmed, he was for it with conumelious teames traduced and backbitten by *Gaudemius* then Notarie, who had abode long in Gaule to spie into his proceedings; whom afterwards himselfe commaunded to be put to death, as shall be shewed in place convenient. At length, af-

ter the mutinie was appeased, not without sundrie sort of faire words and pleasing speeches; and when by means of a bridge made of ships joyned together, he had passed over the Rhene, and set foot in the Alemans countries, *Severus* Generall of the horsemen, who aforetime had beene a warlike and industrious capitaine, all on a suddaine became lither and heartlesse. And he that oftentimes encouraged both all and some to fight courageously, now seemed a contemptible and timorous dissuader of battaile, haply for feare of death to neere at hand: like as we read in the bookes of *Tages* the Tuscane, that they who are within a while to be smitten with the lightening of *Veritue*, are so dilled in their senses, that they can heare neither thunder nor any great noise whatsoever. And contrarie to his wonted manner, hee marched in his journey lazily, insomuch as hee terrified, by threatening death, the guides that led the way apace and lustily before, unlesse they all with one accord would agree and avouch, that they were altogether ignorant of the waies: who fearing the authoritie of this prohibition, went no where, after that, one foot forward.

CHAP. IX.

The Aleman kings Suomarius and Hortarius, not able to endure the heauie weights of this warre, in humble manner sue for peace, and obtaine it.



Howbeit, during these lingering delayes, *Suomarius* a king of the Alemans, of his owne accord, together with his friends and followers, unthought of before, met *Caesar* upon the way: (a prince he was before time proud and cruelly bent to endamage and hurt the Romanes) but then he thought it would be an unexpected gaine well gotten, in case he might be suffered to hold his owne: And for that his countenance and gate shewed him to be an humble suppliant, he was entertained and willed to be of good cheare and quiet in mind; who then abandoning wholly his owne will and pleasure, meekely upon his knees besought peace. And verily, hee obtained the same with pardon graunted for all that was past, under this condition, That he should redeliver our men that were captives, and find the souldiers food, so oft as was needfull, after the manner of base vassals received to mercie and protection, taking onely securitie of life for whatsoever he brought in: which if hee shewed not as time and occasion required, he might well know he was to be wred againe therewith. This being thus well ordered and disposed of, was fulfilled accordingly without faile. Now were they to march also into the territoire of the other king named *Hortarius*: and because nothing seemed wanting but guides, *Caesar* gave commaundement unto *Nesica*, Tribune of the Scutarij, and to *Chariton*, a man of admirable strength and valour, with all diligence to seeke, find, take, and present unto him one captive or other: So with all expedition an Aleman youth was caught up and brought unto him, who promised upon a capitulation covenanted to have his life saved, for to discover and shew the wayes. Thus went he afore, and the armie following after was impeached for going on still by a baricado of high trees cut downe and lying in their way. But by wheeling about, and fetching long and winding circuits, they came at length to the places aforesaid, and the armed souldiers every one in an angrie mood fell to siring of the fields; to harying away both cattell and folke, yea and without mercie hewing in pieces as many

nyas made resistance. The king fore troubled and disquieted with these adverse accidents, when he saw many of his territories spoyled, and beheld withall the remaines of townes and villages consumed with fire, considering now, that the final ruine of his whole estate was at hand, himselfe also besought pardon, and after an execrable oath taken to doe whatsoever should be imposed upon him, promised also to make restitution generally of all captives: for that was a capitulation in the conditions that was much stood upon and earnestly urged: but he delivered a few, and detained the most part. Which being knowne, *Iulian* was provoked to just indignation: insomuch, as when he the said king came, as the manner is, to have a gift bestowed upon him, foure of his followers that accompanied him, in whose assistance and fidelitie he had most affiance, he would not dismiss, before that all the captives were returned. Howbeit, being by *Caesar* sent for to a conference and parle, whom he adored with trembling eyes, and even overcome againe with the sight of the conqueror, he was driven to an hard exigent condition; namely this, That for as much as it was meet & requisit after so many prosperous atchievements, that those cities also which the Barbarians had forcibly rased and destroyed, should be reedified, he at the charges of himselfe and his people must find cariage, timber &c. for the building. Which after he had promised to doe, and withall wished, if he dealt any way disloyally, to make satisfaction with the losse of his heart bloud, he was permitted to returne home. As for the transporting thither of corne and victuals, he might not bee compelled thereto, as *Suomarius* was, because his country being so utterly wasted, he could meet with nothing therein to give. Thus these kings, that in times past swelled so outrageously in pride, and were accustomed to enrich themselves with the spoyle of our men, became now tame, & yeelded their neckes under the yoke of the Romanes power: and as if they had beene borne and bred among Tributaries, willingly obeyed their commandement. These affaires in this wise atchieved, the souldiers were bestowed in sundry stations, and *Caesar* rettyred himselfe to his wonted wintering place.

CHAP. X.

The flatterers in Courts goe about to deprave and fore-doe the noble deeds and vertues of Iulianus with flours and skoffes before Constantius; which is no new and strange practise, Marcellinus sheweth by allegation of notable examples.



When knowledge of these occurrents was from time to time taken in *Constantius* his court (for *Caesar* like unto an apparitor or double diligent servitor, was of necessitie to give notice unto the Emperour of all proceedings) as many as bare greater sway than others in the court, and were now learned professors in that [eighth] liberal science of Flatterie, turned whatsoever was by him either wisely advised or happily performed, unto a meere mockerie; giving out beyond all measure these and such like words full foolishly: *This Iulian, a goat, and no man* (carping thus at him for being full of haire) *together with all his victories, sinketh againe, and is become odious*: tearing him also, a *talkative mold-warpe*, an *ape in a purple coat*, and a *bookish smattering Grecian*. Thus re-sounding many lewd speeches and skurrilities of this kind in the princes eares, who tooke pleasure to heare these and such like notes, they went about with impudent words to smother his vertues, rayling at him as a slow-backe and coward, and delicate

cate carpet-knight, and one that knew how withtrim words to set out deedes that were amisse: a thing that newly happened not then, and never before. For as the greatest glorie is alwaies subject to envie, wee read, that malicious and spightfull persons have used to devise even upon the renowned warriors and captaines in old time (as taking offence at their most redoubted acts) vices and crimes, although there could none such be found. As for example, *Cimon* the sonne of *Miltiades* was charged with incest and incontinencie, even he, who neere unto *Eurymedon*, a river in Pamphylia, vanquished an infinite number of the Persians, and forced the whole nation, proudly puffed up by reason of the insolencie of their king, in humble manner to sue for peace. Semblably, *Emilianus Scipio*, through the evill will of his concurrents, was taxed for a drowsie sluggard, by whose invincible vigilance, two most puissant cities, obstinately bent to worke Rome mischiefe, were utterly rased to the ground. Likewise, certaine slanderous backbiters, seeking many waies for a hole in *Pompeius* coat, when they could find nothing in him blame worthe, observed (forsooth) these two things (very toyes to speake of, and of no validitye); namely, that by a peculiar and naturall use that he tooke, he scratched his head with one finger, and for a prettie while (to hide a certaine foule and ill favoured ulcer that he had) bound up his leg with a little white band: The one of these hee did (said they) as being a loofe and dissolute person; the other, as one that looked for a change, and affected to bee king; comming out (forsooth) with this bald and frivolous reason, that it mattered not on what part of the body hee wore a diademe, the marke of regall majestie: and this did they by that man, than whom there was not one that bare himselfe more valiant and politicke in the behalfe of his country, as the notable proofes that he gave doe testifie. While these things thus went abroad, *Artemius* abode also at Rome vice-Præfect or deputie governor for *Bassus*, who having bene but newly promoted Præfect of the citie, was by naturall death taken away: whose government met with turbulent seditions and commotions, neither had it any memorable matter worth the relation.

CHAP. XI.

The warre that Constantius made against the Sarmatians and the Quadi.



While the Emperour in this meane timetooke his Winter ease and repose in Sirmium, there came unto him heavie newes, and those thicke one in the necke of another, shewing how the Sarmati and the Quadi (nations futable in neere neighbourhood, like conditions, and consonant armour) joyntly together, in sundry squadrons dispersed, made todes into Pannonia, and the second *Mæzia*: who being better fitted for brigandize than open fight in the field, are weaponed with long pikes, and armed with habergeons made of shaved and smoothed hornes, which feather-wise are wrought close into linnen jacks. Most of their horses for to serve their turnes bee gualded, least either upon the sight of Mares they should be disquicted and sling out of order, or bestowed behind in place of supply, growing therewith frampold, bewray by their thicke neighing those that ride upon them. And these warriors are able to gallop and ride a great ground, whiles they either follow others in chase, or else turne backe themselves, sitting as they doe upon swift coursfers and pliable, leading also after them in hand one lere horse,

horse, and otherwhiles twaine, that by chaunge they might cherish the strength of their beasts, and by alternative turnes of rest stentw their vigour afresh. After therefore, that the **Æquinox* of the Spring time was past, the Emperour having assembled a puissant armie, put himselfe on his journey with the guidance of a more gracious and mild fortune: who being come to a most convenient place, and having passed over the river **Ister*, flowing above his bankes (by reason that the heapes of snow and yce were now thawed and resolved into water) and that upon a planked floore of ships joynted together in manner of a bridge, he invaded the Lands of the Barbarians, which he meant to waite and spoyle: who being prevented by his speedie journey, and seeing whole troups of a warlike armie affronting them, and readie to cut their throats; an armie (I say) which they supposed could not possibly be gathered together, considering the season of the yeare, durst neither breath themselves, nor stand their ground, but to avoid this unlooked for destruction, betooke themselves all at once to flight. Most of them, such as for very feare could hold no speedie pace, were beaten downe and slaine: those who by their quicke footmanship escaped death, lying close among the secret vales and hidden bottores of the mountaines, beheld their native country destroyed before their face with the edge of the sword, which verily they might have saved, had they made head and resisted with the same vigour that served them to escape away. These things were done in that part of Sarmatia which faceth **Pannonia secunda*. With like fortitude also, over against **Valeria*, our souldiors in manner of a tempestuous whirlewind carrying and harrying the riches of the Barbarians, wasted whatsoever stood in their way. Who being thoroughly moved at the sight of this so great a losse and extreame miserie, laying aside all purpose to hide themselves any longer, armed as they were in three battailons, thought (under semblance of suing for peace) to set upon our men, whiles they carried themselves more securely: so that they might not be able either to make readie their weapons, or avoid violent wounding, or (that which is the last meanes in extremitie) to turne themselves to flight. Now presently there were with the Sarmatia, to partake with them in perill, the Quadi, who oftentimes had bene yoke-fellowes with them in doing hurt. But their forward boldnesse, as readie as it was, could not helpe them, running headlong as they did upon evident and open dangers: For after a number were killed, as many of them as could survive, made shift to escape by the wayes wherein they were perfect. Our armie then upon this fortunate event, which gave an edge to their strength and courage, joyning their squadrons closer together, hastened into the dominions of the Quadi: Who fearing much by this accident past, what might hang over their heads; minding as suppliants to crave peace, confidently presented themselves before the Emperour.

* When daies and nights are of a length.

* called also Danubius, *De cas.*

* Within the kingdom of Hungarie.
* Another part of Pannonia, *Krabatten, Rhænae.*

CHAP. XII.

Zabais, Acabacius, Vſafer, and other petty kings or princes of the Quadi, with humble prayer and as submissive gestures ſeeked unto Conſtantius for peace, and receive the ſame.

When they therefore were about to qualifie and mitigate theſe and ſuch like troubles, and a day was appointed for the ſetting down of the conditions, *Ziſais* alſo, a prince of the bloud royall, and a young gallant, tall and mightie of perſonage, even then marched the Sarmatians, as it were in order of battaile, for to fall likewiſe to entreatie and ſue for peace. And no ſooner had he a ſight of the Emperour, but preſently he ſtung away his weapons, and fell groveling flat upon his breaſt, in manner breathleſſe, and not able to take his wind: and having for very feare loſt the uſe of his tongue, even when he ſhould have made his petition, thereby he moved the greater pittie. Now, after he had aſſayed ſundry times to ſpeake, permitted he was with ſobbing (which ſomewhat hindered his ſpeech) to utter as well as he could what he requested. At length, after he was reſreſhed, and bidden to ariſe upon his knees, having now recovered his voice, he humbly beſought forgiveness and pardon for his treſpaſſes. Thither alſo was the multitude admitted to make their ſupplikations; who for very feare could not open their mouths, for that as yet the better perſon among them ſtood in doubtfull termes of danger: but when he was commaunded once to riſe himſelfe from the ground, and had given unto them a ſigne which they long waited for, to make their petition, they all caſt from them their targuets and weapons, and wholly gave themſelves to humble prayers, deviſing many meanes and geſtures how to exceed the ſaid prince in lowly ſupplication. This *Ziſais*, being the greater potentate, had (with the reſt of the armed men) brought alſo with him other petty princes, namely *Rumon*, *Ziſafer*, and *Fragileus*, and many lords beſide of the nobilitie, to tender the like petitions upon hope to ſpeed: who albeit they rejoyced highly for their lives graunted, and promiſed to undergoe the heauey load of hard conditions, in recompence and to make amends for hoſtile hurts and outrages committed, yea, and willingly to preſent themſelves, their goods, children, and wives, together with the whole circuit of their territories and poſſeſſions under the power of the Romanes; yet courteſie and bountie joyned with equitie prevailed and tooke place: ſo that being willed, without feare to hold ſtill their owne habitations, they reſtored up all the captives they had of our men. They brought in alſo their hoſtages according as they were enjoyed, and promiſed moſt readily from thenceforth to obey whatſoever they were commaunded. This example of clemencie gave encouragement likewiſe to others; inſomuch, as there came in ſpeedily together with all their people, *Arabarius* and *Vſafer*, princes of the bloud royall, among the lords and potentates of eminent place, leaders of the Gentile regiments: the one of them ruled part of the Quadi, inhabiting beyond the mountaines; the other, certaine of the Sarmatians; both, in regard of their countries ſo neere conſining, and their ſutable ſavagenesse, ſorting moſt joyntly together. The multitude of their people the Emperour ſuffered not to aproch, leaſt under a pretence of making ſome league, they might ſuddainly take them to armes. Thus when the companie was parted and divided, thoſe that came to entreat in the behalfe of the Sarmatians, were willed for a ſmall time to withdraw themſelves out of the way, whiles the buſineſſe of *Arabarius*,

rius and his Quadi, might be ſkanned and conſidered of. Who having preſented themſelves in place, after the faſhion of their cuntry, ſtanding with their bodies ſtouping, when they were not able to excuſe and purge themſelves of their outrages committed, fearing the calamities of extreme miſerie, gave hoſtages as they were commaunded, never compelled before time to exhibite any pledges of league or alliance. Theſe matters thus according to equitie and reaſon concluded, *Vſafer* was admitted to deliver his requeſt, whiles *Arabarius* ſtiffly ſtood upon theſe termes, and affirmed, That the peace which himſelfe had obtained, ought to ſtand him alſo in ſtead, as being partner with him, although in an inferiour degree, and wonted to obey his commaundements. But after this queſtion was debated, order was given, That the Sarmatians, as having beene alwaies vallaſs unto the Romanes, ſhould be freed from other forraigne power, and ſo they gladly accepted to put in hoſtages, for better aſſurance of keeping the peace. After this, there offered themſelves of their owne accord a mightie number of nations and kings conſlowing together in troups and companies, now that they underſtood how *Arabarius* went his way without puniſhment and hurt, who beſought that the ſword might hang from their throats. And in like ſort, they alſo, having obtained peace, which they deſired, brought in ſooner than a man would have thought, their ſons by way of hoſtages, whom they ſent for out of the inmoſt parts of the kingdome. ſeemably alſo, they delivered up our men their priſoners (according as it was capitulated) whom they parted fro with no leſſe griefe and ſorrow than they did from their owne children.

CHAP. XIII.

The Sarmatians that were ſlaves, after they had put to flight and baniſhed their lords and maſters, condemned the clemencie of Conſtantius, and truſting upon the ſtrength of their places, furniſh themſelves with guile, weapons, and prayers together for their defence.

Theſe affaires thus ſet in order, his care was now for the Sarmatians, who deſerved rather a pitifull eye of compaſſion, than privie hatred and diſpleaſure; unto whom, how fortunate and happie this occaſion fell out to be, a man would not believe: ſo as that might well be deemed true which one ſayth, *A princes power eiſher maſteth or maketh Fortune*. There inhabited this kingdome in old time certaine ignoble potentates, but in a ſecret conſpiracie their ſervants taking armes, enterpriſed a notorious act; and, as the Barbarians uſe evermore to reckon might to be their right, they vanquiſhed their maſters, as being in ſtoutneſſe their matches, & in number ſuperior: who then by reaſon of feare that troubled their wits, being to ſeek what counſell to take, fled unto the **Vitobali* inhabiting farre off, thinking it better to yeeld obeyſance to their defendours (a thing that men in diſtreſſe will with to doe) than to ſerve their owne ſlaves: which hard fortune of theirs they grievouſly complaining of, now that they had gotten their pardon, and were taken into [the Emperours] protection, craved meanes and helpe to recover their libertie: and ſo farre forth was he mooved with this wrongfull indignitie, that in the ſight of the whole armie he called them all together, and gave them very good and gracious words, willing and commanding them to obey none but himſelfe and the Romane captaines. And to the end that this reſtitution of freedom might have the addition and encreaſe wixhall of dignitie, he ſet over the ſame Sarmatians, as their king, *Ziſais*, a noble perſon and of high reputation, meet verily

*or *Vitobali*, or
Vitobalis, *Emper.*

even then forregall ensignes (as his deed shewed) and faithfull besides. Neither was any man licenced after these glorious achievements to depart, before that our captives (as it had been agreed on) returned. After these acts thus performed in the Barbarians ground, the camp removed forward to Bregio, to the end, that there also the reliques of the Quades warre, who kept a strife about those tracts, might be quenched either with teares or blood: among whome, *Virodorus*, a prince of the bloud, as being the sonne of king *Vidaricus*, & *Agilimundus* a pettie king, with other Potentates and Iudges, who had the governance of sundry nations, when they saw our armie in the very bosome of the realme, & of their native soile, layd themselves along at the feet of the souldiors as they should march, and after pardon graunted, did what they were commaunded: yea, and delivered their children as hostages in pawne, that they would yeeld performance of conditions imposed upon the; drawing forth also their swords, which they worship as gods, fware by them to continue loyall and faithfull. These affaires thus brought (as hath bin related) to so happie an end, the regard of a common good required, that the forces should with all speed be turned upon the Limigantes, those Sarmatian slaves and usurpers aforesaid: for it was an abhominable shame, that they had without punishment perpetrated so many wicked pranks: Who likewise, as if they had forgotten their former outrages, now that the free Sarmatians brake out and cast off their allegiance, having gotten so fit a time and oportunitie, entred forcibly into the Roman marches, to performe this only mischief and villanie, joyning in one mind with their masters & enemies. Howbeit, upon good deliberation determined it was, That this offence also should be punished more mildly than the hainousnesse of their crimes required: by proceeding thus farre forth in revenge, as that they should be translated into places farre remote, thereby to loose the meanes of molesting our territories: yet the conscience they carried about them, what lewd & wicked parts they had this long time played, made them to feare the dangers wherein they stood. And therefore imagining no lesse, than that the whole warre should be bent upon them, they furnished themselves with falshood in their hearts, weapon in their hands, and prayers in their lips. But at the first sight of our armie, being stricken and astonied as with a flash and stroke of lightning, and thinking of nothing but extremitie, after they had craved life, they promised a yerely tribute, the mustering of their able and lustie youth, yea and their service: readie, as they made shew by gesture and countenance, to yeeld and give consent, if they were so commaunded, to sit into some other countrey; yet presuming confidently on the strength of those places, wherein after they had driven their masters thence, they had seated themselves in securitie. [For the river *Parthiscus running downe violently into these lands, with a crooked course and streame mingleth his water with *Ister. But whiles he passeth on alone with more libertie, gliding soft by little and little through long and spacious countries, and neere unto his issue reducing the same into a narrow streit, with his owne channell he defendeth the inhabitants upon it from the invasion of the Romanes by the channell of Danubius, and by his owne fence performeth them safe from the out-rides of the Barbarians. In which place, the most part of the countrey, by reason of the naturall moisture of the ground, and the rising of the rivers, be overflowed, full of standing waters, and over-grown with willowes, and therefore unpassable, unlesse it bee to such as are very skillfull in those quarters: and beside all this, there is a winding circuit of an Island, meeting in a manner by the coming to it of Parthiscus, which a greater river environing, severeth from all fellowship with the firme land.]

*Religion. Callist.

*Parthiscus. Primus.
Trasim in Hungaria
*Danubius.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Sarmatian slaves daring to ioyne battaile with the Romane armie, after a short fight are discomfited, and by a very bloudie execution, within the space of halfe an houre utterly destroyed. After which overthrow, the rest who remained at home were cruelly dealt with.



They came therefore, at the princes motion, with their in-bred pride and arrogance, to the hitherto more banke of the river, not minding, as the end shewed, to doe that they were commaunded, but because they would not seeme to dread the presence and sight of our souldiors: where they stood in a stout and stubborn selfe-will, making plaine shew, that therefore they drew so neere, because they would reject whatsoever commaundement should be layed upon them. Which the Emperour seeing evidently that it might happen, having secretly divided his armie into many battailons, with quick speed and expedition enclosed them, as they went, within the said battailons of his owne souldiors: and standing himselfe with some few upon an higher banke, and defended with a strength of his guard about him, he mildly willed them not to be unruly. But they, wavering and doubtfull in mind, were distracted contrarie waies, whiles by wily craft and furious heat together they assayed to give battaile, but withall entermingled their prayers: and so providing to issue forth in a place neere unto them, and to charge upon our men, they cast for the nonce their shields a great way before them, that stepping forward by little and little to recover them, they might without any shew of fraud gaine ground by stealth. Now by this time the day was well spent, and grew toward evening: seeing then the declining of day-light put them in mind to make haft, our souldiors marched with their banners upright, and in a fierce heat advanced against them. Who keeping close together, and drawing themselves into thicker ranks, bent all their force against the prince himselfe, standing (as hath beene said) on high: and that they did with menacing eyes and terrible words. This furious madnesse of theirs our armie for very anger could not endure, but (as they pressed hard and hote upon the Emperour, as hath beene said) with a battailon narrow and sharpe-pointed before, which forme the simple and plaine souldiors use to tearme *Caput porci*, i. an Hogs head, gave them such a hote and violent charge, that they disranged their battaile. Thus on the right hand our footmen cut in pieces the companies of their footmen, and on the left our men of armes entred the nimble troups of their horsemen. The Prætorian band that carefully guarded the Emperours person, affronted them in the very breast, and slew them downe right: soone after also as they fled, came upon their backs and killed them. And these Barbarians, as they were overthrowne and felled to the ground, such was their invincible contumacie and wilfulnesse, shewed by the horrible gnashing noise which they made, that they grieved not so much at their owne death, as at our mens joy and gladnesse. And beside those that were stark dead, a number of them having their ham strings cut, and thereby destitute of all meanes to flye, some with their right hands cut off, others againe unwounded verily, but crushed and squeezed under the weight of those that went over them, endured dolorous torments, without one word or grone given: neither was there one of them, who among those sundry sorts of execution either craved mercie, or flung his weapon from him, or desired

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red quick dispatch by present death; but holding their weapons continually, thus piteously afflicted though they were, esteemed it a lesse fault to be overcome by the force of others, than convicted by the doome of their owne knowledge and conscience: yea, and they were heard otherwhiles grumbling and mumbling these words; *That it was long of Fortune and not of their desert, that this befell unto them.* Thus in the space of one halfe houre was the triall of this battaile dispatched, and so many Barbarians lay dead at once upon the ground, as that it was the victorie alone and nothing else which shewed there had beene a field fought. Scarcely were yet these hostile nations defeated, when the neere kinsfolke and deere friends of them that were slaine, of both sexes and all ages one with another, were brought forth in routs and companies, plucked out of their poore and low cottages: who abandoning the pride of their former life, fell to the most humble and servile obsequiousness that might be. And thus againe within the compasse of a very small time, a man might see whole heapes of bodies slaine, and flocks of poore captives. Whiles this heat therefore of fighting, and the gaine withall of conquering, pricked our men still forward, they rose up all at once, intending the destruction of those that either forsooke the field, or lay close hidden within their cottages. When our souldiers therefore, thirsting still after the blood of Barbarians, were come to the places where they kept, downe they went with the light thatch, and hewed the men in pieces: neither was there any one of them, whom his cabbin, were it never so surely framed of strong timber-peeces, saved from danger of death. Finally, when as all was on a light fire, that none could lurke or lyehid any longer, now that all means of saving life were cut off, every one either perished obstinately consumed with fire, or avoiding the fire, if he went forth of doores, whiles he sought to decline that one kind of death, fell upon the enemies sword, and so was slaine. Yet some there were of them, who escaping both weapon and fire, as generall as it was, committed themselves to the streame of the river running hard by, in hope by skill in swimming to gaine the banke on the farther side: of whom, the most part sunke under the waves, and perished; some were shot in with arrowes, and so lost their lives; in so much, as with abundance of blood there shed, the streame of the river fomed and swelled againe. Thus by both elements, the armed anger and valour of the winners, made cleane worke and riddance of all. Decreed then it was, after this ordertaken aforesaid, That generally throughout, they should all loose both hope and comfort of life: and so, after their houses burnt, and whole families caried away, commaundement was given, That vessels should be gotten together, to search out those whom the farther banke of the river had severed from our armie: and forthwith, least the courage of the warious should abate or wax coole, certaine nimble and lightly appointed skirmishers were put in boats, who being guided along the secret coasts of the country, met with all the lurking holes of the Sarmatians: who at the suddaine sight of them were deceived, namely, seeing them to be their owne country wheries and rowers whom they knew. But when by the glittering of the weapons aforesaid, they perceived that was comming toward them which they feared, they betooke themselves for refuge and safetie to their moorish and fennie grounds, whom the souldiers followed the more maliciously: and having killed the most of them, found a victorie there, where a man would have verily thought, they neither could keepe sure footing, nor would adventure upon any service.

CHAP. XV.

The Picens and Limigantes, terrified with these fresh examples of their confederates thus subdued and laid along, yeld their neckes unto the Romane yoke: and having beene compelled to seeke other places for their habitation, as length are reduce by Constantius into their auncient seat.



After that the *Amicenses were in manner all destroyed, as large a country as they over-spread, our men marched without delay against the *Picens (thus called of the regions bordering upon them) who were the safer by reason of their fellows miseries, whereof they had certain intelligence by the continuall rumors that ran of them. To the surprizing and subduing of them (for an hard piece of worke it was to pursue them scattered as they were in divers places, and namely where vnskilfulnesse in the waies giveth a check) *they tooke unto them the helpe of the *Taifali, and likewise of the free Sarmatians. And considering that the regiments of these their aid-fouldiers were by distance of places farre severed, our men chose those tracts to invade that joyned to Moesia; the Taifali tooke in hand those parts that lay next; and the free Sarmatians seized upon the lands that lay opposite unto them. The Limigantes affrighted with the fresh examples of them that were subdued and overthrowne, wavered a long time in doubtful minds, Whether they should die, or fall to entreatie, seeing they had notable examples and experiments given of both waies. In the end, the counsell of their elders prevailed so much, and the consideration withall of so many and sundry victories, that they tooke the course to yeld themselves. They also came in and joined with them in humble supplication, who by force of armes had usurped libertie: and the residue likewise of them (despising now such masters as had bin overcome, & were unmeet for warre, seeing the mightier in place) with humble prayers submitted their necks to the yoke. The more part of them therefore, after they had received a safe-conduct, and forsaken the strong defence & bulwarke of the mountaines, sped them apace to the Romanes campe over the spacious and wide champian fields, together with their parents, wives, and children, as also with that pelfe which their quick departure permitted them to steale away. And they that were thought would rather loose their lives, than be compelled to void their country, whiles they tooke licentious madnesse to be libertie, willingly agreed now to be under authoritie, and to enter upon other quiet & trustie places of habitation, so as they might not be troubled with waeres, nor changed by seditions. And these men being received into protection, according to their owne desire (as it was verily thought) remained quiet for a small time; but afterwards through their in-bred wildnesse grew againe to commit most mischievous outrage, as shall be shewed in convenient processe of our historie. In this prosperous course and successe of affaires, a competent defence of Illyricum was upon a two-fold reason established: the duple greatnesse of which business the emperor having taken in hand, effected both. The banished persons suspected though they were for their mutabilitie, yet like to behave themselves somewhat more civilly, he reduced home at length, and placed in their auncient habitations: and to doe the same people a greater pleasure, he set over them not an ignoble & base minded king, but one of royall blood defended, and endued with excellent parts both of bodie and mind, even him whom before time they themselves had made their governour.

*Sarmatians, so called of the region adjoining.

*Likewise, the Picens, Ezech. Cappel.

*our men.

*or Thiphali.

CHAP. XVI.

Constantius taking joy in the surname and style of Secundus Sarmaticus, in a solemne Orasion reioycesh both in the behalfe of himselfe and of his armie, for the victorie gained of his enemies.



Upon so happie a traine of brave exploits, *Constantius* now bearing himselfe higher than one that feared any thing, and with generall consent of the souldiours styled *Secundus Sarmaticus*, after the name of those whom he had subdued, and being now at hand to depart, called all the Cohorts, Centuries, and Maniples together, standing up in his Tribunal, environed about with the Ensignes, Eagles, and a number of sundry capitaines and officers of high place in the campe, made a speech after his manner unto the armie, gracious as he was in the eyes of all men, to this effect. The remembrance of our glorious achievements, which to valiant men is more acceptable than all the pleasures in the world, moveth me in right modest tearmes to rehearse unto you the most faithfull defenders of the Romane State, what enormities (by our victorious fortune sent unto us from God above, both before battaile, and in the very heat also of fight) we have reformed and set in frame: For what is there so glorious, or so worthy in all rights to be commended unto the memoriall and records of posteritie, than that a souldier, having been in the action of worthy exploits, may reioyce in the same so wisely and politicly devised? Our enemies in their furious rage, and upon a vanitie of swelling pride, despising us in our absence, whiles we were employed in the defence of Italy and Gaule, over-ran Illyricum at their pleasure: and in sundry rodes that they made to and fro, wasted the frontiers of our limits: one while in hollowed troughes of oake, otherwhiles on foot passing over rivers: not by way of conflict in open field, nor using the meanes of armour and fine force; but like, as their use hath alwaies bin, after the manner of secret brigands and robbers, for their craftie guile and varietie of deceitfull mockeries: ever from the first beginning of their nation dread even unto our old ancestors. What displeasures were by them done tollerable, we suffered, as being in person farre removed, supposing that lighter losses by the effectuall service of our capitaines might be forfended. But when through their licentiousness they proceeded further, and grew to worke many mischiefs and the utter undoing of whole provinces; after we had fortified and made sure the avenues into Rhatia, and by a most vigilant guard firmly founded the securitie of Gaule, leaving no cause of terror and feare behind us at our backs, we came into Pannonia, to the pleasure of eternall God, purposing to strenge then what soever was like to run to ruine and decay. And when all things were prepared accordingly, as yee know, in the middle of Spring we went in hand with most weightie and important affairs. First, that when we were about to frame a bridge close laymed, no volleys of shot might impeach us: which worke being with small ado finished, after we had scene and overrun our enemies lands: the Sarmatians, who stubbornly in a wilfull mind went about to withstand us unto death, we overthrew and subdued without any losse of our owne men. The Quadi also in semblable malaparties, whiles they came to aid the Sarmatians, and fell upon the squadrons of our noble legions, we hewed in pieces: who after miserable damages sustained, having found by experience in all their braving rodes and minatorie attempts of resistance, of what force our valour was, did cast away all fence of armour; and those hands which they had prepared and fitted for fight, they carried pinnioned behind at their backs: and seeing no other meanes to save their lives but in prayer and perition, they fell prostrate as the foot of a mercifull Emperour, whose battailes they had often found to have come unto a fort unan end. After

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these were sequestred and set aside, with like valour we vanquished the Limigantes also: and when a number of them were slaine, the others to avoid the danger were driven to flye for refuge unto their starting holes among the blind marishes. And when these exploits were likewise brought to an happie conclusion, the time was come when we were to use reasonable mildnesse and clemencie. The Limigantes we forced to sit into places farre removed, for feare they might any more bestirre themselves to doe our men mischief, and most of them we spared. Over those that were free, we let as ruler *Lizais*, who was to be devoted and faithfull afterward unto us, repasting it a greater matter to create, than to present unto the Barbarians a king: and this honor added much unto the solemnitie of his creation, that he was appointed unto the same people a ruler, who had before time elected and accepted him. A foure-fold reward therefore, which one expedition hath performed, we have acquired and the Common-wealth together: first, by working due revenge upon hurtfull and mischievous robbers; and after by taking of our enemies so many prisoners as may satisfy us abundantly. For with those things ought verue and prowess to stand contented, which is harsh woe by painefull sweat and strong hand: as for our selves, our owne travayles and fortitude will be sure to save for us much wealth and ample riches, which are great treasures, even the patrimonies of all men whole and sound. For this it is that besmeth the mind of a good prince; this suiteth well with prosperous successes. Finally, I my selfe also carrie before me the spoile of our enemies name, even the addition in my style of *Secundus Sarmaticus*: which yee all wish one accord, without arrogancie be it spoken, have worthily and for desert conferred upon me. After this speech ended, the whole assembly with more than wonted alacritie, as having their hope of greater matters and gaine bettered, by way of joyfull applaude and festiual acclamations rose up, to resound the praises of their Emperour: and at last after open declaration made according to the maner, That *Constantius* was invincible, repaired with joy unto their pavilions. And the Emperour being brought backe unto his pallace, and refreshed with two daies repose, returned with triumphant pompe to Sirmium: the militarie bands and companies also, retired to their appointed places of abode. In these very daies, *Proper*, *Speziasus*, and *Eustachius*, sent as embassadours unto the Persians, as I have shewed before, went unto the king, being returned to Ctesiphon, producing the Emperors letters and presents, and they demanded (as things then stood whole and found) a peace: and mindfull of their commission and what directions they had in charge, they never left the due regard of the good and majestic of the Romane Empire, avouching boldly, that the covenant of amitie was to be established no otherwife, but with this condition, That there should be no motion at all made of troubling the state of Armenia and Mesopotamia. When therefore they had staied there a long time, seeing the king most obstinately set and hardened against the admitting of any peace, unless the Seignorie of these countries were awarded unto him: they returned without effecting their businesse. After this, were sent to obtaine the self-same thing with like strength and validitie of conditions, *Lucilianus* a lieutenant, and *Procopius* at that time a Notarie, who afterwards entangled and tied fast with a certaine knot of violent necessitie, rose up in open rebellion, and aspired to the imperiall diademe.

THE



THE XVIII. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Iulianus Cæsar having set aside all cares of warre, bath a watchfull eye to the safetie of Gaule, and seemeth a maintainer and lover of justice: after this, renewing warre against the Alemans, he buildeth and storeth his garners: seven cities he taketh in, and repaireth.

Here acts in one and the same yeare were in sundry parts of the world achieved. But in Gaule, now that the State stood in better termes than before, and *Eusebius*, together with *Hypatius*, brethren, were styled with the high titles of Consuls, *Iulian* renowned in the place of his Winter abode, for contriving of his affaires to so good successe, having sequestred and layed aside for the meane time all cares of warre, with no lesse regard disposed and ordered many things to the behoofe and welfare of the provinces, observing diligently, That no man should be surcharged with the burthen of tribute, That no one mans greatnesse or power should over-weigh and oppresse another, nor they be in place of authoritie, whose privat estate grew by the fall and decay of the Common weale, ne yet that any Iudge should without punishment swerve from equitie. And this redressed he with small travaile and little adoe: for that himselve deciding quarrels and controversies (especially when the greatnesse either of causes or persons so required) was a constant and irremovable discernor of right and wrong. And albeit there be many commendable examples of his, in such like controversies, yet it shall suffice to put downe but one, to the patterne or likenesse whereof his other deeds or sayings are to bee considered. *Numerius*, ruler but a while before of *Narbonensis* [*Gallia*] being accused for theft, he heard after an unusuall censorious rigour openly at the barre before his Tribunal, and admitted to the audience of his trial whosoever were willing to bee there: who when he pleaded unguiltie, and put by all matters objected against him, by a bare denial, and could not in any one point be convinced, *Delphidius* a most sharpe Oratour, who layd fore against him, for want of proofes and evidences, in a great chafe cried out: *Who can ever be found guiltie, o most noble and renowned Cæsar, in case it shall be sufficiens to denie?* Whereat *Iulian* being moved, wisely replied thus *ex tempore*: *And who* (quoth he) *can be unguiltie, if it will suffice to have accused?* These verily were his speeches, and many such in civile matters. But now being minded to goe forth unto an urgent warre-service, when he considered that

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certaine territories of the Alemans harboured in their hearts hostilitie, and would both dare and doe many outrages, unlesse they also, after the examples of others, were overthrowne, he stucke perplexed and doubtfull, with what forces, or with what expedition (so soone as in reason he might have fit oportunitie) by preventing all rumor of his comming, he should be able on a suddaine to invade their lands. Now as he cast about and thought upon many and sundry waies, hee resolved at length to assay that which proved in the issue and effect thereof expedient. Hee dispatched in shew of embassie *Harioabaudes*, a *Tribune not in ordinarie, a man of approved fidelitie and fortitude, without any one priviethereto, unto *Hortarius* a king now at peace, that from thence going easily forward into their confines, against whom he was immediatly to make warre, he might enquire (as he was very skilfull in the Barbarians language) What they went about: who beeing boldly gone about this businesse, himselve taking the fit season of the yeare, having assembled his souldiors from all parts, went forth to this expedition: and among the most speciall services to be done, he thought good with all speed to performe this one, namely, before the heat of any conflicts and battailes to enter into those cities which long before had beene rased, and when they were thus recovered, them to fortifie: also to build new barnes and garners in lieu of those that were burnt, wherein might be layed up for store the provision of come which was wont to be transported out of *Britannie*. And both these workes were finished sooner than any man would have thought: for not only the garners were quickly reared, but also the cities taken in and seized on, in number seven, to wit, **Castra Herculis*, **Quadriburgum*, **Tricemix*, **Niveio*, **Bonna*, **Antennacum*, and **Bingio*: where, as good hap was, *Florentius* the Præfect suddainely shewed himselve, having in his conduct part of the forces, and bringing with him sufficient provision of victuall to serve for a long time. After these things thus accomplished, it remained (such was the urgent occasion and present necessitie) that the wals of these cities thus gained, should be repaired, whiles no man as yet was there to interrupt or impeach this worke: and this is apparant by cleere evidences and arguments, that the Barbarians at that time, for feare and not for love of their ruler, served the common good. The kings according to the capitulation of covenant the former yeare, sent upon their owne carts and waggons much matter meet for building: and the aid-souldiors, who alwaies disdained such kind of ministeries, by the faire words that *Iulian* gave them wrought to the performance of diligent service; willingly carried upon their neckes timber-pieces fiftie foot long and above, and among those workmen and labourers that served the carpenters, stood them in right good stead.

CHAP. II.

The Alemans having intelligence how the Romane armie was broken in, and had set sure footing beyond Rhene, crave peace, which upon certaine conditions was granted.



While these workes were set forward with diligence, and brought with all speed to effect, *Harioabaudes*, when he had searched and spied into every thing, returned, and related what he had learned. After whose comming, the forces were soone afoot, and so they came a-

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long

* Tacetum Tribu-
num.

*Ercelen.
*Quæreni, be-
surreine Gulich
and Coelen.
*Some take it for
Vltreidum, i.
Vindis. Ortel.
*Nist, upon
Rhene. Ortel.
*Bon.
*Andernach.
*Bing.

long to *Mogontiacum; where when *Florentius* and *Lupicinus*, the successeur to *Severus*, urged very hard, That they must passe over at a bridge set up and erected there; *Cæsar* most stiffly stood against them, saying, That they ought not to tread on the lands of those that were within the peace, for feare, least (as oftentimes it falleth out) through the uncivill behaviour of the souldiours (spoyling wilfully what ever comes in their way) the covenants of the league should be rudely broken. Howbeit, the Alemans in generall, against whom our armie marched, thinking what danger came towards them, warned in minatorie termes king *Summaris*, who by an agreement and composition past was become friend unto us, to debarre the Romanes from passage over (for his townes and territories lay close to the farther bankes of Rhene:) who protesting, That of himselfe alone he was not able; the Barbarian multitude assembling themselves all together, approached Mogontiacum, readie with all their power to impeach the armie, that it should not crosse the river. In two respects therefore, that was thought convenient which *Cæsar* had before advised, namely, for feare that the lands of our peaceable confederats should be spoyled, and least whiles a most warlike nation was readie to make resistance, a bridge should be (with the danger of many mens lives) set up there in a place which was indeed most meet for the framing of a bridge. Which our enemies having most wisely considered, marching softly along the contrarie banke, looke where they saw asfarre off our men to pitch their tents, there also they in the same paralele over-against them attended all night, and slept not, observing with right vigilant care, that no passage should be attempted. But when our men were come to the place before provided, they sat them downe and rested within the precinct of trench and rampier. Then *Cæsar* taking *Lupicinus* to counsell, commaunded certaine *Tribunes to make readie three hundred souldiours lightly appointed, with stakes, and those altogether ignorant what to doe, or whether to goe. These being gotten together, when it was farre in the night, and all of them going aboard (whom fortie small pinnaces or barges, even as many as were then at hand, received) were willed to row along the river, with silence, so as their very oares should hold off, or give a light stroke, for feare that the noise of the waves might raise the Barbarians; and so with readie minds and active bodies they brake through the frontier bankes over-against them, whiles the enemies were amused on the fires that our men made. Meane while that these things were setting forward with all speed, *Horatius*, a king made before hand our confederate, not minding to alter aught otherwise than the tenour of the covenants went; but withall, a friend unto his neighbour-borderers, having invited and assembled together all the kings, princes of the bloud, lords and potentates to a feast, kept them with him at good cheare, which (according to the manner of the country) held unto the third *watch of the night: whom, as they departed from him, our men afore said by chance set upon at unawares, but by no meanes could either kill or catch them, by reason of the darknesse, and their swift horses withall, which carried them quite away, whither in that doubtfull braid they were driven. As for all their lacquies and servants that followed them on foot, they slew, unless they were such as the obscuritie of the time saved from danger. At the length, when it was knowne that the Romanes had passed over (the kings, who both then, as also in the time of expeditions past, supposed there to take some easement of their labors, when it happened that they found enemies) were stricken and astonished; their people also,

who

who watched the bridge with great care and diligence, that it should not be made, quaking for very feare, betooke them to their heeles: and thus the unbridled furie of theirs assuaged, they made what hast they could to remove their nearest and deereest friends farther off. Then presently, when all this difficultie was past, the bridge being set together, and the projects of these so careful nations prevented, our souldiours scene now in the Barbarians land, passed through the dominions of *Horatius*, without doing any hurt. But when they were come once into the territories of those kings, who were yet enemies, without any feare they made foule worke throughout the midst of the rebels country, burning and spoyling all before them. Now, after they had set on a light fire the mounds and fences of their brittle houses, hewed in pieces a number of folke, and scene many of them falling downe, and others making supplication; when they came so farre as to a countrey named *Capellatij*, or *Palas*, where certaine mere stones parted the confines betwene the Alemans and Burgundians, there they encamped, for this reason, that *Macrianus* and *Hariobaudus*, brethren, Germanes and Kings, might bee received without dread: who perceiving that their destruction drew neere, came with careful and heavie hearts to entreat for peace. After whom immediately repaired king *Vadomarius* also, whose habitation was just against the Rauraci, and through the commendatorie letters of prince **Constantius* secretly brought out, and earnestly alledged, he was gently entertained; as who long since had been taken into the protection of the Romane Empire. And *Macrianus* verily, with his brother, admitted among the Eagles and Ensignes, wondered at the varietie and braverie of the armour and forces, which then and never before he saw, and entreated in the behalfe of his people. But *Vadomarius* acquainted with our men, as neighbouring upon the limit, marvelled, I assure you, at the munition and furniture of so stately and sumptuous an expedition; but remembered very well, that in the prime of his youth he had many times scene the like. In conclusion, after long consultation had, and all things well weighed and considered, unto *Macrianus* verily and *Hariobaudus* peace was graunted: but as for *Vadomarius*, who intending to establish his owne securitie firme and sure, was come also by way of embassage, and as an Oratour, in the behalfe of *Prisus*, *Viscimus* and *Persapus* kings, heartily desiring peace, he could not in this meane time suddenly have his answer, for feare least (as these Barbarians are fickle and hardly to bee trusted) they bethinking and remembering themselves, after the departure of our men would not stand to those points which by others had beene obtained. But when they also themselves, upon the fiering of their standing come and houses, upon the taking also of many of them prisoners, and killing a number, made such humble suit, as if they likewise had trespassed in the same kind against our people, they got peace with the semblable conditions: among which, this was above all most instantly urged, That they should redeliver all those captives, whome in many out-rides they had taken and carried away.

*Whether now
Emperour, or his
grandfather, it is
uncertaine.

O 3

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Barbatio colonell of the Infanterie, and Assyria his wife attaine of high treason, are beheaded.



W^hiles the heavenly providence reformeth these abuses in Gaule, there riseth up in the Emperours court a turbulent tempest of new matters, which from small beginnings proceeded to sorrowfull mourning and lamentation. In the house of *Barbatio*, then colonell of the Infanterie, it happened that a swarme of Bees were evidently seene to settle: And when he carefully sought unto wifards, skillfull in prodigies about so strange a sight, this answer they made, That it portended unto him some great dangers; grounding (forsooth) upon this conjecture, That these flying creatures, after they have made their habitations, and gathered goods, are driven out from thence with smoke and the troublesome ringing of cymbals. This *Barbatio* had a wife named *Assyria*, a dame of no few words, nor yet wife: who, when her husband was gone forth to the warres, and fearefully perplexed many waies, in regard of that which he well remembered had bene fore-told him by the said Soothsaiers, moved like a woman with a foolish toy that tooke her in the head, called for her maid servant, who could skill of cyphring, and one whom she had gotten from out of the patrimonie and goods of *Silvanus*; by whose hand she wrote a letter full untowardly and out of season unto her husband, weeping, as it were, and beseeching him for Gods sake, That after the death of *Constantinus* now at hand, himselfe (as she hoped) being admitted to the imperiall place, would not cast her off, and preferre the marriage of *Eusebia* the Queene, a ladie for person and beautie surpassing. This letter was sent as secretly as might be: and the maid servant, who had penned the same as her mistress endited it, after that every man was returned home from the warre-service, stole out in the beginning of night, and ran away to *Arbesio*, taking with her a copie of the said letter; and being heartily welcome unto him, disclosed that piece of written paper. He then, as he was the fittest man in the world to frame an accusation against one, trusting upon this presumption and evidence, enformed the prince of this matter: and, as the usuall manner was, without any delay or pause allowed to the handling of this business, *Barbatio* after he had confessed the receipt of such a letter, and the woman his wife by good proofe was convicted to have *written the same, lost their heads for it. When these were executed, much inquisition was made abroad, & many men were troubled, as well the innocent as offenders: among whom *Valensine* also, late principall or captainne of the Protektors, and now Tribune, with many others, after he had bene tortured divers times, as one privie to the foresaid treason, survived notwithstanding, and in very truth knew nothing at all of the matter. In recompence therefore of this wrong done, and danger whereto he was brought, he became a great captainne and leader in Illyricum. Now, this *Barbatio* above said was a man somewhat rude and arrogant withall in his carriage: in this regard also many hated him; for that both whiles hee had the rule of the Protektors in ordinarie under *Gallus Caesar*, hee played the perfidious traitor: and also after his decease, bearing himselfe proud of his advancement to an higher place of warre-service, he devised and plotted the like against *Iulianus Caesar* and oftentimes (a thing that good men detested) he whispered in the open eares of the Emperour many threwd and grievous matters: ignorant as hee was of that wife

saying,

saying and so well known of *Aristotles*, who sending *Calisthenes* a *scabarie & kinfman of his, unto *K. Alexander*, gave him many times in charge: *That very seldom he should have any talke (and be sure then it were pleasant) with a man who carried in the ripp of his tongue power of life and death.* And that we should make no marvell at this, That men whose minds and soules we suppose to be of a coelestiall substance, otherwhiles are able to discern of things profitable and meet; considering that unreasonable creatures are wont sometimes to defend their lives by deep silence: as appeareth by this notable example. Cranes, when for heat they leave the East parts, & flie Westward, no sooner begin to enter upon the mountaine *Taurus*, wherein there bee so many Eagles, but fearing those so strong and hardie fowles, close up their bills with little stones, that very extreame necessitie it selfe might not fetch any noise or voice from them: and after they have with swift flight passed over the same hills, they cast away the said stones, and so hold on their flight forward with more securitie.

CHAP. IIIII.

Whiles Sapor king of the Persians prepareth to make warre against the Romanes, Constantius besorred by his sycophants of the Court, is advised to call backe home Vrsicinus, a most renowned warrior and Praefect of the East.



W^hiles these matters were with much diligence straitly sought into at Sirmium, the fortune of the East founded terrible trumpets, and gave intelligence of much danger abroad. For, the king of Persia bearing himselfe bold of help from those savage nations whom he had quieted, and burning unmeasurably in an ambitious desire of rule and dominion; made preparation of armour, forces, and viduals, consulting with the fiends and infernall spirits of hell, and seeking to all conjurers and jugglers for to know the future events. And thus beeing sufficiently furnished every way, intended in the first temperat season of the spring to over-run all before him. Now, when as the newes hereof were brought, first by running rumors, and afterwards by certaine messengers, & all men stood perplexed and wist not what to doe, for so great feare they had of calamities coming toward them, the Forge in court beating still both day and night, as one would say, upon the same anvil, and all for the pleasure of goulded Eunuches; presented unto the Emperour (a suspicious and fearefull prince) *Vrsicinus* as a bug-bear or grim-visaged *Gorgon, oftentimes iterating these and such like suggestions, That he, being after the death of *Silvanus* sent estoones to the defence of the East parts, as it were, for default of better men, aspired to higher matters. By this base manner of foule flatterie, many endeavoured to purchase the favour of *Eusebius*, then chiefe Chamberlaine, with whom, if we must speake a truth, *Constantius* could doe much, who was eagerly bent to overthrow the state of the foresaid Generall of the Horse, for two causes: for that he of all men alone had no need of his helpe, as others; and besides at Antioch gave not up his house unto him, which most importunately he required. This *Eusebius*, like a serpent full of ranke poyson stirring up a number of her young ones, that yet can hardly creepe, to doe mischief, sent out his groomes of the chamber, now well growne, and of good bignesse, with direction, That in their neere attendance which they gave about privie and inward ministeries, they might with their small voice, alwaies continuing childish and soft, wound with

*For Mochus
beard.

*As if *Eusebius* carried a strong hand over him and ruled all.

grievous

*Was caused the
same to be written

grievous envie the credite and reputation of that valiant man in the princes eares, too open unto such suggestions, who quickly put in practise his instructions. In irkesomefesse of these and such like, I take delight to fall in praise of old *Domitian*: who albeit farre unlike unto father and brother, hee stained the memoriall of his name with inextinguishable detestation; yet famous he was for making this law so generally received and approved, by which in threatening wife hee gave streit charge, That no man within the bounds of the Romane jurisdiction should gould any boy: which if it had not happened, who could have endured whole swarms and multitudes of them, whose fewnesse is hardly tollerable? Yet a good and warie course was taken, least the same *Vrsicinus* being sent for againe, as hee made semblance, should for feare set all on a hurly-burly, but when any good opportunitie was offered, hee haied presently away to suffer death.

CHAP. V.

Antoninus a politicke and well experienced person, leaving Constantius, sithers wish Sapor.



Hiles they waited for the event of these plots, and were troubled with doubtfull thoughts, in the time that wee made some short abode at Samosata, the most noble citie in old time of the kingdome *Comagena, suddainely by rumours comming thicke and threefold, we heard of new troubles, which the proceffe of our historie shall declare. There was one *Antoninus*, who of a rich marchant became a minister in the Auditors office, and then one of the protectors or guard under the Lord Warden of Mesopotamia, a man well experienced, wise, and in all those parts passing well knowne, being through the greedie avarice of some lapt in bonds, and brought within the danger of exceeding great losse, when he saw, that by contesting with bigger and mightier than himselfe, hee gained nothing, but was through unjust dealing more and more weakened, by reason that they who had the hearing and handling of his cause, leaned to the mightier, as ready to currie favour with them, he, because hee would not kicke against the pricke, framed himselfe to give fairer words and gentler language, yea, and confessed the debt which by covin and cautelous packing was turned over, as due to the princes Treasurie. And now projecting great and high designs, very closely pried into all parts of the Commonwealth: and as he was well scene in both tongues, Greeke and Latine, hee busied himselfe about the reckonings and accompts, setting downe what souldiours and of what forces were abiding in any place, and in whole defence they served in time of warre: semblably, enquiring by way of diligent search, Whether there were abundant store of armour, victuals, and other necessarie provision for the warres: Thus when he had learned the inward secrets of all the East, and distributed the greatest part as well of men as money throughout Illyricum, where the Emperour was held employed in serious affaires; now that the appointed day drew nere of paying that money, which by force and for feare he was compelled to confesse by a bill of his owne hand-writing, that he owed, fore-seeing that on every side hee was like to bee over-whelmed with all manner of perillous troubles, whiles the Lord Treasurer, for to pleasure another, was very instant, and fore urged him, hee devoured all he could to addresse his sight unto the Persians, with his wife, children, and all the dearest kinsfolke that he had. And to the end he might avoid the stationarie souldiours and warders in the marches, he purchaseth for a small summe

of money a peece of land in Hiaspis, a place watered with the river Tigris. By which device, when as no man durst demand the cause of his comming (with a number about him) into the utmost parts of the Romane limit, as being now a landed man, and a holder of possessions there; by the meanes of trustie friends, and those cunning swimmers, after hee had many times conferred and parled secretly with *Sapor*; who then being in place of a Warden of the marches, defended all those frontier quarters lying against him; as one also that before time had beene knowne unto him, was by the helpe of certaine nimble and light appointed men sent from the Persian campe and forts adjoining, set aboard in fisher-boats: and so in the dead time of the night, with his sweet wife and children, and his whole household, crosse the water, like for all the world, although in a contrarie case, unto that Babylonian traytor *Zopyrus*.

CHAP. VI.

Sabinianus a cowardly old man, and unfit for warre, is substituted for Vrsicinus the successor elect of Barbatio. Antoninus honourably received of the Persians, stood them afterward in very good stead.



Hings being brought to this passe in Mesopotamia, the Cohort Palatine of the Court sounding the retreat and turning againe to doe us mischief, found occasion at length how to hurt a most valiant man, and that through the motion and instigation of a sort of goulded Eunuchs, cruell at all times and greedie; who wanting otherwise children, the deere pledges of love, embrace riches alone as their most sweet daughters. Determined it was, That *Sabinianus*, a feeble old man verily, and well monied, but altogether unmeet for warre, and cowardly, yea, and by reason of his base obscuritie, farre unlike as yet to obtaine the dignitie of commanding an armie, should bee sent as Praefect to governe the East parts; but *Vrsicinus* returne unto the Emperours court, to take the charge of the Infanterie, and to succed *Barbatio*: to this end, that he, a hote stirrer up of sedition and rebellion, as they gave it out, might now being present in place, be set upon and assailed by his great enemies and such as hee was to dread. Whiles these parts are acting in the campe of *Constantinus*, as it were, in course every five yeeres, and upon the stage, and the Distributors or pay-masters spread abroad and divulge in great mens houses the price of an high office thus suddainely bought and sold: *Antoninus* being brought to the king where hee wintered, was gladly received, and graced with the promotion to weare a Tuffe or Turbant (which honour they enjoy that be allowed to sit at the kings board, and who for good desert among the Persians may open their mouths in solemn assemblies, to perswade and deliver their minds) set his course against our State and Commonwealth, not (as they say) with spert nor oare, with shooing, or haling, that is, by way of doubtfull or darke circumlocutions, but even with spert and full sayle, and inciting the said king, as intimes past *Maharball* when he rebuked *Amirball* for his lingering slownesse, ceased not to tell him, *Thou hast had the way, so win; but wilt not heve to see his victorie*. For, being brought in place to speake, as a man well skilled and experienced in all matters, when he had gotten diligent and attentive hearers, such as delighted in pleasing speeches, and were ready not to praise openly, but like to *Homer* & *Pharaces*, for to admire them with deepe silence, he used

to rehearse the acts that had passed for forty yeares gone: and namely, how after continuall chaunces of warres, but especially at Hileia and Singara, where there was a most cruell conflict and battaile fought by night, after our forces were mightily overthrowne and defeated, as if some herault came betwene to take up the quarrell, the Persians had not yet for all their brave victories gained and gone as farre as to *Edessa, nor the bridges of *Euphrates whom it had become in the confidence of their puissance in armes and noble achievements, so farre forth to have extended and enlarged the bounds of their Empire: what time especially, as by reason of long troubles and civile warres, the Romane bloud was spilt, and their power abated on both sides. By these and such like motives from time to time at the table, and among the cups (where, after the manner of the aunient Greeks, they use to consult about preparation of warres and other serious affaires) this revolted traitor full soberly incensed the king, fire-hote of himselfe, presuming also upon his great fortune, that immediately after Winter was ended, hee should found the arme, promising also assuredly for his owne part to stand him well in many of his necessarie and important occasions.

CHAP. VII.

The coming of Sabinianus and departure of Vrsicinus bringeth sorrow unto the provinces in the East; subject to the Romane Empire, and with perplexitie of cares troubleth the captaines of the forces.



About the very same time, *Sabinianus* puffed up with his suddaine advancement to so high a place of command, when he was entred into the marches of Cilicia, delivered unto his predecessour the letters of the Emperour, exhorting him with all speed to repaire unto the Court, there to be honoured with some higher dignitie: and that upon such an urgent point of necessarie affaires, that had *Vrsicinus* made his abode even as farre as *Thule, good reason there was, that in regard of so weightie businesse he should be sent for, as being best acquainted with the old discipline, and through long experience in warfare most skilfull in the Persians policie. With which rumour, when the provinces were much disquieted, the States of cities, armed both with the decrees of the people, and with acclamations coming thicke one upon another, layed hold of him, and detained still with them their publicke parone and defender, bearing well in mind, that being left among them for their defence with a companie of idle souldiours that loved not to stirre out of doores, yet in tenne yeares space he had lost nothing: and withall, distrusting now their owne safetie, for that with the removal of him, in a doubtfull and dangerous time they had intelligence, that a most cowardly person was come in his place. Deepely perswaded wee are (for there is no doubt thereof) that Fame flyeth swiftly in wayes through the aire, by whose relation giving intelligence of these occurrences, put to question it was, and proposed among the Persians in counsell; What course to take: And after much debating to and fro, concluded it was according to advice given by *Antoninus*, That for as much as *Vrsicinus* was posted away farre off, and the new come ruler and captaine nought regarded, setting aside therefore all besieging of cities (which commonly is dangerous) they should breake through *Euphrates*, and march on directly forward, to the end, that by speedie expedition preventing all rumour

mor of their coming, they might seize into their hands whole provinces, even those that in all the former warres (unless it were in *Gallienus* his time) were untoucht, and by reason of long peace very wealthie: of which enterprize and exploit he promised, with the leave and grace of God, to be a most meet and sufficient leader. This counsell of his being commended, and with one accord of them all confirmed, they generally bent and set their minds to such things as were with speed to be gathered together and put in readinesse: and so all Winter long preparation was made of victuals, souldiours, armour, with other munition and meanes requisite for a warlike expedition shortly to be taken in hand. We in the meane while having staid a while on this side the mountaine *Taurus*, in our coming by commandement toward the parts of *Italic*, made hast untill we drew neere to the river **Hebrus*, that runneth downe from the *Odryan* hills: and there we received the princes letters, commanding us without all excuse making to returne into *Mesopotamia*, & that without any officers attendance, where wee were to take charge of no dangerous expedition, now that all the power of command was transferred unto another: a thing plotted and contrived by these busie politicians and pragmaticall Statists about the Emperour, of purpose, that in case the Persians, frustrate of their expectation, rettyred into their owne countrey, this should be reputed a doubtie piece of service, exploited by the new captaine: but if fortune otherwise should come adverse and crosse, an imputation of treason to the State might be layed upon *Vrsicinus*. Being thus without all reason tossed to and fro, after we had stood doubtfull a good while what to do, we returned, & found *Sabinianus* full of disdain, a man of meane stature, base minded, and of small courage, hardly able without shamefull feare to abide the light noise of a companie met at a feast, much lesse the rustling and clattering of an armie in battaile: howbeit, because the discoverers sent out in espial, affirmed most constantly, & the fugitives avouched no lesse, That the enemies made hote preparation every way, whiles this silly fellow, idle and slouthfull as he was, slept his businesse, we approached *Nisibis*, readie to provide good and necessarie meanes; for feare lest the Persians making no semblance at all of siege, should surprize the citie at unawares.

*Maitra, or Merica.

CHAP. VIII.

The Persians with a great power make an excursion upon the Romanes, with varietie of fortune, as commonly it is seene.



Now whiles within the walls every thing with all speed was putting in readinesse, we might discover smoke and light fires all the way along, from *Tigris* by **Castra Maurorum*, by **Silara* and the rest of the marches even to the very citie, shining more thicke than usually they had done, and that continually; an evident proofe, that the enemies having passed over the river, were broken forth, and fell to wast and spoile the countrey. Whereupon, least the passages should be intercepted, with a running march we made speed forward; and when we were come within two myles, we espied a well-favoured boy with a chaine about his necke, and, as we guessed, eight yeres of age, pitiuously crying in the midst of an high way, the sonne, as he said himselfe, of a free-borne gentleman, whom, his mother (when in a terrible affright for the enemies so neere at hand, she fled) being encumbered with other carriage, for hast left all alone behind her. This child, whiles I at my captaines commandement (who tooke pitie of him, and

*otherwise called *Mastocratum*, in *Armenia*.
*A place neere to *Nisibis*.

was much moved at the sight) carrie before me upon my horse, and bring backe unto the cite, the Brigands having cast a trench and rampier round about the circuit of the wals, ranged at randon all abroad. And for that I was terrified with the troubles and calamities that commonly follow sieges, after I had set down the boy with in a posterne gate halfe shut, with all the speed I could make I returned all windlesse for halt toward the regiment of our men as they marched, & there I escaped hardly of being taken. For when a wing of our enemies horsemen followed after, one *Abdigian* a Tribune, as he fled with his camp-slave, and having overtaken the said servant (now that his master was by flight slipt away) had asked him (as I passed in great hast by) Who was appointed to be the Judge or Governour? and heard how *Vrsicinus*, who a little before had entred the cite, was going toward the mountain *Izalla*, and therewith slaine the partie, who answered them to a thing that they never demanded, a number there were which pursued us in hote chase, and never rested: whom after I had out-stript (such was the fleet pace of my horse under mee) and found our men laid securely along at their ease hard by *Amudum*, a weake hold, whiles their horses were scattered here and there about at their forage, I stretched forth mine arme at length, and swinging the skirt of my cassocke on high, round about my head, by this usuall signe shewed, That the enemies were at hand: and so joyning with them, rode amaine, with my horse readie by this time to tyre. Now, the thing that terrified us, was the full Moone shining all night long, and the flat level and plaine fields not able to afford us, if we had been distressed and put to our shifts, any borough to shelter us; as where there was not a tree nor shrub to be seen, nor aught at all, besides short grasse and low weeds. This stratageme therefore was devised, namely to set upon an horse backe a burning lampe, and to tie the same fast about him, for falling, and so to let him (as he caried the same) go loose by himselfe without a rider, and take the left hand way, whiles we in the meane time marched toward the mountaine tops situate on the right: to this end, that the Persians weening it to be a tallow linke giving light before the captaine softly marching, might take their course that way especially: which if wee had not fore-seene, wee should have beene taken prisoners, and brought in subjection to our enemies. Being escaped out of this danger, when we were come to a certain woodie place set with vines and apple-trees, named *Meiacarire* (so called of cold fountaines) now that all the inhabitants were slipt away and gone, wee found in a noulke remote farre out of the way one souldiery lying hid alone by himselfe: who being presented unto our captain, after he had faltered in his speech for feare, so that his words hung not together, and was therefore suspected, being further affrighted with menaces, revealeth the whole truth, & sheweth, That he was borne at *Paris* in *Gaule*, that whiles he served in a troupe of horsemen, and was afraid to be punished for a foule fact in times past committed, he fled his countrey and turned Persian: and since that time being for his honest behavior and cariage well approved, wedded a wife, begat children, and sent as a pie into our parts, related many a time true tidings: but now addressed fro *Sapor* and *Nohodareus*, two great potentates, who led certain companies of brigands, he was in his returne minding to report unto them what he had learned. After this, when he had delivered withall what hee knew in the contrarie side, he was slaine: and therefore, seeing our cares more and more increased upon us, from thence wee came with great speed, according as the time would give us leave, to *Amidasa* cite which afterwards for calamities and miseries ensuing became memorabile.

*Car-amide, or
Car-amus.

CHAP. IX.

The Romanes that abode in Amida having in some sort intelligence of the Persians designs, by certaine characters written in a parchment, send out Ammianus Marcellinus, who wisely having taken view of the enemies armie, returneth unto his companie more speedily than could be hoped or looked for.



When our discoverers were returned hither, we found a parchment written in cyphers and strange characters within a scabbard, which by commandement was brought unto us from *Procopius*, whom together with * *Lieutenant Lucilianus* I said to have been sent before in embassage to the Persians: and the same being set downe in darke tearmes of purpose, least if the bearers had beene caught, and the sence of the writings understood, some matter of much mischiefe should have risen thereupon, carried this tenour: *Now that the embassadour of the Greekes are sent away farre off, and perhaps to be killed, the long-trūd king not contented with * Hellespontus, by making bridges over the rivers Granus and Rhynadacus, will come with a puissant armie of many nations, minding to over-run Asia: who being a prince of his owne nature easily provoked to anger, and most fierce wisball, hath to incite and incense him, the successeur of Hadrian, sometime Emperour of Rome. All is lost and past helpe for ever, unless Greecke take better heed.* Which writing implied thus much, That the king of Persia having passed over the rivers *Anzada* and *Tigris*, by the advice and instigation of *Anoninus* aspired to the dominion of all the East throughout. Now, when these contents were very hardly and with much adoe read, by reason they were written so exceeding intricately, this politicke course was taken. There was at the same time a great potentate named *Iovinianus*, ruler of *Corduena*, a province under the Persian dominion, who had growne up in the Romane ground, and secretly stood well affected unto us, for that he was detained as an hostage in Syria, and being allured with the sweetnesse of liberall arts, had an hote desire and affection to returne unto our parts againe. Vnto him I (being sent with a certaine centurion, right trustie and of approved fidelitie, to know more certainly what matters were in hand) came by desert mountaines and steepe straits. Being seene, knowne, and courteously received, after I had confessed unto him alone the cause of my presence, I was sent accompanied with one of secrecie, and skilfull in the waies, unto passing high rockes a great way off, from whence might be seene for fiftie myles forward the least thing that was, if a mans eye-sight failed not. After we had abode there two whole daies, by the sunne-rising on the third day we discovered all the circles of the earth under us (which we use to call *Horizons*) full of infinite troupes of armed men, and the king himselfe leading the way, all glittering in his gorgeous and glorious array. Close unto him on his left hand went *Grumbates* king of the *Chionites*, a man (I must needs say) of middle age, and with riveled lims, but carrying with him a brave mind, and ennobled for the ensignes of many goodly victories: on his right side the king of the *Albanes*, an high and mightie prince of equal place and honour: after them divers captaines and leaders, men of eminent qualitie and command, marched: of whom there followed a multitude of all sorts and degrees, picked and chosen out of the manhood of the nations adjoining, trained and enured a long time by many adventures to endure the difficultie of all accidents whatsoever. Now tell me, Greecke, that art so fabulous, How long wilt thou talke

*Camer.
*Stratto di Gallipoli, or Stra de S. George, i. Saint Georges arme.

unto us of Doriscus, a towne in Thracia, and of the forces mustered and numbred by bands within enclosures: Whereas we, warie and circumspect, or (to speake more truly) timorous, amplifie nothing, but what testimonies of credite neyther doubtfull nor vncertaine have delivered. Well, after that the said kings had passed through *Nineve in *Adiabene, a mightie citie, in the midst of Anzaba bridge having killed beasts for sacrifices, and seene the inwards thereof praefaging good successe, they went over most joyfully, and were guessing, that all the multitude behind could hardly goe through in three dayes after, made hast to returne from thence unto the potentate and ruler aforesaid, with whom we rested, and were refreshed with courteous offices of hospitalitie. From whence, after we had returned by places likewise desart and solitarie, sooner than could be hoped or expected, whiles we had the mightie meanes of necessitie to be our guide, wee strengthened the hearts of those that stood in a doubtfull quandarie, as who had intelligence given unto them, That the kings without fetching any compasse about, had passed over one of the bridges made with ships.

CHAP. X.

*After that Mesopotamia was by the Romanes wasted, the fields siewed, and the places fortified to endure the first bruns of warre, Sabinianus ridiculously sa-
kesh his pleasure, and maketh much of himselfe.*

Ncontinently therefore were swift horsemen sent out to *Cassianus*, *Marquesse of Mesopotamia, and to *Euphronius*, ruler for the time of the province, with commission to compell the countrey peasants with all their families and cattell to remoove into places of more safetie; and that the towne *Canha, compassed about with weake wals, should quickly be abandoned, presently hereupon all the fields to be set on fire, that there might be no store of forage. And thus, when the said commission was without delay performed accordingly, no sooner was the fire made and kindled, but the mightie violence of that raging element consumed all the corne, when as it was swolne full, and the straw thereof now turned yellow, yea, and the ripe grasse, in such sort, as that from the very brims of Tigris banke, as farre as to Euphrates, there was no greene thing left. At the same time were many wild beasts burnt up, and Lyons especially so fell and furious in those parts, which were wont wonderfully to perish, or bee blinded by litle and litle after this sort. Betweene the Reed-plots of the rivers of Mesopotamia, and the bushie or shrubbie grounds, there raunge abroad an infinite number of Lyons, which so long as the mild Winters last (and those are alwaies there most gentle) take no hurt: but when the season of the yeare by reason of the Sunne-beames is become exceeding hote in those countries, so scorched with frying and parching heat, what with the sultrie breath of the sayd planer, and what with the great gnats that swarme exceedingly in every corner of those lands, they are sore troubled and set a madding. And for that the said flies make at their eyes, as being moist and shining members, whiles they settle upon their eye-lids, and fall to biting; the same Lyons, after they have abidden painefull torments a long time, either are drowned and swallowed up of the rivers, whereto they flye for remedie, or else for the losse of their eyes (which with their claws they often scratch, teare, and plucke out of their owne heads) they become much more wood: and were it not for that, all the East parts throughout should be exceeding full

full of such beasts. Whiles the fields were a burning, as hath beene said, the Tribunes that were sent out with the Prorectores, fortified the hither banks of Euphrates with skonces and stakes sharpe pointed before, and with all kind of defensive munition, planting in convenient places their artillerie and shot; where the river was not full of gulfs and swallowing deepe pits. Whiles these matters are speedily put in execution, *Sabinianus* a most *excellent capitaine and manager of a mortall warre, when all occasions and advantages were to be caught, as well to set as to avoid dangers, among the sepulchres of *Edeffa*, as if he had made a grounded peace with the dead, casting no perils, and fearing nought, but carrying himselfe very loosely, as one that lived a carelesse life, what with militarie dancing in armour, and what with sound of muscicall instruments, in lieu of histronicall actours and players, tooke his delight and pleasure in the greatest repose and silence that might be: a thing, I assure you, both for the enterprize and the place, very ominous: whereas we may learne by the course of the world and proceesse of times, That every person of excellencie ought to avoid these and such like, which both in word and deed carrying a fearefull and heavey praefage, pronounce and portend future troubles.

CHAP. XI.

During this time, the Persa using the counsell and helpe of Antoninus, provide well for their owne armie, and on every side encircle two troupes of Romane horsemen, sent for the succour of Mesopotamia: before whom went Antoninus the fugitive, who boldly dallieth with Vrsicinus.

Mean while, the kings having passed by Nisibis, as a station of no account, as the fires still encreased with varietie of drie fuell feeding them, shunning what they could the want of forage, marched at the foot of the mountains along the greene vallies and bottomes full of grasse: and when they were come to Bebaes a village, from whence even unto the towne *Constantia (which standeth an hundred myle off) all things are withered and dried up with continuall drought (save that in some pits there is found a litle water;) after they had stayed a long time in doubtfull suspence what to doe, and were now resolved (upon the confidence they had in the hardnesse of their people) to passe over, they take knowledge by intelligence given of a faithfull discoverer, That Euphrates was risen by reason of snow newly thawed and resolved, and had with his swelling streame surrounded his bankes, and over-spread a great way besides, whereby it afforded no soord to wade over. Being disappointed therefore, and put beside their expectation of the hope they had conceived, they betake themselves to whatsoever casuall occasion would minister to be embraced. And after it was put to question and consultation, according to the suddaine and urgent condition of the present State, What was in this case to be done? *Antonine* commaunded to speake his mind, began to this effect, persuading to turne the journey toward the right hand; that by fetching a longer circuit about through countries fruitfull of all things for necessarie use, and (in this regard, that the enemy went streight forward) as yet unspoiled and untouched, they might by his guidance goe to Barzala and Laudias, two garrison castles, where the river, being small and narrow, for that he is so neere his head, and as yet not growne big by other rivers running into him, might be easily passed over, as having in it many shallow soords. These reasons being heard, and

*Moff, or Moss.
*Boun, Cassius.

*Moff, IAW.

*Ducem.

*Necm, Nig.

*otherwise called
Amida.

and the counsellor commended and willed therewith to lead the way he knew, all the companies and whole armie altering their intended journey, followed him through the wilds and desert by-waies. Which being by sure espials knowne, we appointed to make haft unto Samofata, that from thence having passed over the river, and cut off the bridges at *Zeugma and Capersana, we might with the helpe of fortune beat backe the enemies forces. But there chanced an horrible and shamefull fact, such as deserved to be buried in silence for ever. For the horsemen of two troupes, in number about seven hundred, newly sent out of Illyricum to the succour of Mesopotamia, being feeble and fearefull, keeping garrison in those parts, and fearing some ambushment in the night, departed in the evening (when it had becomed that all passages should have bene the better warded) farre from the common port-ways. This was by the Persians well observed, who to the number well neere of twentie thousand, under the leading of *Sapor* and *Nobodares*, having passed beyond them, over-loaden with drinking wine, and fast asleepe, whiles no man looked forth in espiall, lay hidden all armed behind certaine high mounts neere unto Amida. And within a while after, when we were (as hath bene said) upon our journey to Samofata, and went forward while it was yet twy-light, from a certaine high Barbican or Toot-hill, we (suddenly affrighted at the bright shining of glittering armour, and crying out alowd, That the enemies were hard at hand) after the accustomed signall of battaile given, made a stand, and cast our selves into a round ring, as thinking it our safest way, neither to flye (our enemies being now within sight to follow in chase) nor to joyne battaile with them (more mightier than wee both in horsemen and number otherwise) for feare of certaine death. In the end, being driven now upon extremitie to fight, even whiles we were devising what was behoofefull for us to doe, some of our men running out rashly to skirmish, were slaine: and as both parts preased one upon another, and *Antoninus* advaunced gloriously before the armie, *Vrsinius* tooke knowledge of him, and being in a chiding accent by him rated and tearmed wicked traytour, he putting off his Tuffe or Turbant, which he wore aloft on the crowne of his head, as an ornament of honour, alighted from his horse: and after he had bowed his bodie so low, that he touched well-neere the ground, saluted him, calling him Patron and Lord: and fastening his hands together behind his backe (which among the Assyrians is the gesture of a suppliant:) *Forgive me* (quoth he) *right honourable* Lieutenants, who upon necessity and not with mine owne will am fallen to these courses, which I know to be lewd and ungracious. Certaine officers with their importunate calling upon me (as you well know) whose covetousnesse that high place of your excellencie in prosecuting my poore estate was not able to resist, have plunged mee headlong into these designs.* And withall, as he was speaking these words, hee departed out of sight, not turning his backe, but as he slit away, modestly stepped backward, and shewed still his breast afront.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The troupes of the Romane horsemen discomfited and put to flight, after the losse of the most part and a number slaine, hardly recover Amida.



Hiles these occurrents happen in the compasse of one halfe houre, the souldiors of our reeward, who kept the upper part of the hill, cry out, That there was another multitude of men of armes in complete harnes scene behind, which with all the speed they could make, came forward and approached. And then, as it commonly falleth out in dangerous extremities, we being to seeke against what mischiefe we either ought or were able to make head, as the preasse of so huge a multitude came still upon us, and put us to it, our ranks were broken throughout, and we on all sides made thrust every man for himselfe the next way he could to flic. And whiles each one endevoreth for his owne part to get out of this great danger, disperfed here and there out of ray, we become entermingled among our enemies, traversing the ground for to meet us at every turne: and so fighting manfully now, without any desire at all to live, driven wee are unto the banks of Tigris, that stood on high, as it were, cut out of a rocke. From whence some being thrust headlong, stucke fast there, with their armour and weapons encumbering them, where the river is shallow, and yeeldeth foords: others were swallowed up and drowned in holes and whirlepits: some joining in skirmish with the enemies, fought with variable event: others againe affrighted with their thicke bands and squadrons, made haft to the next wolds of the mountaine Taurus. Among whom, our leader himselfe being known, and environed round with a number of fighting men, together with *Adadalisba* a Tribune and one lacquey, by swift horsemanship escaped. As for my selfe, whiles I wander out of that way which the rest of my companie tooke, and looke about me what I were best to doe, I meet with *Perennianus*, one of the guard or Protectores with me in ordinarie, shot through the thigh with an arrow: which whilles I assayed at my * fellowes earnest request to plucke forth, seeing my selfe hemmed in on every side, and the Persians going before mee, I came apace climbing up as fast as my wind would permit me, toward the citie, situate on high on that side where we were assailed, and whereto there was no passage but by one very narrow ascent, and the same exceeding freight, by reason that among the cloven hills there were certaine huge mounts erected of purpose in the way, to make the foot-paths more narrow. Here entermingled pell-mell, with the Persians running forth in the same brunt with us to the higher ground, stood wee, and stirred not untill the Sunne rising the next day, and so thicke thrust together, that the dead bodies of the slaine, borne up with the multitude, could no where find rowme to fall downe: infomuch as a certaine souldior just before my face having his head divided and cloven with the maine stroke of a sword so, as it lay in even halves on both shoulders, stucke pent in streight on every side in manner of a stake: and albeit many sorts of casting-weapons and darts were from the bulwarks discharged and shot by all kinds of engines and artillerie, yet by reason we were so neere under the walls, we avoided this danger: and so at length I entered into the citie at a posterne gate, which I found full, by occasion that a sort of both sexes, men and women, conflowed thither out of the parts bordering upon it: for it happened also at the very same time, that a number of people, which used every yeare in places

*For *Antoninus* himselfe was of the band of Protectores.

*A cite of Dacia, called of some Clautenburg, or Mulsbach.

*C. Anton.

ces by the cities side to traffique for forraine commodities, were then met together, and so ended the multitude of the rurall folke. Meane while were heard every where fundie and confused noyses, whiles some bewayled those that were dead and lost, others carried about them mortall wounds, and many called upon divers of their deereft friends, whom for these freights they could not see.

CHAP. XIII.

The description of Amida a right strong towne: the munition and garrison therein: Sapor having taken into his hands certaine fortified Piles, with great clemencie encreaseth the captives of both sexes, and namely the virgins consecrated and devoted to the Christian Religion, commaunding them to be kept safe.

THis citie being in times past very small, *Constantius* then *Cesar*, to the end that the inhabitants there-by, & borderers, might have a most safe place of refuge, what time as he built *Antoninopolis* another town, encircled with large walls and faire towers; and by setting there an armourie to hold engines for batterie and other artillerie to be planted upon the wals, made it dreadfull to the enemies, and would needs have it called after his owne name. And verily on the South side watered it is beneath with the curving streame of *Tigris* that ariseth neere unto it: what way it standeth against the East wind, it hath for prospect underneath, the plaines of *Metopotamia*: where it is exposed to the North, and hath the river *Nymphæus* neighbouring thereto, shaddowed it is with the tops of the mountaine *Taurus*, which divide the nations beyond *Tygris* and *Armenia* asunder: as it is opposite to the West wind, it joyneth upon *Gumathen*, a fruitfull country in cattell, and for tillage as plentifull; wherein standeth a village named *Abarne*, well knowne for the naturall hote bathes of medicinable and holefome waters. Now, in the very middle and heart of *Amida*, under the citadell, there issueth out a rich and plenteous fountaine, and the same potable verily, but otherwhiles by reason of hote vapours reaking out of it, of a strong and stinking favour. For a garrison in defence of this towne, there served alwayes by appointment, the fifth Legion, together with no small troupe of the naturall inhabitants: but then there were fixe Legions, which partly with speedie journeyes by running before, had out-gone the *Persians*, who in multitudes invaded those parts and approached the place, stood to the defence of the most strong wals it had: namely, the *Magentiaci* and *Decentiaci* (whom after the civile warfare ended, as being deceitfull and of a turbulent spirit, the Emperour forced to come into the East, where was no feare but of forraine warres) also the *Tricesimani* and *Decimi* Fortenses, likewise the *Superventores* and *Præventores*, together with *Ælianus* now Lieutenant, who being as then but new untrained souldiors, at the motion and perswasion of the said *Ælianus*, as then one of the Protectores, sallied out of *Singara*, as I have recorded already, and slew a great number of the *Persians*, as they lay along fast asleep. There was also at this piece of service the greater part of the *Comites Sagittarij*, to wit, certaine troupes of horsemen so teamed, wherein serve all the barbarous souldiors free borne, for good armour of prooffe and cleane strength of bodie surpassing all others. Well, whiles in the first impresson and brunt, by unexpected attempts and enterprises, these designs are put in execution, the king in person with his own people and those nations which were under his conduct, turning

his

his journey toward the right hand from a place called *Bebases* (according as *Maximinus* had given counsell) by the way of *Horte*, *Meiacarie*, and *Charcha*, as if he would passe by *Amida*, when hee was come neere unto certaine fortresses of the *Romanes*, whereof the one had to name *Reman*, the other *Busan*, learned by the relation and intelligence given of certain fugitives, that many mens wealth and riches was thither brought, & kept safe there as in holds seated very high & sure withall. They said also, That together with house-hold goods of great price there was found there a beautifull dame, and her daughter a little one: the wife that ladie was of one *Craugisus* a *Nisibene*, a man of bourgeoisie degree, for birth, reputation, and power of good regard and esteeme. The king therefore in a greedie desire to catch hold of other mens goods, maketh haft, and confidently assaileth the sayd holds: whereupon the defendants in a suddaine amazednesse of mind, as beeing affrighted with the sight of such varietie of armour and weapons, betrayed all those that fled thither for succour and defence: and when those had commaundement to depart, they presently rendered up the keys of the gates. Thus when the entries were laid open, whatsoever had bene bestowed there, was taken forth: and the silly women astonied at the noise then made, were brought out, yea, and the babes in their mothers armes clasping close unto them, put to the experience (poore wretches) in the very beginning of their tender yeares, of grievous miseries and calamities. Now, when as the king by enquiring and demanding whose wife the dame aforesaid was, had found that *Craugisus* was her husband, he permitted her, fearing that some violence should be offered unto her person, confidently to come neere unto him: and when hee had seene her all covered over with a blacke veile, saving onely her very lips, he right courteously confirmed and settled her now in a more assured hope of recovering her husband, and the safe keeping withall of her honestie undefiled. For, hearing that her husband was wonderfully enamoured of her, he supposed verily, that by this price and beneficiall reward hee might bee able to purchase the betraying of *Nisibis*. And yet there were found other virgines also there, which according to the Christian Religion were consecrated unto the service of God, whom he commanded to be kept untouched, and to performe their religious service after their wonted manner, without impeachment of any person whatsoever. Thus made he semblance for the present of mildnesse, to the end that all those, whom before time he terrified with crueltie, might without feare of themselves come in, as being by such fresh and late examples perswaded, that he had now tempered the greainesse of his fortune with a civile and courteous deportment.

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THE

*Those who had served under *Magentius* and *Decimus Julius*



THE XIX. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Sapor lifted up with this small victorie, besiegeth Amida not without danger. The sonne of king Grumbates, a young gentleman, is pierced through the bodie with the shot of a Balist, and with royall funerals lamented.

THe king right joyous for this miserable captivitie that happened on our part, and waiting still for the like successes, departed thence, and marching softly, came by the third day before Amida. Now, when the day-light first appeared, all the country over, as farre as could be seene, shone againe with glittering armour and weapons, and the men of armes with their bard horses all in complete harnes, covered both hill and dale. Himselfe mounted upon a courser, and higher than the rest, advanced before the whole armie, wearing in lieu of a diademe the resemblance of a rams head of gold, set with precious stones, all goodly to be seene aloft, accompanied with a traine of many high personages in honourable place, and of divers and sundrie nations. And for certaine it was knowne, that he meant by way of parley onely and no farther to found the defendants of the wals, as hastening by the advice of *Anoninus* another way. But the heavenly power, to conclude the miseries of the whole empire of Rome within the compasse of one region, restrained and curbed him, as he infinitely bare himselfe aloft, and weened verily, that upon the very sight of him all the besieged would straightwaies for feare become heartlesse, and fall in humble manner to entreatie. Before the gates he rode braving up and downe, accompanied with the guard of his royall band: and whiles he over-boldly engageth himselfe so neere, as that his very visage might openly be knowne, a faire marke he was, by reason of his goodly ornaments, to be shot at with arrowes & other casting weapons; whereby he had surely beene overthrowne and layed along, but that through the dust that arose from the archers and darters, they lost the sight of him: and so with the rent of a part of his garment by the shot of a barbed-headed javelin, he gat away and escaped to do afterwards an infinit deale of mischief. Hereupon raging against them no lesse, than if they had beene sacrilegious spoylers of some holy temple, and giving it out, That the lord of so many kings and nations was violated; hee

made

made great preparation, and mightily endeavoured utterly to rase and destroy the citie: And when his chiefe and principall captaines betought him, that by falling thus into an excessive fit of choler, he would not give over and leave his glorious-begun enterprises, being with their most mild petition pacified, he decreed, That the morrow also the defendants might bee summoned to surrender. And therefore, at the first breaking of the day, *Grumbates* king of the Chionites, to performe his diligent service in this behalfe, boldly approached the walls, having a strong guard about him of right expert and nimble servitours: who was no sooner espied (comming now within the reach of a dart shot) by a most skillfull archer that had a very good eye, but bending his crosse-bow, hee levelled at his sonne in the very prime of his youthfull yeares as he stood close to his fathers side, pierced his curace, and shot him through breast and all: a gallant gentleman, for talnesse of personage and goodly preference surmounting all his equals in age. At whose fall, his countrymen slipped away every one, and fled: but returning a-none againe upon good reason and due consideration, least he should be harried away, they strucke up the alarme, and rayled together a number of nations with their dissonant out-cries: by whose concourfe and encounter, whiles the darts flew to and fro as thicke as hayle, there was a cruell fight: and after deadly skirmishes, which lasted to the end of the day, when as now it grew to be night, the corpses with much adoe protected, hardly by the mist and darknesse of the night was gotten out among heapes of flaine bodies and streames running downe of blood: much like, as when at Troy in times past there was a right hore and bloudie conflict about the breathelesse bodie of [*Paroclus*] companion to the Thessalian leader [*Achilles*]. By occasion of this death, the kings house was heavie and sad, and for that all the lords and nobles, together with the father, were stricken with this suddaine losse, after proclamation of a vacation made, the young prince (commendable for his nobilitie of birth, and well beloved) was solemnly bewayled and mourned for, after the guise of his owne nation. Being therefore carried out all armed, as he used to bee, placed he was upon a certaine large and high rayled terrace or scaffold, and about him tenne little beds were spread, carrying the images of dead men, so curiously dressed and embaulmed, as that the very portraits were like unto bodies new entered. And thus for the space of seven dayes together, all the men verily by bands and companies kept good cheare, and with dauncing and singing certaine mournfull kinds of dumps and sorrowfull ditties, bewayled the death of the young prince: but the women with wofull knocking of their breasts and shedding tears after their wonted manner, piteously cried and lamented for the hope of their nation, thus untimely cut off in the very prime and flower of his age: like for all the world to those women priests and worshippers of *Venus*, that are oftentimes seene to weepe in the ordinarie feasts and solemnities of *Adonis*, which mythical Religion teacheth us to be some representation of come full growne.

R ij

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The description of the siege before Amida. A most terrible and hose assault made by the Persians, which the besieged manfully sustaine untill night.

After the corpses was burnt, and the bones bestowed close within a silver pot, which his father determined should be carried unto his owne nation for to be entered upon debating in counsell as touching the main chance, agreed it was, to expiate the Manes of this young gentleman slaine, with the generall fire of this citie, when it was once overthrowne: for *Grumbates* would not endure to goe any further, without revenging the ghost of his onely deere sonne. And after two daies rest given, and a great number sent out to walt the rich and well husbanded fields lying open after the manner of peace, the citie was environed about with a five-fold ranke and course of shields: and upon the third day betimes in the morning, the glittering troupes standing round in plumps, tooke up all the ground, so farre as a man was able to looke and see from him: and the ranks marching with a soft and gentle pace, held their places divided by lot unto them. All the Persians invested the circuit of the wals: that part which looked Eastward, fell to the Chionites, which was the quarter where the young gentleman, to the mortall mischief of us, was slaine: the Vertæ were appointed to the South side, the Albanes kept the North tract, and against the West gate were opposed the Segeslans, the fiercest warriors of all others: with whom the Elephants making a loslie shew, and terrible to behold, for their bodies full of wrinkles, paced their ground softly, as being laden with armed men: and as wee have oftentimes said, for dreadfull sight exceeding all other foule spectacles whatsoever. Beholding then so infinite a number fought out a long time to set on fire the Romane world, and wholly bent to worke our destruction, in full dispaire of any safetie, we tooke care from thence forth to end our lives with glorie, the onely thing now that wee all wished for. Well, from the Sunne rising to the end of the day stood their battailons in array, as fixed fast in the ground, and never stirred, not so much as once shifting foot, without any noise at all, or neighing of horses heard; and in the same manner retired they as they came: but after they had refreshed themselves with meat and sleepe, before the night was fully past, with the found of trumpets leading the way, they beset the citie round about, and gave so terrible an assault unto it, as if within a while it would have fallen. Scarcely had *Grumbates* there, like an herault at armes, launched after his owne countrey fashion and our manner also, his speare died all red in blood, but the whole armie with a clattering noise of weapons mounreth up to the wals, and straight way begimeth a hot and lamentable fight, whiles on the one side these by whole troupes run on violently, and with all resolution and alacritie bend themselves to the assault: and continuise on the other, our men were as eager and forward to encounter and receive them. Therefore it came to pass: that huge stones throwne out of *Scorpions, brake many of our enemies heads in pieces, and brained them: some were shot through with arrowes, part of them having barbed darts and javelins sticking in them, lay wounded and beset the ground: others ran away and fled as fast as they could toward their fellowes againe. Neither was there within the citie lesse weeping and wailing, or fewer founts of death: whiles many a cloud of arrowes flying thicke together, with a multitude of them shadowed and darkened the ayre; whiles also the engines of ordi-

*Engins so called.

nance and artillerie, which the Persians were possessed of since the sacking of Singara, did much hurt, and inflicted many wounds. For the defendants gathering their strength together, and falling afresh to fight againe by turns, after they had given over for a time, in their exceeding heat of defending the towne being mortally hurt, fell downe dead, or after they were torne and mangled, with their tumbling over-turned those that stood next them: or at leastwise, whiles they were yet alive, fought about for them that had the skill to draw forth the arrow and dart heads that stuck fast in their bodies. Thus these slaughters happening one in the necke of another, and continuing unto the very latter end of the day, the very darkness of the evening had not slackted, by reason that on both parts they were so stiffly set to fight to the outrance. After that the watch therefore was kept by those that were heavily armed and weaponed, the hills of the one side resounded againe with the cries that were set up, whiles our men extolled the vertues of *Constantinus Caesar*, as the soveraigne Emperour and Lord of the world: and the Persians for their part stiled *Sapor* both *Achemenes* and *Arasaxes*, which by way of interpretation import as much, as commaunder of kings, and conquerour of warres. And before the day began to peepe, upon the signall given by trumpets, inestimable numbers of forces were raised from all sides, and stocked in manner of so many fowles to the like hote skirmishes as before, and every way both farre and wide, as a mans eye could reach before him, the fields and dales made no shew of any thing but the glittering harness and brandishing weapons of savage nations: and within a while, upon setting up a mightie shout and our-cry, as they ran all rashly forth, a huge deale of casting-weapons flew from the wals: and as we might well thinke, none were discharged in vaine, falling as they did amongst a number of men that stood so thicke together. For, considering we were beset round with so many dangers, we bore our selves in fight right fiercely, not because we would save our lives, as I said, but for that wee desired to die manfully: and from the beginning of day untill twy-light in the evening, the victorie swayed to no side; but still there was fighting on all hands more fiercely than advicedly: For there arose hideous outcries of one terrifying and frightening another: so that for heat of courage hardly could any man stand his ground, without receiving some hurt or other. And at length, as the night made an end of slaughtering, so the faetie of painfull travails yielded to both parts a longer respite and cessation of fight. For, when as wee had time given to rest, that little strength which remained in us, continuall labour and want of sleepe consumed quite: and withall, the bloudshed upon the ground, and the wan faces of them that lay a dying, made us exceedingly afraid: and verily the narrow and streight rowne within the circuit of the citie, which was none, ywis, of the greatest, would not permit so much as the last comforts yet, of burying the dead, considering that there were enclosed within the same, legions, and a confused sort of strangers and citizens one with another of both sexes; besides some, other few souldiers raised, to the number in all of twentie thousand. Well, every man cured his owne wounds, according as they were curable, or could meet with leeches ynow to looke unto them: considering, that some were so grievously wounded, that with the spending of their blood to the last drop, they gave up their vitall spirits, struggling still for life: others being stabbed into the bodie with sharpe pointed weapons, lay along on the earth, and when they had given their last gasps, were throwne forth dead. There were againe, who had so many deepe gashes and holes on every side in their limbs, that their skilfull and learned chyrurgians forbade them

them once to goe about the cure, for feare least the grievous handling of them taking no effect, their poore afflicted soules should be more tormented: lastly, divers there were, who with the plucking out of arrowes, where the cure was doubtfull, abid torture more dolorous than death.

CHAP. III.

The cures that Viriscinus had for helping the besieged, whiles Sabinianus slept till he snored againe, remaining still as dead among the Sepulchres. The Plague infecteth the Amideins, and after some few dayes by fall of small showers ceaseth.



Hiles the fight continued thus at Amida with full resolution and purpose of both sides, *Viriscinus* taking it heavily, that he depended upon the will and pleasure of another mans authoritie, oftentimes advertised *Sabinianus*, being then in greater place of government and command over the souldiors (but keeping still among the Sepulchres) That putting in readinesse and order all the skirmishing souldiors, they should closely make speed by the bottome and foot of the hils: that having by the meanes and helpe of light armour (if fortune were any thing favourable unto them) intercepted the stations, they might set upon the enemies night-watches, which taking a mightie compasse about, had invested the walls, or by often provocation and urging, find them occupied that so stoutly plied the siege. Which projects of his, *Sabinianus* stood against, as hurtfull and dangerous; pretending verily in shew, the Emperors letters openly giving commaundement, That what service soever might bee done, should be performed every where, without hurt or touch of souldior: but secretly in the bottome of his heart root retaining that which he was charged many a time in the court to doe, namely to disappoint his *predecessor, so much inflamed with the love and desire of glorie, of all meanes and occasions to win honour, though the same might tend to the benefit of the State; such hast was made even with the utter destruction of the provincies, that this warlike *knight might not be reported the author or copartener of any memorable exploit. And therefore, much abashed and dismayed with these hard fortunes, as booting nought by sending spies often unto us, although the wayes were layed so by streight watch and ward, that hard it was for any man to enter into the towne: and gaining as little by devising many good and profitable courses, he resembled for all the world a Lyon, for big bodie and grim looke terrible, but not daring to goe and deliver out of danger his whelps enclosed within net and toyle, as having his claws taken from him, and lost his teeth. But within the citie, where the number of dead bodies lying thicke scattered along the streets, was greater than of such as were to performe that last dutie of buriall, to mitigate so many miseries beside, came the pestilence, occasioned by a contagious infection of putrified carkasses breeding by this time vermine in them, and maintained with hote vapours and sundrie diseases of the common multitude. These kinds of maladies whence they use to arise, I will briefly declare. The Philosophers and renowned Physicians have written, That excesse of cold, of heat, of moisture, or driness, breedeth plagues. Whence it is, that those who dwell hard by fennie, moorie, and wet grounds, are subject to coughes, to the *falling sicknesse, and such like: contrariwise, they that confine upon hote countries, are dried up with the heat of fevers: But looke how much more powerfull than

*Viriscinus.

*Viriscinus.

*Inculcare resiste
quare, whether he
meant not de bene
cum resiste: a kind
of madnesse with
excessive fits of
laughter: under-
standing by *Viriscinus,
*Viriscinus, or *Viriscinus,
and according to
the Greeke phrase.

than other things is the substance of fire, so much is drougt ¹ more quicke to kill. Hereupon it came to passe, that when Greece was employed painefully in a warre continuing tenne yeares, that a ² stranger might not goe away unpunished for breaking the bend of a kings marriage, by such a maladic that reigned and came by the arrowes of *Apollo*, who is deemed to be the Sunne, a number perished: and as *Thucydides* sheweth, That wofull calamitie which in the beginning of the ³ *Pe-*
loponnesiacke warre vexed the Athenians with a grievous kind of sicknesse, crept by little and little from the hote climate of *Ethiopia*, and so set foot in *Attica*. Others are of opinion, That the ayre (like as waters use to be) infected and corrupted with the stinke of dead carkasses, or such like, is the greatest cause of most diseases: or at leastwise, that the suddaine alteration and change of aire breedeth lighter ⁴ sicknesse. Some also affirme, That the aire (thickened by some grosse exhalation of the earth, and thereby resisting the letting forth of the subtile matter that useth to breath out of the pores of the bodie) killeth some: for which cause, aliother living creatures, besides men, which continually looke downe to the ground, *Homer* once said, and we our selves know by many experiments afterwards, die thereof at first. The first kind of this contagious maladic is called ⁵ *Pandemus*, which causeth those that dwell in drie places to be troubled many times with extraordinary heats: the second, ⁶ *Epidemus*, at which time as it doth invade, it dimmeth the quicke light of the eyes, and stirreth up perillous humours: the third is ⁷ *Loemodes*, which likewise is temporarie, but speedily dispatcheth and killeth. With this deadly and mortall plague were they here shaken: and after some few consumed with intemperate heat, whom the pestering multitude stifled, at length, in that night which followed the tenth day, when by some smal showers the grosse and thicke ayre was dissolved and scattered, the bodies recovered and retained againe their firme and perfect health.

CHAP. IIII.

When the citie was encircled round about with hurdle-Fabrickes, by the meanes of a certaine townef man the Persians become masters of an high tower, from whence cunningly they scatter fire-darts among the besieged, and by all meanes molest them, and upon the winning of a pile called Ziatum, cruelly fall upon many thousands of prisoners.



At this time the restlesse Persian king compassed the citie round about with hurdle-workes, and began to raise platformes against it: then were there also framed high towers with fronts bound with yron, and upon the top of every of them Balists planted, that they might drive the defendants from their bulwarkes: howbeit, the slingers and archers ceased not so much as one minute of an houre to make light skirmishes. Now there were with us the two legions, *Magentiar*, newly brought out of *Gaule*, as I have said before, the same consisting of valiant men active and nimble, meet for fight on even and plaine ground; but for that manner of service and warre where we were tied, not onely unfit, but contrariwise also exceeding unruly and troublesome: Who, when they would not lend their helping hand to any man in engine-work, nor making of bulwarkes and fortifications, used sooke hardly to fallie forth and fight most courageously, but came home fewer than they went, doing no more good than one handfull of water, as men say, in a common stone-fire. At the last, when the

the gates were lockt fast up, and they for all the entreatie that their Tribunes made, might not issue forth, they fretted & gnashed their teeth like wild beasts. But certain daies after, their valor & effectual service was scene above all others, as I wil declare. In a by-place or corner of the South part of the wall which looketh downe to the river Tigris, there stood a tower rising to a great height, under which certaine cragie and broken rocks lay gaping open, so that a man could not looke downe into them without horrible dizzines and turning of the braine: from whence by vaults hollowed under the ground along the foot of the mountain, certaine staires workmanly and finely polished, led unto the very plaine plot of the citie, whereby to the end that water might privily and by stealth be drawne out of the rivers channell, a deuise that we haue scene in all the forts and strong holds throughout those countries which lie hard to rivers. Through this darke angle not regarded by reason of the broken rocke, with the guidance of a certaine townes-man fugitive, who had revolted to the contrary side, seuentie Persians, archers, chosen out of the kings regiment, very cunning and bold withall, guarded with the silence of that remote and by-place afore-said, sodainly at midnight climbed one by one up to the third storie or loft of the above said tower: and when they had lien there close hidden, in the morning they put out a soldiers coat of a red colour, which was a signall or token to begin battaile: which done, when they perceived once that the citie was invironed round on every side, with forces that flowed like waves upon it, after they had emptied their quivers, and cast them at their feet, with clamorous yellings and shouts they set all on fire, bestowing their arrowes abroad right cunningly. And then anon all the armie in thicke set squadrons assailed the citie much more eagerly than before. Whiles we within were uncertaine & doubtfull which way to turne us, and to make head; against these that stood aboue and molested us, or against the multitude, that by skaling were already at hand to take hold upon the very bulwarks? thus was the service devided among us. Five of the lighter kind of balists were removed out of their owne places, and planted against the tower: the which discharging verie quickly wodden darts, otherwhiles pierced through two of them at once. Some of them hereupon greeuoullie wounded fell downe: others for feare of the engines making such a noise, were cast headlong, and so with their bodies sore mangled, died; which being dispatched with great celeritie and expedition, and the said engines brought backe againe to their wonted places, with somewhat better securitie we ran on all hands to the defence of the walls. And for that the wicked act of this fugitive encreased our soldiers trouble and care, as if they were encountering in the verie plaine, they bestirred their strong armes so fustily in discharging diuers sort of casting-weapons, that the Vertæ, who were quartered against the South-side, now repulled and fet backe with many a smart wound, and weeping for the death of many their fellows, rettyred in feare unto their tents. Thus fortune breathed upon us some hope of safetie, considering we had passed one day not taking hurt our selves, and doing hurt unto our enemies: the rest of which day being graunted for rest, to refresh our wearied bodies; behold, the next morning betimes we discover from the citadel an infinite number of people, which upon the winning of the fort Ziata were led into the enemies land: for, unto that place being strong, and of very great receit, (as taking up in compass ten stadia) the multitude one with another of all sorts had fled for safetie. For there were other holds also about that time woen and burnt, whence many thousands of folks were taken forth, and followed after into captiuitie. Among whom, many men for old

old age, feeble, and women also now farre stricken in yeares, when as they fainted upon sundrie causes, as being offended with trauailing so farre, casting off all desire to live any longer, had the calves of their legges or hough-strings cut, and so were left behind.

CHAP. V.

The souldiers of Gaule requiring leave to encounter the enemy, and impatient of delay, charge upon the king of Persia, guarded with a power of one hundred thousand fighting men, and kill a number that lay fast asleep: but being almost beset round about with other companies that came running in, with the lesse of foure hundred verye unto the citie. After this, their leaders had by commaundement from Constantius armed statues erected for them.



Hefe pitfull and miserable troupes of captives the Gaulois souldiers beholding, upon a reasonable motive verily, although it were unseasonable, demanded leave to encounter the enemy in plain fight, threatening to kill the Tribunes, if they forbad them, and the principall corporals of every companie, if afterward they should prohibite them. And like as savage beasts with keene and fell teeth kept up in grated cages, and made more fierce and cruell with their foule and filthie keeping, upon hope to get out, rush and bounce against the barres that turne and wind within their lockets: even so fell they to hewing and hacking with their swords the gates, which (as I said before) were kept locked, as wonderfully troubled in mind, least either when the citie was rased and destroyed, they also should perish, without the atchievement of some brave and glorious exploit: or if it happened to be delivered from dangers, they might be reported to have done no worthie and memorable act befitting the magnanimities of the Gauls: albeit before time, when they had often issued forth, and attempted to impeach the pioneers, as well casters up of bankes, as makers of plat-formes, yea, and killed some, themselves received the like at their hands. We then destitute altogether of good counsell, and doubting what wee should set against them in their way, raging in this wise as they did, at length made choice of this course above the rest, although themselves would hardly yeeld their assent unto it, namely, that seeing they could no longer be endured, after some short pause and stay made, they might be permitted to fet upon the watch and ward of the enemies, that were placed not farre out of the darts shot, to the end, that when they had broken through them, they might proceed on still further. For apparant it was, That if they chieued well in this enterprize, they would make foule worke, and commit some notable carnage among them. Whiles preparation is made for this designe, by sundrie sorts of fight and skirmish, the walls were valiantly still defended, what with paines taking and continuall watching, and what with planting of engines and ordnance, to discharge from all parts both stones and casting-weapons; yet were there two high bankes erected by the hands of Persian footmen, and the winning of the citie was intended by long warre: and taking leisure thereto: against which, with the more earnest care and enueuour of our men also, were raised exceeding mighty mounts, topping equally the height of the terraces or bankes affronting them,

and such as would beare the greatest weight that might be of defenders. Meane while, the Gaules impatient of all delays, armed with axes and swords, went out at a posterne gate set open for them, taking the vantage of a darke night, when the Moone was in the change, praying unto the heavenly power to bee good and favourable unto them, and withall holding their very wind as they went: now when they drew neere, all in a thicke plume they ran violently, and after they had slaine some of the standing warders, killing also the utmost watch of the campe (as who fearing no such matter, lay sound asleepe) they thought and fully purposed secretly with them, if they had good lucke, and sped any thing well, suddenly to come upon the king himselfe, and to surpris him. But their sleepe being broken with upon the king himselfe, and that fell downe, and the groning of such as were slaine, hearing the noise of them that fell downe, and the groning of such as were slaine, a number of the enemies were raised, and when every man for his part cried, Arme, Arme, these venturous souldiours stood still and stirred not a foot, as not daring to passe on further: for it was no point of warlike policie, since those were awakened whom they layd in wait for, to run rashly upon an open hazard. Now when as whole companies of Persians fuming and fretting on every side, came hotly set to fight, the Gaules on the other side with strong bodies and undaunted boldnesse, so long as they could hold out, slashed and hewed all them with their swords that stood in their way, and some of their owne side were either beaten downe or shot into the bodie, with a number of arrowes flying about their eares on every hand. When they perceived therefore all the danger bent amaine to one place, and whole squadrons of their enemies running toward them, they made hast to get away, and yet not one of them turned his backe: and so being driven without the rampier, retrying by little and little, as it were, by sound of the measures, when they could no longer endure the bands so thicke assailing them, with the noise of the trumpets from the campe they were sore troubled, and so departed: also while many trumpets and cornets resounded out of the citie, the gates were set open to receive our men, if happily they could possibly returne so farre; yea, and the engines of artillerie kept a great rattling, without shot of any dart: to the end that both the captaines of the stations and wards, after their fellowes were slaine, might be driven to goe behind, as not knowing that they stood against the naked wals of the citie, and that those hardie and valiant men might bee received without taking harme. And so by this stratageme and cunning device, the Gaules having their number lessened, entered the gate when it was twilight wounded, some deadly, others lightly, and having lost in that nights worke foure hundred of their fellowes: who, if some more violent chaunce had not withstood them, would have killed in the very tents, not *Arhesus*, nor the Thracians, lying encamped before the walls of Troy, but the king of the Persians, guarded with an hundred thousand armed men. For the leaders and trainers of these Gaules, as beeing the chieftaines of valiant deeds, after the citie was destroyed and rased, the Emperour commaunded, there should be their statues all armed set up at Edeffa in a country of great resort: which statues are kept there sound and entire unto this present.

Great sorrow and lamentation in the Persians armie for the slaughter of their nobles and potestates, and three daies cessation of armes: which being past, the Amidens are fiercely assaulted, but the Persians valiantly repulsed: howbeit the next morning by day light they renew the combat.



The day following, when the dead bodies were discovered, and noble potentates and great lords found among the carcases of the slaine, the dissonant cries and teares together shewed sundrie mishaps in sundrie places, every where nothing was heard but sorrowfull mourning and indignation of the kings, supposing that the Romanes had broken in among them through the *corps de guard* placed against the wals: and for that a truce was granted by common consent for three dayes, we also tooke a time to breath our selves. After this, these nations (sore troubled and made more wood with so new and strange an accident) setting aside all further trifling and delay, thought good now to trie the quarrell by raising maine fabrickes and other fortifications, since that fine force sped no better: and thus in the heat of their blood, meaning to put the matter to the extremitie of warres, they all hastened now either to die with honour, or else to make satisfaction unto the ghosts of them that were slaine, with the downefall and utter ruine of the citie. And now by this time, when they had on all hands with alacritie and cheerefulnesse finished their furniture and preparation accordingly, no sooner was the day starre up, but sundrie sorts of fabrickes and turrets, bound with yron barres, were set close to the wals: in the high tops whereof were balists firly placed, which removed the defendants that kept lower. And by that time it grew to be faire day-light, the skie all over was under-spread with a feeling, as it were, of yron harnais; and the battailons thicke set together, marched, not out of ranke disorderly, as before, but directed by the mild sound of the trumpet, without any of them running rashly forth of their array, covered all the while with roofes or pent-houses over their heads, and having before them wicker hurdles made of rods for a fence. And when they drew so neere, as that they were within dart-shot, the Persian footmen, for all they held their shields before them, unneeth avoiding the arrowes shot from the wals out of brakes, crosse-bowes, and other engines, displayed and opened their ranks wider: and for as much as there was no kind in manner of casting-weapons that did light in vaine, even those that came heavily armed at all pieces, were daunted, and by their reculing made our men the bolder and more courageous. Howbeit, because our enemies Balists, planted upon their yron bound turrets, beeing of force from above to annoy and displease whatsoever was somewhat under them, as the place was unequal; so the effect and event was unlike, whereby they made foule bloudshed among us. Now when the evening came on apace, so that both sides rested, the greater part of the night was spent in devising what meanes might meet with so horrible a mischief. And in the end, after we had cast and projected many wayes, we resolved upon this device, which by putting quickly into execution, proved the safer, namely, that against those balists aforesaid foure scorpions should be planted full affront. Which while they were removed and placed over-against them warily (a matter of great difficultie and skill) the day commeth, to us most wofull, shewing the dreadfull

bands of the Persians, with whole heards and troupes of Elephants joyning close unto them, which made such a braying noise, and their bodies withall carried so huge a boulike, as a mans mind cannot conceive a more terrible and fearefull sight. And when we were on all sides put to it, what with violent weapons, huge fabricks, and hideous beasts, by the means of our Scorpions *yron slings, round stones driven otherwhiles from out of the bulwarkes, brake the joynts of their turrets, and overthrew both the Balists & their benders lo headlong, that some without wound-hurts; others, crushed with huge and heave weights, perished; and the Elephants with great violence were set further off: which beasts being on all sides encumbered with flames of fire throwne among them, that had now taken hold of their bodies, and going thereupon backward, their masters could not hold: and afterwards, when the munitions and fabrickes were burnt, they skirmished yet still, and gave not over. For, the king himselfe of the Persians, who is never forced to bee personally in any battaile, fore moved with these tempestuous infortunities, after a new manner, never exampled or knowne before, like unto a souldior that is used to fight a field, leapt forth into the thickest of them: and because he was more goodly and brave to be seene of them that looked a farre off, than the other multitude of such as guarded and protected him, many a casting-dart was throwne at him: and when a number of the guard and squires of his bodie were layed along, he went cleere away, changing alternatively by turnes the battaillons easie to be ruled: and to the very end of the day, not affrighted with the fearefull fight either of those that were a dying, or of wounds given and taken, at length he permitted some final time to be granted for rest. But when the night came and ended the conflict, and that in so small a time he had taken a short sleepe, no sooner grew it to be day-light, but he boyling with anger and dolour, and minding to set no regard of right before his eyes, excited his people against us, for to win what he hoped for. And when after their fabrickes and plat-formes were burnt, as I have shewed, they attempted to fight along the high terraces next unto the walls: out of the mounts raised up with-in forth, our men, so farre as they were able to doe or straine, with equall force resisted on the high ground. And a long time continued there a bloudie battaile, neither for feare of death stirred one man of any side, nor gave over his endeavour, to make good their places. The conflict being drawne out and continued thus farre, when the fortune of the sides was ruled by an inevitable event, that mount or terrace of ours that had cost so long labour about it, as if it had been shaken with some earthquake, fell downe forward: and the space that lay hollow and gaped between the wall and the heape of earth cast up without forth, layed now even and plaine, as it were, by a causiey or bridge set over it, made an open passage and entrance for the enemies, and the same by no barres in the way impeached: and so the most part of our souldiors that were thus cast down, ceased their fight, either overwhelmed with earth, or weakened with travaile. Howbeit, there was running on all sides to put backe so suddaine a danger, and whiles with hast making they entangled one another, the enemies grew the bolder and more venturous for their good successe.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

As length, when all the forces were from all parts sent for and assembled together, Amida by the power thereof is won. Some of the garrison souldiors escape: and among them Ammianus Marcellinus, who by swift flight save himselfe. Sapor after he had crucified Elianus, a lieutenant, and certaine Romane Tribunes, sought carefully for all the Transstigitores, and put them to the sword.

BY reason therefore that the king commanded all the brigands and robbers to be sent for, and naked swords were bent against one anothers breast, when by occasion of infinite slaughter there was nothing but bloudshed on both sides, the ditches were filled up with bodies, and thereby a broader way layed open: and the citie thus pestered with concourse of forces still sharpe set and hote upon execution, when all hope was cut off cyther of longer defence or escape by flight, hewen in pieces they were pell-mell one with another, armed souldiors and unarmed weaklings, and no regard of sex was made. Wherefore, when it began to be darke in the evening, and as yet a number of our men (though adverse fortune stood and strived against them) by joyning in fight were held occupied, and had their hands full, I (with two others) lying hidden through the benefit of the darke night, in a certaine secret place of the towne, got forth at a posterne gate, where there was no watch kept: and having some helpe by the skill I had of desert places and the swift speed that my companions made, came at length as farre as to a station or bailing place at ten myles end: wherein after we had bene moderately refreshed, and were about to goe forward still on our way, and my selfe was now over-come with too much travaile, as a gentleman not used to such toyle, I found a terrible object to see to, but yet that which to me (so wearied and tyred out as I was) yielded passing great comfort. One of these campe-lacqueyes or souldiors pages riding upon a swift horse without saddle and bitt or bridle, to the end that he might not drop off his backe, tied very straight and short unto his left hand the halter or cord, wherewith, as the manner is, he was used to be led and guided: and within a while after chauncing to bee cast, and not able to breake in sunder the knot of the bond that held him fast, had all his lims piteously rent and mangled, as he was dragged through desert wilds and Forrests, and so with the weight of his carkasse restrained backe the beast, which by this time also was spent and tyred out with running. The service of which jade thus caught, I making use of for the time, came with much adoe together with the said companions of mine, to certaine fountaines of waters naturally hote, standing upon a veine of brimstone. And for that by reason of the hote weather we being over-taken with drought and thirst, went softly seeking a great while for water, and so spied at length a verie deepe pit, not able either to go downe into it for the depth it carried, nor having any cords or ropes about us, wee being taught by extreame necessitie what to doe in this case, did cut the linnen shirts that we were lapped in, into small pieces: whereof having drawne out a rope of a mightie length, we tooke a quilt which one of our companie wore under his morrion, and put the same to the nether end of it: which being by the said rope let downe into the pit, and drinking in water like a sponge or dishclout, quickly quenched the thirst wherewith wee were in manner consumed. From thence we went apace unto the river Euphrates, minding

minding to crosse the water unto the further banke, by a vessell which a long time was wont to give attendance there in that tract, for to ferrie over both horie and man. But behold, wee might discover a farre off a regiment of Romanes, with their horsemens guidons disranked and broken, which a multitude of Persians pursued; and we wist not whence it was, that in so suddaine violence they charged thus the backs of the other, marching on their way. By which example, thus presented to our eyes, we beleeve verily, That those earth-begotten gyants arose not out of the bowels and bowes of the earth, but were borne indeed so exceeding swift: whom, for that they were seene suddainly in divers places (Spartan commonly they termed them) men supposed to have started out of the ground, so fabulously cloth antiquitie extoll this thing, as above all others beside. This unhappy occurrent made us bestirre our stumps, and for that all the helpe wee had to lave our selves, lay in swift footmanship, wee made speed through meires and groves toward the high mountaines, and so from thence wee came to Melitina, a towne in the lesse Armenia: and there having met with our capitaine, wee accompanied him, now ready to take his journey, and visited Antiochia againe. Meane while, Sapor and the Persians, because they might not now march into the inland parts of the countrey, considering it grew toward the end of Autumne, and the starre named the Kids, were risen, driving their captives and other booties before them, intended to returne home into their owne countrey. Among these executions nevertheless and risings of the citie thus raised, when *Ælianus* the lieutenant, and those Tribunes (through whose valiant service the walls stood so long defended, and so many Persians slaine) were villanously hanged upon gibbets, *Jacobus* and *Cesius*, the Registers or Notaries belonging to the office of the Generall of the Horsemen and other of the Protectores were led away prisoners, with their hands pinnioned behind their backs. But the inhabitants beyond Tigris, straightly layed for, were all massacred every mothers child, without respect of degree, from the highest to the lowest.

CHAP. VIII.

The wife of Craugasius a nobleman, taken captive, sendeth for her husband, who abode at Nisibis with Romanus a Praefect, and the garrison souldiers there: who chasibly maketh an escape, and cometh to the Persians hoast: and thus having recovered his wife, is advanced to new dignities and honours by Sapor, who, by report, in that siege of Amida lost thirrie thousand fighting men.



But the wife of *Craugasius* (who keeping still her chastitie unstained, was honoured as a noble dame) mourned as though shee were to see another world without her husband, albeit she hoped by fresh and present examples, of better and more happie fortune. Casting therefore and providing for her owne good, and farre forecasting accidents to come, troubled shee was with a twofold thought, as one detesting both widowhood and wedlocke. Whereupon she secretly dispatched a very trustie familiar friend of hers, and one that knew well all the coasts and quarters of Mesopotamia, with direction to enter into Nisibis by the mountaine Zagrus, betweene two garrison fortresses, Miride and Lome; requesting her husband by a speciall message and some secret tokens of matters privily passed between them twain,

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That after he was enformed what occurrents had happened, he would come over, to live with her a blessed life. With these instructions this passenger beeing to his content furnished, and withall lightly appointed, through blind wayes in forrests and shrubbie places he hie the apace, and entred into Nisibis: where he pretended this to be his crand, namely, That for as much as his mistresse was no where to be seene, and peradventure murdered, hee having espied meanes to make an escape, departed out of the enemies campe. And so being not regarded, as one that was but a base fellow, he enformed *Craugasius* of all that had beene done: and soone after, having taken his faithfull promise, That if he might with safetie, he would follow his wifes; the messenger gat away from thence, glad man that he was, bringing unto the woman newes that she so long wished for. Who knowing thus much, by the mediation of Marquesse *Sapor* made a supplication to the king, That before he departed out of the Romane marches, hee would (if it might conveniently be done) of his gracious favour graunt and commaund, That her husband might come under his power and protection. Now when the said stranger, so suddainly come, was as soone gone before any man looked for it (for indeed he presently returned in secret manner, and without the privie of any, slipped away) Marquesse *Cassianus* strucke with a deepe suspicion of the thing, and other great captains there in place of government and commaund, came roughly upon *Craugasius*, and threatened to put him to death, crying with open mouth, That the man neither came nor went without his will. But he fearing to be charged as a traitor, and troubled exceeding much in mind, for feare least by the revolt of some fugitives thither, intelligence might be given, That his wife remained living, and was most kindly entreated; by way of semblance affected marriage with another brave and noble virgin: and so pretending that hee would provide things necessary for his nuptiall feast, went forth to a village standing eight myles from the towne, and so with all the speed and hast he could make, fled to a companie of Persian forrayers that were abroad to wast the countrey, of whom he had intelligence that they approached: and being gladly of them received, and known by the words he spake who he was, after five dayes delivered he was to *Sapor*, and by him to the king. So after he had recovered his goods, which had beene taken from him, and all his dearest friends, together with his wife, whom for some few moneths he had lost, hee was in a second place next unto *Antoninus*; howbeit, as the excellent Poet sayth, *Longo proximo intervallo*, i. next indeed, but yet a great way off. For he having a notable wit, and grounded besides by long experience of the world, was a very sufficient man, and able by some policie to compasse whatsoever he tooke in hand: whereas *Craugasius* was by nature very simple, yet in name as well renowned and much spoken of. And these things verily happened not long after. But the king, albeit in his countenance he made shew of securitie, and seemed in outward apparence to rejoyce for the destruction of this citie, yet greatly disquieted and grieved deeply at the heart he was, when he cast up his accompts, and found, how hee had many times sustained lamentable losses in these dangerous and mischievous sieges, yea, and that himselfe had lost farre more of his owne people than he had taken of our men alive, or slaine at leastwise in so many skirmishes. Like as it fell out divers times at Nisibis and Singara: and semblably having for severentie three dayes beleaguered Amida with a multitude of armed souldiers, hee lost thirrie thousand fighting men and good warriors: which within a while after were by *Discenes* a Tribune and Notarie reckoned the easier, by this difference observed: for that the

carriages

carkasses of our men slaine soone become fantome, doe burst, run out, and turne all to putrifaction; inso much, as after foure dayes be past, no dead man can be known by his face: but the bodies of the Persians slaine, waxe drie and starke as stakes, so that neither their lims become soft, nor moistened with any matter, or corrupt bloud, wherein they are embred: the cause hereof is their frugall manner of living, and the land wherein they be borne and bred, so parched with heat.

CHAP. IX.

Rome is distressed with dearth and scarcitie of victuals. Tertullus Praefect of the citie, by a wise Oration reclaimeth the people in an uprore, and bringeth them to good order. Upon the change of wind Ships fraight with corne drive away the said want. Constantius prepareth an expedition against the rebellious Sarmatians.



Hiles these affaires are carried on end by sundrie whirle-puffs in the utmost marches of the East, the immortall citie Rome feared a dearth comming for default and scarcitie of corne: and *Tertullus* Praefect at the same time, through the violence of the commons very full of their menaces, as fearing famine, the worst calamitie of all others, was otherwhiles sore troubled, but without all reason, I assure you: for it was not long of him that victuall was not brought in convenient time by shipping, which being arrived as faire as to the next bayes, partly the roughnesse of the sea, which was more angrie than ordinarie, and partly tempests of contrarie winds affrighted with doubt of great perils from putting into the haven of *Augustus*. For which cause, the sayd Praefect being often disquieted with seditious commotions, and by reason that the common people tooke on and ragged more fully now, as being vexed for the imminent mischief that they feared, out of all hope to save his life, as he thought, unto the people thus keeping a sore stirre in tumultuous wise (and yet using aloftime wifely to consider of such accidents) presented his little sonnes. & shedding teares: Behold (quoth hee) your fellow citizens and countreyemen, who shall endure (but the gods in heaven forsende the Ose) the same hard distresse together with you, unlesse some better fortune shine upon us. If therefore, by the losse and destruction of these, yee thinke that no heave calamitie can light upon you, here am I readie at your command. By which pitifull object, the common sort (inclined of their owne nature to clemencie) became appeased and held their peace, patiently waiting for that lot which should befall unto them. And anone (such was the will and pleasure of the divine power which hath advanced Rome from the first infancie thereof, and given answer, *Thas it should continue for ever*) whiles *Constantius* was offering sacrifice at Ostia in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, a calme came that allayed the sea, and the wind turning about, and changing to bee mild South, the ships with full sayle entered the haven, and filled the garners with corne. Whiles *Constantius* among these occurrents was thus doubtfull what to doe, as who still in his Winter repose at *Sirmium* sat carking and musing upon the matter, thoroughly moved and troubled he was with fearefull and heave newes, shewing that which he then was much afraid of, namely, how the Limigantes of Sarmatia, who (as I have shewed before) had expelled their owne lords and masters out of their ancient seats and possessions, having by little and little neglected those places, which the yeare past in a good and profitable policie were set out and appointed for them, least (as they

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are a sickle and unconstant nation) they should rise and plot some mischief to the State, had now seized into their hands the countries confining upon their limits, and after their inbred manner raunged abroad licentiously, readie to set all in an hurrie and combustion, if they were not removed and put backe. Which outrages of theirs, the Emperour supposing that they would shortly grow to prowdertearmes, if the businesse were deferred, having gathered together from all parts a number of most expert and active souldiours, tooke the field in the beginning of the Spring, before it was yet come to the height; the more forward to this expedition in two respects, for that the armie full of rich booties, since the end of the late Summer was confidently upon the like hope emboldened to the atchievement of prosperous exploits: and againe, because *Anatolius* at that time fitting as *Praefect for Illyricum, there was abundance of all necessarie provision gotten together alreadie, even before the ordinarie time, without the losse and hinderance to any man. For, never by the dispose and order set downe of any other Praefectship unto this present (as all men confesse and avouch) flourished the Northern provinces in all blessings, as which by a friendly correction and wise reformation of some that did amisse and erred, were eased of the great losses they had by waggonage and other carriage, that undid an infinit number, and made them shut up their dores, and delivered from the professing and acknowledgement of everie mans worth in the Subsidie booke, under a goodly shew of trust. And thenceforth the inhabitants of those parts might have lived exempt from hurt, and beene saved harmelesse, considering all matters of quarrels and complaints were hushed: but that afterward the odious and detestable titles of matters exquisitely fought out and devised, and the same amplified and aggravated in criminous wise by those that both exhibite and admit such bills, whiles these of the one side straine and strive to have their power and authoritie settled and continued to them still, and those of the other hoped, if all men were shrugged of their goods, and left bare, they should live in safetie, grew at length to open proscriptions & hanging of silly innocent persons. Well, the Emperour, as I have sayd, for the redresse of that urgent outrage and enormitie, having in starcly and glorious manner (with all his furniture and provision) put himselfe on his journey, came to *Valeria* a province, sometime part of *Pannonia*, but in the honour of *Valeria*, daughter of *Dioctlesian*, first instituted and so named: and encamping with his armie (lying spread under their tents) along the banks of the river *Ister*, observed the Barbarians; who before his comming (under a colour and pretence of friendship) minded by stealth to invade and wast *Pannonia* in the very hardest time of Winter, considering that the Snow was not yet melted by the warmth of the Spring, whereby the said river remained passable every where, and our souldiours hardly could endure to stay long abroad and lye without dore in frostie weather.

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CHAP.

CHAP. X.

He goeth about to appease the Limigantes of Sarmatia, who pretending that they craved peace, all on a suddaine in raging wise, with weapon in hand, set upon him, and force him to shift for himselfe by running away: But within a while after, as men destinated to destruction, they were all put to the sword.



Orthwith therefore having sent unto the Limigantes two Tribunes with one interpreter apeece, in very modest tearmes, by way of asking the question, he required to know, What the reason was, that leaving their houses assigned unto them at their request, after peace and covenants of league concluded, they wandered abroad so disorderly in sundrie places, and did violence upon our limits, all prohibitions in that behalte notwithstanding? Who alledging for their excuse certaine frivolous and vaine reasons, whiles teare forced them to lye, besought the prince to pardon them, and entreated him, *That all grudges and displeasures forgotten, he would permit them to passe over the river, and come before him, where they would relate what harmes and damages they sustained: and were prest and readie, if it might stand with his pleasure, to take lands farre remote, so they lay within the compasse of the Romane world, as men mused in long rest and peace, worshipping Quirinus as a goddess of health, and would both undergoe the burthens and beare the name of Tributaries.* The Emperour taking knowledge hereof, after the returne of the Tribunes aforesaid, leaping for joy, as if the affaire which he deemed most difficult and inexplicable, would fully bee dispatched without any paines taking, admitted them all to his presence, as one inflamed with an hote desire still of having and getting more: which humor of his, all the crew of flatterers about him followed and fed, who without all measure filled his eares with these and such like speeches. That now having stilled all forraine troubles, and made peace in everie place, he should gaine a number of 'proletarie subjects to multiplie and beget issue, and bee able to levie and muster a most puissant frie of young souldiors: for provinciall people will be most willing to give gold for the saving of their bodily labour,* which hope hath divers times hindered and endangered the state of Rome. And therefore after he had placed a rampier neere to *Acunincum, and erected an high terrace or banke like unto a Tribunall, divers ships manned with certaine legionarie souldiors lightly appointed, were by commandement set to keepe the channell of the river next unto the banks, together with *Innocentius*, sometime a land measurer, who gave this counsell, to the end, that if they perceived on the barbarous people to stirre, whiles they were bent another way, the said souldiors might charge upon their backs. And the Limigantes, of whom no man was aware, albeit they perceived some hast and hurrie made, yet devising nothing on the head and rashly, stood bowing forward, thinking deeply in their hearts of other matters, farre different from what they pretended in gesture and speech. Now, when they saw the Emperour addressing himselfe from an high pulpit to make a most mild Oration, and readie to speake unto them, as people that would soone be tractable and obedient, one of them in a terrible fit of furie having flung with a violence his shoo at the Tribunall, cried out *Marha, Marha*, which among them is the watchword and signall to begin a fray and skirmish: And the rude multitude following him presently, put up a Barbarian banner, and with a lowd outcrie, after a wild and savage manner, advanced forward against the prince himselfe. Who

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looking downe from aloft, when he saw the multitude running to and fro in every place with their casting darts, and that by reason of their drawne swords and rapiers he was like to come presently to some mischiefe, entermingling himselfe with his owne people and strangers, and not known whither he was a captaine or a souldior, because there was no time now either to linger or to sit still, beeing mounted upon a swift steed, he gallopped away with bridle in necke, and escaped. Yet some few yeomen of the guard, whiles they laboured to keepe the villains back, flashing as it were upon them like flames of fire, lost their lives, as beeing crushed with the weight onely of those that fell upon them; and the kings throne, together with the cushion all cloth of gold, was stolen and carried away, whiles there was no man to gaine say it. And within a little after, when newes came that the Emperour had bene plunged well neere into extreme jeopardy, and stood not yet upon sure ground, the armie supposing the chiefest and first thing that they had to do, was to rescue him (for they thought him not quite rid yet out of danger) presuming confidently to have a good hand of it, and to save his life; armed though they were but by the halves because they ran out to fight so suddainly, gnashing their teeth also, so that they rung againe, as fell souldiors use to doe, engaged themselves among the bands and companies of the barbarous rebels, fully bent there to leave their lives. And because the fierie courage of our men resolved fully by manhood to wipe away all shamefull dishonour, as whetting their anger against such disloyall and perfidious enemies, without spare, downe they went with all that stood in their way, hewing them in pieces, trampling underfoot as well those that were alive, as them that lay halfe dead, & killed outright indeed: and before they could make up their hands full with killing these Barbarians, there lay whole heapes of them dead, thrust up and steaked fast together. For these rebels were driven to extremities, whiles some were killed downeright in the place, others for deadly feare scattered asunder: of whom, a great sort conceiving some hope of life by prayers which came to nothing, after many a blow & wound received one in the necke of another, were massacred in the end. After they were all defeated and made away, when the trumpets sounded the retreat, our men also, though but here & there, were seene lying breathlesse and dead, namely, such as some violent rout had borne down, or whom the fallall course of destinie made an end of, whiles they withstood the enemies rage, and laid their naked and unarmed sides open to them. But the death of *Cella*, a Tribune of the Scutarii, was notable among others, who at the very beginning of the conflict thrust himselfe first of all others into the middle of the Sarmatians troups. After which so cruell a carnage and massacre committed, *Constantius* having taken order for securitie, according as the urgent occasions of the limits required, returneth to Sirmium, with full revenge taken of his false enemies: where when he had likewise dispatched those affaires, which the instant necessities of the time called for, he departed from thence and went to Constantinople, that being now so neere unto the East, he might salve the fores and hurts received at Amida, and by renewing the armie with fresh supplies, with like puissance and forces restrain the king of Persia his violent attempts: who, as it was well knowne (unlesse the heavenly power and some greater care of many besides did repell) intended to leave Mesopotamia behind him, and advance his ensignes displayed along the spacious and wide countries of the maine.

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CHAP.

* Take this to be spoken in the person of the author.
* *Kametes, Sirmius.*

CHAP. XI.

A new Tragedie, growing from a slender matter: she chiefe part wherein to be acted, is committed unto one Paulus a Notarie, and skilfull in cruell feats.



Owbeit, among these cares and thoughts the trumpets sounded with full blast, according to a certaine received custome of old, in lieu of civile warres, certaine matters of imputation, coloured deeply with the crime of majestie or high Treason. For the pursuit and managing whereof, *Paulus* that *Notarie*, whom I must so often name, was sent: who being a skilfull practitioner in these capitall and bloudie arts, like as a fencer or sword-player out of *Funerals* or *Playes*, so himselfe also from the racke or hangmans office used to reape some gaine and commoditie: for as he had an obstinate and setled purpose to doe hurt, so he forbore not also to theewe and steale, devising against innocent persons sundrie causes and imputations, tending to their mischief and overthrow, so long as he had his hand in such damnable salaries. Now a small and base occasion there was, that ministred matter of examinations infinitely extended. There is a towne named *Abydum*, seated in the furthest part of the province *Thebais*: here the Oracle of a god, called in that place *Beses* in old time revealed things to come, and was wont to have honor and worship done unto it, according to the auncient ceremonies of the countries lying round about it. And for as much as some personally present, and some again by others sending a script, that shewed what they were desirous to know, with an expresse forme of supplications conceived, asked counsell of the divine powers, those pieces of paper or parchment which contained in them their requests and petitions, remained otherwhiles, even after answers given, in the chappell. Of these, some upon a malicious intent were sent unto the Emperour, who, as he was a man of a base mind, carrying a deafe eare in other matters even of great weight and importance, became in this particular cause and information presented unto him, passing tractable and suspitious; and besides, being prepared before hand naturally with bitter gall, soone was heat and caught fire. Immediately therefore he warned *Paulus* with all speed to go into the East, armed with this warrant and commission, That as a capitaine renowned for his experience in the world, hee should cause these matters to be heard at his will and pleasure. Likewise there was employed in this businesse *Modestus*, then lieutenant overall the East, a man fitted for these and such like affaires: for *Hermogenes Ponticus*, at the same time *Præfectus Prætorio*, was rejected as one of too mild a temper. Well, *Paulus* according as hee was commaunded, set forward on his journey, full of deadly furie, and carrying a pernicious breath with him. Having graunted libertie therefore to preferre slanders and false endictments, a number were brought into question from all parts (in manner) of the earth, as well of noble birth as of obscure parentage: whereof, some were put to paine by hard and streight bonds, others died, pent up in close prisons and dungeons. And chosen there was to behold these deadly and wofull punishments, *Scythopolis* a citie in *Palestina*, which upon a twofold consideration was thought the meetest of all others, for that it stood more secret and apart, and besides was just in the middest betwene *Antiochia* & *Alexandria*, whence many most commonly were drawne to their accusations.

*Chanceller.

*For Abydus, Efig-
num, Orontes, Antio-
chia, Cappadocia.

*Bethus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The executions of right honourable and most noble personages, whiles Paulus the Notarie sat as Judge. The exquisite censure of Ammianus Marcellinus as touching this affaire. An horrible monster borne and scene as Amioch. The Isaurians sheeving and robbrie infest the neighbour nations: but by the threats rather than the rigour of Lauritius, they are reformed.



Brought there was therefore judicially, with the first, *Simplicius* the sonne of *Philip*, who had beene *Præfect* and *Consull* both, ended upon this point, for that he was reported to have enquired about the obtaining of the Empire: and being commaunded to be put to torture by vertue of the princes writ (who in these cales at any time neither sinned nor trespassed in matter of pietie and mercie) by some speciall providence of God protecting him, without any foile or abuse done to his bodie, was condemned to banishment: then *Pernaxius*, late *Præfect* of *Egypt*, a plaine conditioned man, brought to that point of danger, that he had sentence pronounced (worthie of death) was likewise driven into exile: he had beene heard oftentimes long before to say, That when hee left *Patrae*, a towne in *Achaia*, where he was borne and had his dwelling place, for to obtaine or get a certaine office, he had scene as he lay asleepe many images in habite of tragical actors accompanying and bringing him on the way. *Andronicus* afterwards well knowne for his liberrall studies and excellencie in Poetrie, was brought into the judgement place: who carrying a cleere and secure conscience, when he could not be touched with any suspitions and presumptions laid against him, standing still to his purgation, and that very stoutly, was acquite. Semblably, *Demetrius* a Philosopher, surnamed *Cyrtas*, a man verily farre stept in years, but having still a good strong bodie, and as stout a mind, being hardly layed unto and charged, That divers times he had offered sacrifice, could not denie the fact, but the fault, impleading, That from the very prime of his youth he had used so to do, for to please and pacifie God, and never sounded nor searched into high matters; for he did not so much as know any man that affected or desired it. Continuing therefore a long time set fast on the racke, when surely grounded upon a firme confidence, he persisted fearelesse, and without varying in his answers alleadged and pleaded still the same, suffered he was without any further harme received to depart unto *Alexandria*, where he was borne. And these verily, with some few others, the righteous hand of God, which helpeth and assisteth *Truth*, delivered out of extreame and present dangers. But whiles these criminations and endictments spred still further and further by intricate and intangling snares without end, some, after their bodies were piteously mangled, died thereof; others despoyled of their goods, were condemned to suffer further punishment: and *Paulus* all the whiles was the prompter and succentor of these cruell enterludes, which out of a spence or budget of craftie devices he brought forth in open shew to doe hurt, and whereof headed many: upon whose will and pleasure I may in manner boldly say, depended the life of as many as went on the ground. For if a man wore about his necke any remedies against the *Quartane* ague, or some other paine, or could be charged by the information of evill-willers, to have passed by a monument in the evening, as one that were a witch or forcerer, and collected the horrors of sepulchres, and vaine il-

*Patrae.

Insuſions of ſpirits and ghoſts walking and wandering thereabout, pronounced hee waſto deſerve death, and he died for it. And verily, the matter was thus for all the world carried and handled, as if many a man had ſolicited *Clarus, the *Dodonaean trees, and the Oracles of 7 Delphi, which were ſo famous in times paſt, and all to procure the death and deſtruction of the Emperour. Whereupon the Palatine cohort of courtiers about him curiouſly and finely ſaining naughtie deviſes of flatterie, affirmed flatly, That he ſhould from henceforth be exempt from all evils that commonly befall other men, giving it out alowd with open mouth, That his fortune had appeared at all times powerfull and ſurely effectuell in confounding and deſtroying of his adverſaries. And verily, that there was ſuch ſtreight inquisition into theſe matters, no man of wiſedome and diſcretion findeth fault. For we doe not denie, that the life and ſafetie of a lawfull prince, who is a protector and defender of good men, and from whom we ſeek for means of others ſafetie, ought with joint diligence and endeavour of all men to be fenced and maintained: For whoſe redeeming with might and maine, when upon violence and abuſe offered to his maieſtie he ſtandeth upon his guard and defence, the laws *Corneliſ have exempted no perſon of what eſtate and degree ſoever from examination by way of torture, though the ſame were with loſſe of bloud. But on the other ſide, it becometh not princes unmeaſurably to rejoyce and take pleaſure in the woſull caſes of ſubjects, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme governed by licentiousneſſe and not by authority. And the example of Tully ought in this point to be followed, who when it was in his power to harme and to ſpare (as himſelfe affirmeth) ſought for cauſes of forgiveness, and not occaſions of puniſhment: which is the proper dutie of a diſcreet and conſiderate Iudge. At the ſame time, in Daphne, that pleaſant and ſumptuous place, neere unto the citie Antioch, was borne a monſter, horrible to be ſcene and reported, an infant with two mouths, two teeth, a beard, foure eyes, and two exceeding little eares: which birth ſo miſhapen and deformed, foretold, that the Common-wealth was turning into a foule and ill favoured ſtate. Now ſuch ſtrange and uncouth monſters as theſe are many times brought forth into the world, ſignifying and preſaging the events of ſundry things; which becauſe they are not openly, as in old time, expiated, they paſſe away as unheard of and unknowne. And even in theſe dayes, the ſlaui, who had bene long time quiet, after they had done ſome acts, according to the contents of the former ſtorie, and attempted the ſiege of the citie Seleucia, reviving by little and little (as ſerpents are wont in the Spring ſeaſon to leape out of their holes) came downe the craggie ſtraits and deſart wilds, and then putting themſelves cloſe into thicke companies and ſquadrons, as robbers and brigands, fore troubled and diſquieted the borderers, and withall, as mountainters, paſſed beſide the fore-fences and ſtations of our ſouldiours unſcene, and by means of their dayly practice ran eaſily to and fro over rockes and through grounds full of buſhes. For the appealing of whom, either by maine force or reaſonable perſuaſions, *Lauritius* was ſent as ruler, with the dignitie alſo of a Comes added to his ſtile, a man politicke, and of a civile carriage, who reformed moſt enormities by threatening rather than by rigorous dealing: inſomuch, as for a great time, while he governed the province, there happened nothing that was reputed worthe of puniſhment.

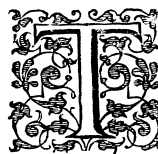
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THE XX. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Lupicinus is ſent from Iulianus into Britannie, for to repreſſe the troubles and commotions there. Viſcinus, by the ſlanderous calumniation of thoſe in the Court depreſſed and thruſt under foot, laid away his girdle of knighthood, and is commanded to betake himſelfe to a private life.



His was the order and proceſſe of affaires throughout Illyricum and the Eaſt. But in the tenth yeare of *Conſtantius* his Conſulſhip, and third of *Iulianus*, when by the out-rides of Scots and Picts, ſavage nations, the peace was broken in Britannie, and the places neere unto the limits appointed for marches waſted, ſo that the provinces (wearied with a multitude of calamities paſt, heaped upon them) were affrighted, *Cæſar* keeping his Winter in Paris, and diſtracted into ſundry carefull thoughts, was afraid to goe and ſuccour thoſe beyond the ſeas, as *Conſtantius* had done before time (according as I have declared) leaſt he ſhould leave Gaule without a ruler; eſpecially at ſuch a time, when the Alemans were ſtirred up to make cruell warres. He thought it good therefore to ſend into theſe parts, for to ſet all things in order, *Lupicinus* at the ſame time Colonell of the Infanterie, a warlike man, I aſſure you, and ſkilfull in ſeats of armes; but proud withall, carrying a ſtately looke, ſetting up his browes aloft like horns, and ſpeaking thereto as big, yea, and keeping a ſtirre, as one would ſay, he acted in a Tragedie upon the ſtage; of whom, men doubted a long time, whether he were more covetous than cruell. This great capitaine therefore above-named ſetting forward on his journey with the auxiliarie light appointed ſouldiours, to wit, the *Heruli, Batavi, and many companies of the Moſeci, in the miſt of Winter came to *Bononia: and having gotten ſhipping, and embarked all his ſouldiours, with a good gale of wind, which hee waited for, arrived at *Rutupie, juſt overagainſt it, and ſo marcheth toward *Lundinium, that from thence, after advice taken, according to the qualitie of the buſineſſe he might make more ſpeed to come into the field and give battaile. Whiles theſe affaires thus proceed, after the aſſault and forcing of Amida, when *Viſcinus* was returned to the princes *campe and captainſhip of the footmen (for wee ſaid before that hee ſucceeded

*Bullen, or
Bologne.
*Richborough, or
Ripcheſter, neere
Sandwich.
*London.

*For Caer.
Bar.

*Amala.

*Profrimus.

*or captain.

CHAP. II.

A memorable eclipse of the Sunne in the East parts. A discourse according to Naturalists, as touching the motions of Sunne and Moone, and their eclipses.



The same time, in the east parts, the aire was to mens sight overcast with a darke mist, and from the dawning of the day untill noone tide, starres were seene continually to shine. And to increase this fearefull accident, it fell out so, that when the heavenly daylight was * hidden by reason that there was a totall darknesse over the face of the earth like unto the night, men were afraid, and supposed verily, that the Sunne was extraordinarily * eclipsed, seeing him first diminished to the shape of the Moone, horned, or in the new; then, increased to the forme of an halfe Moone, and afterward restored full and whole againe. A thing that happeneth not at other times so evidently, unlesse it be when the Moone, after unequal and oblique courses, and certaine spaces betweene, in her change returneth to the same points or beginning; that is, when in the house of the same signe the whole body of the Moone is found by most direct lines quite opposite under the Sunne, and stayeth a while in these minutes, which in the art of Geometricke are tearmed Parts. But, albeit the conversions and motions of both planets, as the searchers * of intelligible causes have observed, after the course of the moone full-

*profrimus.

*Like as the
newe in her con-
junction with the
Sunne, which we
call the Change,
hath an universall
effect.

*Astronomers.

fulfilled, by a perpetuall distinction meet in one and the same end : yet is not the Sunne in those daies always hidden and covered, but when the Moone by a just plumbe-line, as it were, is opposite in the midst, and interposed betweene the ficke globe of the Sunne and our sight. In brieft, then is the Sunne hidden, and his shining light suppressed, when himselfe and the roundle of the Moone (the lowest of all the starres) accompanying together, keeping their owne proper Spheres, and placed joyntly (saving the regard of height) as *Prolomae* both skilfully and elegantly sheweth, are come to those dimensions which they usually tearme in the Greeke tongue *εὐκαίρως καὶ κατὰ τὸ φυσικὸν ἀποστήσαντες ἀλλήλους*. That is to say, eclipticke or defective conjunctions ascending and descending. And if they touch the places joyning close unto the said * joynts, the eclipse will be the smaller : but if they abide in the very points and joynts, which bind more streight together the said ascents and descents, then is the skie overcast with grosser darknesse, as if the aire were thickened; so that we are not able to see so much as the things that stand just before our eyes. Moreover, wee thinke that wee behold two Sunnes in this wise : in case a cloud mounted higher than ordinarie, and shining againe by reason of the necrenesse of those eternal * lights, represent the brightnesse of another circle by the reflection, as it were, from a pure glasse. Now, come we to the Moone. Thus onely and not otherwise suffreth the Moone a plaine and evident eclipse, when beeing in her full light round, and opposit unto the Sunne, she is from his Orbe distant one hundred and eightie parts, that is to say, in the seventh signe. And albeit this distance and opposition happeneth alway in every full Moone, yet for all that shee is not alwayes then eclipsed. But because the being placed about the mobilitie of the earth and the utmost of that universall beautie, and most remoté from heaven, putteth her lesse under the Sunne, that otherwhiles striketh upon her, by interposition of the limit of the night that endeth in a pointed cone, the lieth hidden for a while, and is enwrapped or covered within the blacke globes of shadow, in case the Sunne, compassed about with the bent of the inward Sphere, by reason of the masse of earth lying in the way, is not able to enlighten her with his beames, for that she hath no proper light of her owne, according as divers opinions have collected. Againe, when by equal parts she meeteth with the Sunne at one and the same signe, darkened she is (as hath beene said) totally, and her white and bright hue is wholly obscured, what time she is called in Greeke *μὴν μωδὸς*, i. in her conjunction or change. Now, she is thought to arise new againe, when by a small declining, as it were, from a plumbe-line, she carrieth the Sunne erected just over her. And this arising of hers as yet but small, is first seene of men, when leaving the companie of the Sunne, she proceedeth to the second signe. After she is gone therefore further still, and is now good and lightsome, and shaped, as one would say, with hornes, she cometh to be tearmed *μὴν ὡς ἑστὶ*, i. carrying the forme of a Moone : but what time shee beginneth to be removed a great way and distance from the Sunne, so that shee is proceeded as farre as to the fifth signe, for that his beames are turned upon her, shee conceiveth greater light, and is named in the Greeke tongue *συνέπνοος*, which forme representeth a * semicircle. Then passing on still, and having now caught the most remote signe, she sheweth the figure *συνεπνοος*, bearing and bunching out on both sides; but when she is sited just against and directly by line opposite, she will shine out at the full, as keeping the house of the seventh signe, yea, and whiles shee converteth or abiderh yet in the same, and beeing a little gone further, diminisheth; which habite or state of hers we tearme *μὴν βλάστης*, i. full, or whole Moone; and the same formes as before,

*C. apud C. cauda
Dracenis

*from the Sunne.

*halfe a circle,

she taketh againe in her wane as the waxeth old. And out of the learning of many writers that agree in one mind, we are taught, that the Moone was never seene universally eclipsed or darkened altogether, but in the time of her change. Moreover, whereas we have said before, that the Sunne hath his course one while above in the skie, and another while in the world below, yee are to know, That the bodies of planets and starres, in regard of the universall frame of the world, neyther set nor rise; but seeme so to our sight (who are here beneath upon the earth) as elevated and held aloft by the motion of some inward spirit, and in comparison of the great fabricke of the world, are set under it no bigger than a small pricke: and one while wee behold above us the starres fixed in the skie, whose order is perpetual; and sometimes againe, because mans sight doth faile, we suppose they are departed and gone out of their places. But now let us returne to our purposed historie.

CHAP. III.

The vertues of Iulianus gaule Constantius to the heart. Now when he was minded to take from him the auxiliarie forces, the souldiers favouring Iulian, stand against, partly with open mouth, and partly by casting abroad a libell.



Hiles *Constantius* made haft to succour the East, which was like shortly to be infested with the Persians outrodes, according as both fugitives and intelligencers in one accord declared, vexed he was for very envie with the vertues of *Iulianus*, which by a generall bruit were blazed abroad, and talked of dayly among fundrie nations: the losie praises of whose great travails and exploits, fame carried and divulged in the world; as namely, how after certaine kingdomes of Alemain conquered, hee had recovered townes in Gaule, sacked aforesaid and rased by the barbarous enemies, whom hee made tributaries, and subject to pay imposts. Being moved in regard of these and such like matters, and fearing least the same would grow greater, considering that (as the report went) *Florentius* the *Præfect pricked him on, hee sent *Decentius*, a Tribune and *Notarie both, to fetch away from him forthwith the Heruli and Batavi, the Celts also, together with the Petulantes, and three hundred besides, chosen forth of other bands, who under this colour were commaunded to make speed, that they might bee in readinesse for to warre in the beginning of the Spring upon the Parthians. And as touching aid souldiers verily, and other three hundred to bee levied and gathered, *Lupicinus*, who was for certaine knowne not to have passed over as yet into Britannie, was dealt withall apart by himselfe: but out of the Scutarij and Gentiles, *Simula*, a Tribune at the same time of *Cæsars* table, had commaundement to draw forth all those that were of greatest activitie, and to bring them along himselfe. *Iulian* held his tongue all this while, and condiscended hereunto, submitting all to the will and pleasure of the mightier person. Howbeit, this one thing he could neither dissimule nor passe over with silence, but urge instantly, That those might suffer no troubles, who leaving their habitations beyond Rhene, were come under this capitulation and condition, That they should not be at any time led unto the parts beyond the Alpes: avouching, that it was to bee feared, least the voluntarie souldiers of the Barbarians, who oftentimes upon such tearmes and conditions were wont to come over and side with us, taking knowledge hereof, might hereafter be kept backe from performing the like service. But all his speech came to nothing.

*of the Primus.
rium.
*or Chanceller.

thing. For the sayd * Tribune making no account of *Cæsars* complaints, obeyed^{*Secretarie} the Emperours commaundement: but after hee had made choise of a companie very lightly appointed, such as for lively vigour and delivernesse of bodie surpassed all others, with them hee went forth, hoping confidently for greater matters. And because *Cæsar*, pensive what should bee done with the rest that were commaunded to be sent, and casting in his mind divers and sundrie thoughts, deemed, that the businesse ought to be managed with good heed and circumspection, seeing also the cruell Barbarians on the one side, and the powerfull command on the other to enforce him; and especially for that the abience of the Generall of the horsemen made him most to doubt, hee willed the Præfect to returne unto him, who beforetime was departed to Vienna under colour to provide victuals, that he might exempt himselfe from militarie troubles. For^{*the Præfect} he well considered, that according to his own relation, which he was thought in times past to have sent, those warlike bands, dreadfull already to the Barbarians, were to bee withdrawn from the defence of Gaule: who when he had received *Cæsars* letters, advising and requesting him to come with all speed as to assist the Common-wealth with his counsell, most obstinately drew backe and refused; his mind with feare being troubled in regard of the letters which plainly imported thus much, That the Præfect ought no where to be parted from the chiefe * Commander in any heat and broile of fearefull stirres: and thus much moreover was written, That in case hee held off to performe this service accordingly, himselfe of his owne accord would cast from him the ensignes of his princely authoritie, as taking it to be honourable and glorious for him to die by commaundement, than that the destruction of the provinces should be imputed unto him. But the stiffe and constant resolution of the Præfect prevailed, with all his might striving againe & refusing to yeeld obedience to those things which with reason were required. Howbeit, in the time of these delays of *Lupicinus* absent, and the souldiers mutinies, *Iulian* destitute of the helpfull counsell of the prowd Præfect, and waving in doubtfull tearmes what to doe, supposing this to be his best course, determined to hasten them forward on their journey by the ordinarie way, being all departed out of the stations wherein they wintered. This being knowne, one among the companies of the Petulantes closely let fall upon the ground a libell, which with many other contents carried this tenor also: *Thus we verily are driven and confined as gullie and condemned persons unto the furthest parts of the earth: and those who are most leife and deere unto us shall bee slaves, embrailed againe unto the Alemauns; those, I say, whom after mortall foughten fields we have freed from their first captivitie.* Which scrip being brought unto the * Court^{*or Counsell} and read, *Iulian* considering their reasonable complaints, commaunded them with their whole families to goe into the East, granting them a warrant to take up post-horses and waggons. And when doubt was made a long time which way they should journey, thought good it was (and that through the motion of *Decentius* the *Notarie) that the folke should passe along by Paris, where *Cæsar* yet abode, as not removed yet any whether. And so they did indeed.

*Imper store, or
Generall.

*or Counsell.

*Secretarie, or
Chanceller aforesaid.

CHAP. IIII.

Julian endeavoureth to satisfy the desire of Constantius. But she captaines and souldiours breaking out into a musinie, take armes, and with lowd voice salute Iulianus by the style of Augustus, yea, and force him to assent thereto, and accept of a diademe set upon his head.



Now as the same approached, and were coming, the *prince met them in the places and villages neere the cities side, and (as his manner was) by commending those whom he knew, & putting every one in mind to doe valiantly, with mild words he animated them to goe cheerefully unto the Emperour, whose power was very ample and large; where also they should get most condigne rewards for their travailes and paines. And the more honourably to entreat them that were thus to depart so great a way from him, hee invited the chiefe and principall of them to a feast, and willed them confidently to preferre what lawfull petition they could readily thinke of, wherein he might pleasure them. Who being thus liberally entertained, tooke their leave of him, malecontent and very sorrowfull, in regard of a twofold griefe; for that a certaine unkind fortune thus severed them both from so temperate a governour, and also from their native soyle. And thus possessed with this anxietie, they retyned unto their usuall campe. No sooner began it to bee night, but they brake out into an open brawle: and now when they were once set on, and their blouds up, according as every man found himselfe aggrieved with the unexpected occurrent, they take weapon in hand: and so with a mightie noyse, to the palace they all went, and having compassed it round about, so as no man could escape them and get away, with hideous and terrible clamours they cried unto Iulianus, by the name of Augustus, urging him with all speed to come forth unto them: but beeing compelled to stay untill it was day-light, they forced him at length to goe forth. Whom when they saw, iterating the same great noyse and shout, with a most firme and settled consent they styled him Augustus: and he for his part upon a resolute and grounded mind withstood them all and some; one while shewing himselfe to be wroth and highly displeased; otherwhiles stretching forth his hands, requesting and beseeching them. That after so many most happie and fortunate victories, no undecent and unseemly part should be committed, nor any unseasonable rashnesse and breaking out rayse matter and cause of discord. And when in the end by mild speeches he had appeased their tumult, thus much moreover he added and sayd: *Let your angry mood, I pray you, cease for a while: without dissension or seditious seeking of alteration, that which yee demaund shall easily be obtained. For as much as yee are possessed thus with the sweetnesse of your native countrey, and feare to goe into strange lands which yee are not acquainted with, returne yee now even out of hand unto your owne home: see you shall nothing beyond the Alpes, because it is displeasing unto you: and herof I will asoyle you by a competent satisfaction before the Emperour, a prince capable of reason and most prudent wishall.* After these words they set up a lowd cry on all sides, God save Augustus: nathelasse, when with one uniforme zeale and heat of affection they all preassed on him still, and that with an exceeding earnest noyse, mixed with reprochfull and reviling tearmes, Caesar was enforced to condiscend unto them. And so being set upon a footmans shield, and borne up aloft in sight, and with great silence of the people declared Augustus, hee was willed to bring forth

forth a white band or diademe: and when he said that he never had any, they called for one of his wives, that she used about her necke or head: but because he affirmed, That it was not meet he should be fitted at his first entrance into the Empire with any womans ornament or attire, they fought for an horse trapping, to the end, that being handfomely adorned therewith, he might make some shew yet, obscure though it were, of higher authoritie. But when he still avouched, that it also was but base and unseemly, one named Maurus (who afterwards being a Comie or capitaine of the discoverers in espiall, received a foile in fight at the straits of Succia, at this time serving in qualitie of a pikeman) tooke the collar from about his owne necke, which he wore as an Ensigne bearer, and boldly did it upon Iulians head: who being thus driven to an extremitie, and perceiving now that hee could not avoid present danger, if he persevered still to make resistance, promised unto them all throughout five aurei peece, and every one a pound of silver besides. These matters thus passed, he no lesse troubled with care than before, and foreseeing with quick conceit what might afterwards come hereof, neither wore the diademe, nor durst go abroad any where, ne yet negotiate any serious businesse, were they never so urgent. But whiles Iulianus (affrighted with fundrie accidents) betooke him thus to a privat retynednesse, a certaine Decurie of the *Palace (which is a degree and place of dignitie) stepping a great pace to the Petulantes and Celtes, where they quartered, crieth out in turbulent manner: *Oh shamefull indignitie, that he who but the day before was by their judgements declared Augustus and Emperour, should now be secretly murdered.* No sooner was knowledge taken hereof, but the souldiours, who were moved alike, as well with what they knew not, as what they knew, some brandishing and shaking their casting-weapons, others ready to fight with naked swords in hand, running forth here and there divers waies (as the manner is in a suddaine uprore) in all hast gat unto the princes traine: at which excessive noyse the Warders and Tribunes being astonied, and by name Excubitor, capitaine of the guard in ordinarie, fearing also some trecherie of mutable and unconstant souldiours, dispersed themselves for feare of suddaine death, and slipt out of sight. Howbeit, the souldiours when they saw all was well and hush, stood for a while armed as they were, quiet: and being demanded, What was the cause of this unadvised and suddain hurlyburly, after long silence, and making some doubt of their [new] Emperours life, they departed not before they were sent for into the Consistorie, and had seene him at the full gloriously dight in his imperiall robes. Notwithstanding, when these newes were heard abroad, they also, who I said were gone before unto under the leading of Simula, being now secure and past feare, returned together with him unto Paris: and upon an edict or proclamation made, that the morning next following they should all meet in the open plaine field, the *prince beeing come forth with greater port and pompe than usually, mounted up to the Tribunall, environed about with Ensignes, as well the maine Eagle standards, as banners and guidons, as also guarded with whole squadrons of armed Cohorts. And after hee had paused a time, whiles from aloft hee beheld the countenances of them there present, when he perceived them all chearefull and joyous, with plaine and simple words (to the end he might bee understood) as it were with so many trumpets, he incensed them in this wise.

*He meaneth Iulians Court.

*Julian.

CHAP. V.

The Oration of Iulianus as touching the appointment of militarie rewards. Also with what words, the night before that day wherein he was declared Emperour, he was by the publicke Genius of the State saluted.



He difficultie of this present businesse doth require and instantly crave, (right valiant and trustie protectors both of my person and of the Common-wealth, who together with me have many a time put your lives in danger for the state of the Provinces) for as much as yee have in a seiled iudgement advanced your Cæsar to the highest pitch of all honours and dignities, in few words summarily to deliver, how there may be devised iust and wise remedies to cure and salve this chaunge of the world with us. While I was a very youth, scarce come to my growth, being as ye well know, clad in purple, and made Cæsar onely for a shew, yet by the providence of the heavenly power commended to your protection and tuition, I never was put from my seiled purpose of leading an upright and honest life, in all painefull labours seene together with you: what time as having put to rout the confidence of bold nations, after cities destroyed, and infinite thousands of men slaine, those few remaine which were left behind halfe broken and unsound, infinite calamities still overrun. And needlesse I thinke it to rehearse, how often in the hard Winter, and bitter cold weather, at which time both lands and seas are exempt from warfare, we repelled the Alemans, a nation untamed before time, with no small detriment and losse of their forces. And verily for this one thing, it is not meet that I should either over-passe or conceal it, namely, that I have bene neere unto Argemontum that most blessed day shone, which in some sort brought with it perpetuall libertie unto the Gaules, while I rode to and fro through the pikes and among the arrows and darts where they flew thickest, ye thoroughly grounded, what with vigorous courage, and what by long experience, vanquished your enemies, that suddainly brake in and overflowed all in manner of swelling and swift land floods, and them either layd on the bare ground by dint of sword, or else drowned in the deepe channell of the river; and that with few of our men left dead behind us, whose funerals we honourably kept, rather with solemne prayes of them, than any mournfull sorrow of ours. After which exploits so great and so renowned, posteritie, I suppose, will not keepe silence (as touching your good deserts of the Common-wealth) in all nations, if whom yee have fully adorned with so high a title of maiestie, ye vouchsafe to defend by your vertue and gravitie, in case any adverse fortune should assault me. Now to the end there might be a sound course holden in our affaires, and that the rewards of valorous men may attend upon them without all corruption, and no secret ambition or indirect seeking after promotions catch them up beforehand, this under the reverend presence of your counsell and assembly I determine and set downe; That neither any civill Judge nor martiall commander shall be preferred to higher degree, through the helpe of any else but his owne worth and good desert, neither shall he who otherwise will presume to be a suiter for any, goe his wayes without disgrace and shame. The inferior souldiers beneath, encouraged with this confidence of greater hopes, as who had bene a long time kept fasting for having any dignities of rewards, smiting their bucklers with their javelines, rose up with a mightie noise, and with one voice (in manner) and accord gave a favorable assent to his speeches and good beginnings: and immediately for feare there might be never so little time given to trouble this

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so considerat and well advised dispose, in the behalfe of the* Attuarij, the Petulant-tes and Celtae besought, they might be sent to governe what provinces it pleased him: which when they could not obtaine, they departed neither offended nor ill appaid. Howbeit, that very night which went next before the day wherein hee was declared Augustus, as himselfe now Emperour reported to those were next about him and more inward with him, in his sleepe there appeared one unto him in that shape and forme, as the publicke^d Genius or Angell useth to bee portrayed, who said by way of chiding, these words unto him: Iulian, long since have I in secret manner duly observed and kept the entrie of thy house, desirous to encrease thy dignitie, and divers times gone my wayes as reiected. But if I bee not at this time received and admitted, namely, when the iudgements of so many agree in one, goe I will as forlorne and sorrowfull: howbeit, take this with thee, and set it deeply to thy heart, That I will no longer dwell with thee.

CHAP. VI.

The king of the Persians, whiles Constantius abode farre off, invadeth Mesopotamia, forceth the citie Singara, hewed in pieces two Romane legions, and carried the rest as well citizens as souldiers away unto the furthest parts of Persis.



Hiles these things were earnestly a doing in Gaule, that cruell king of the Persians, burning in hote desire (kindled first by Anronine, and now redoubled by the comming of Crangasius) to bee Lord of all Mesopotamia, whiles Constantius abode farre off with his armie, after he had augmented his armed forces, and passed (after his usuall manner) over Tygris, setteth in hand to assault* Singara, a citie very well fortified both with souldiers and all things else necessarie and requisit, as they deemed, who had the government of those countries. The defenders of which place, after they had espied the enemye a great way off, quickly shut their gates, and with stout and courageous hearts ran to and fro along the turrets and battlements, gathering together great stones and warlike engines to discharge upon them: and thus having made all readie beforehand, they stood all in armour, prest to repell the multitude of their enemies, if they attempted to climbe the wals. The king therefore being come, when by the mediation of his nobles and capitaines admitted to approach neere, hee might not by a gentle and mild parle persuade the defendants to yeeld unto his pleasure, both gave them a whole dayes respite, and in the next morning betimes by breake of day setting up a signall of a fire-red banner, assayed was the citie on every side, whiles some brought skaling ladders, others planted their engines, and the most part defended with a fence of timber and hurdles before them, as also with penthouses over their heads, fought wayes to undermine the foundations of the wall. Against these devises the townemen standing above upon their high bulwarkes and munitions, with stones and all sorts of casting-darts assaie off, repelled those who ventuously and proudly presumed to put themselves forward within the reach of shot. Thus continued they fighting for certaine daies together with doubtfull event, and many a man on both sides lost his life, and as many were wounded. At the last, when the skirmish was very hot, and evening now came on, one exceeding strong Ram among other engines was brought forward, which with pushes thicke & threefold buttred upon that round tower, at which in the former siege, I said, the citie by a breach was layed open. Vnto which tower all the

*Singra. D. Atilianus.

muls

*per. Atilianus, a nation of the Franks. O tel, some read here, pro. Atilianus, for their Cliekes or Scribes: others per. Atilianus, or Atilianus, by their meanes and mediation.

multitude came to rescue, where they fought most closely. There might a man have seen firebrands, burning torches and fierce darts flying every way for to burn this mischievous engine, as it approached neere, neither gave over the thicke shot of arrowes and bullets of either side. But the sharpe pointed head of the said Ram went beyond all the devices against it, entering and piercing into the joynts of the stones new layed, and as yet by reason of moisture weak and feeble. But while the fight continued still with fire and sword, the tower aforesaid fell downe, whereby way was made into the citie, and the place disurnished of defendants, whome the great danger so imminent had scattered: whereupon whole troupes and bands of Persians setting up a yelling outcrie, filled all parts of the towne, whiles there was none to restrain them; and after some few slaine, and those pell mell one with another, all the rest by commaundement of king *Sapor* were taken alive and carried away into the furthest countries of Persia. Now, there were two legions in garrison for defence of this citie, to wit, *Prima Flavia*, and *Prima Parthica*, besides many homelings and naturall inhabitants, together with auxiliarie horsemen, whose hap was by reason of this suddaine danger to be shut within, who all, as I said, were led with their hands bound, whiles none of our men helped them. For the greater part of our armie lay in the field encamped for the defence of Nisibis, a citie very farre distant from it: and otherwise, never could any man so much as in old time succour Singara when it was in distresse, by reason that all the places there round about for want of water be dried up. And albeit antiquitie built this fort in a very fit and convenient place for the discoverie of aduerse and suddaine troubles, yet it turned alwayes to the detriment of the Romanes, as being sundry times surprized and taken with the losse of the defendants thereof.

CHAP. VII.

Sapor king of Persia seizes upon Bezabde, otherwise called Phœnicha, and with great violence assaults it.

After the racing therefore of this towne, the king in wisdom and policie avoiding Nisibis, as one ywis well remembering what hurts he had there many times sustained, tooke the right hand way, marching by crooked and winding journeyes, minding either by force, or with winning unto him the garrison defendants by sweet promises to recover Bezabde, which the ancient founders termed also Phœnicha, a very strong fort, situate upon a pretie high hill, and bending toward the banks of Tygris, and where the places be either suspected or low, fenced with a double wall. For the defence of this piece were three legions deputed, *Secunda Flavia*, *Secunda Armeniaca*, and likewise *Parthica*. *Secunda*, together with many Zabdicene archers, in whose ground being at the same time under our subjection, stood this towne. At the first brunt therefore, the king in person accompanied with a troupe of horsemen glittering in their complete haubercs, being himselfe mounted higher than all the rest, riding about the circuit of the bulwarkes and fortifications, approached venturously to the very brim and edge of the trenches: and albeit he was assailed with shot of ballists that missed not their make, and with arrowes flying thicke, yet by reason hee was under a good armour of prooffe, and the same wrought in manner of a roufe or Tortoise-shell, he went away without taking harme. Howbeit, for all this, sequestering and setting apart his anger for that time, he sent, as his manner was, his

heraulds

heraulds, by whome hee gently exhorted the besieged, *That they would looke unto their lives and other hopes, and by yielding in time, raise the siege; and setting open the gates, goe forth in humble manner, and present themselves unto the conqueror of all nations.* These heraulds adventured to approach very neere, but in this regard the defendants of the wals forbore them, because they brought with them close by their sides certaine gentlemen freeborne of their acquaintance, taken prisoners in Singara: for in a pitifull respect of them, no man slung a dart, nor made any answer as touching peace. Then after a cessation of armes graunted for one whole day and night, before it was daylight the next morrow, the Persians all at once setting fiercely upon the rampier, gave out cruell threats, and with a terrible noyse coming boldly to the very walls, preassd hard upon the townesmen, who with great force resisted them: whereby most of the Parthians were sore hurt, for that some of them carrying ladders, and others holding out before them hurdles of oysters, went as it were blindly forward within shot, neither escaped our men without hurt: for the arrowes flying thicke like hayle, went through them as they stood close together. Now, after the Sunne was set, they departed on both parts with equall losse: and toward the next morning, fought much more eagerly than before, whiles the trumpets sounded from the one side and the other, neither was there lesse slaughter seene on either hand, fighting as they did most obstinately on both sides.

CHAP. VIII.

Sapor reiecting the admonitions of a Christian bishop, by force winneth the besieged citie, faresth cruelly against the townesmen: and having given the attempt upon Vitta, a most strong fenced citie, and relinquished this vaine enterprize, at length departeth.

BVt the day following, when a truce by common assent after manyfold travail and paines taken was graunted, what time as a great terror was presented round about the walls, and the Persians feared no lesse, a Christian bishop shewed by certaine signes of gesture and by beckening, that he was willing to goe forth, and upon faithfull promise of returne in safe conduct, he came as farre as to the kings pavilions: where after leave given to speake his mind, in a mild manner of speech he perswaded with the Persians to depart home, now that both parts had received in common lamentable losses, saying withall, that greater sorrowes yet were to be feared which happily would come unto them. But hee stood discouraging of these and such like points in vaine: such was the fell and outrageous furie of the king, who withstood the motion, & stoutly swore, That he would not depart before the towne and fortifications about it were destroyed: yet was the bishop somewhat suspected (untruly, as I thinke, though commonly it was by many men vouched) That in secret conference and talke hee informed *Sapor* what parts of the wall he should assault, as weak within-forth and easie to be battered. And this seemed to carrie some likelihood with it, for that afterwards the enemies engines were evidently seene with a great shout and joyous leaping of the assailants to play lustily upon the undefensible places, and such as for very age and rottennesse began to leane and were readie to fall, as if some that knew the inward secrets of the citie, had given direction. And albeit the narrow wayes yielded difficult access unto the walls, and the Rams fitted for batterie were hardly set forward, for feare of stones throwne by hand, and arrow-shot that

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kept them off, yet ceased not eyther the brakes or scorpions, wherof these discharged stones thicke, the other sent out darts as fast, and together with them baskets and panniers burning, besmeared over with pitch and ^{*}Bitumen: by the continual fall whereof, comming still downe the hill, the sayd engines of artillerie stucke fast, as fixed and rooted deepe within ground; and beeing thus set, fierie darts and burning linkes together throwne lustily with a good arme and star hand, set them on a light fire. But although the case stood thus, and many on both sides were slaine, yet the assaillants were more hotely set to rase and destroy the towne, (both by naturall situation strong, and also by great workmanship of mans hand fortified) ere the middest of Winter; as being perswaded, that the kings rage would not beallayed before. And therefore, neither the effusion of much blood, nor the number of them that were shor into the bodie and deadly wounded, could reclayme the rest from like boldnesse. But when they had a long time maintained fight with much hurt and mischiefe gotten thereby, at length they exposed themselves to extreame and present dangers: and as they drave their Rammes, what with the weightie stones comming thicke from the wals, and what with sundrie fireworks, debatted they were from going forward. Howbeit, one Ram higher than his fellows, covered over with wet bulls hides, and therefore in lesse danger of mishap by flames or darts, going before all, with much straining and endeavour crept to the wall, and so with his mightie sharpe pointed head entring betweene the joints of the stones, and having lolned the same, overthrew a tower: which beeing fallen with a wonderfull crashing noyse, they also who stood upon it, with fo suddain a ruine thereof were throwne downe, and so eyther breaking their bones, or overwhelmed with rubbish, died sundry deaths, and those unlooked for: thus the armed multitude having found a more safe ascent, rushed in. Then, as the hideous noyse which the Persians made, yelling and crying out on every side, thundered and resounded in the fearefull eares of the townesmen thus over-matched, the fight grew hate and more close within the wals, whiles our enemies in squadrons fought at hand, considering that standing with their bodies one against another thicke, and having their swords drawne on both sides, there was not one spared that stood in the way. In conclusion, the besieged resisting a long time with much adoe, and to the mischiefe of both sides, were at length with the pressing hard of the huge multitude disranks and scattered by heaps: after which, the angry enemies put to sword whomsoever they could find, the small babes were plucked from their mothers bosomes, the mothers also themselves killed, and no man regarded what he did. And yet in the meane time this bloudie nation more greedie of pillage than of carnage, laden with all kind of rich spoiles, and leading away an exceeding great number of prisoners, went backe with much rejoycing to their tents. The king for all he was puffed up with extraordinary joy, as one who a long time burned in desire to win Phinichia, a strong fenced piece, and of great importance, departed not thence, before that hee had right strongly repayed that part of the wall which was shattered, layed up there in store plentie of victuals, and bestowed in it a garison of armed men, such as for their birth were of good note, and for skill in martiall feats renowned. For he feared (as it fell out indeed) least the Romans taking to the heart the losse of such mightie strong holds, would addresse themselves by maine force to besiege the same. Vaunting therefore, and bearing himselfe more big, and fed with hope to win whatsoever he could go in hand with, after he had surprized and taken in other meaner piles, he determined to set upon

*Virta,

*Virta, a sort of great antiquitie: insomuch, as it is thought to have beene built by ^{or Iulius} Alexander king of Macedonia, seated verily in the utmost part of Mesopotamia, but encircled with wals as it were winding in and out, and pointed with hornes, and by reason of sundry devices and meanes made unaccessible. Which when he assayed by all the skill and art he had, one while alluring the defendants with goodly promises, otherwhiles threatening to hang and crucifie them: sundry times going in hand to raise up banks and mounts, and bringing engines against it, pertaining to a siege, after more wounds and losses received than given, he gave over his vaine enterprise, and in the end departed. These were the acts atchieved that yeare betweene Tygris and Euphrates. Which when *Constantius* had learned by the relation of many messengers, fearing the Parthian expeditions whiles he wintered in Constantinople, with greater care he furnished the frontiers with all warlike provision; setting also armour together and new trained souldiors, strengthening likewise the legions with supplies of strong young men; for that the set battailes of legionarie souldiors oftentimes sped well in all the warres and services of the East parts: besides all this, he fought for the Scythians aid either for money or love, that in the mid Spring setting forth on his journey out of Thracia, he might forthwith seize into his hands the places that were suspected.

CHAP. IX.

Iulianus in good regard of himselfe, by a long Epistle endeavourth to pacifie the mind of Constantius.

MEane while *Iulian* having placed his wintering harbour at Paris, much fearing what would be the end of these begun enterprises, was sore perplexed, as who by casting and toiling many matters in his mind, considered, That *Constantius* would in no wise like of his doings, in whose conceit and eye he was reputed as a vile, base, and contemptible person. Advising well therefore the fearefull beginnings of all innovations and changes in the state of an Empire, he resolved to send unto him embassadours, who should declare what occurrences had happened: and withall he dispatched letters agreeable unto them, wherein more plainly he advertised and shewed, what was done, and what ought afterwards to be done: although he supposed that hee had heard all, a good while before, by the report of *Decemius* long since returned, as also by gentlemen of the Chamber newly come againe backe out of Gaule, who had carried unto *Cæsar* certaine solemne presents. And albeit he was not unwilling hereunto, yet wrote he nothing in arrogant termes, least he might be thought suddainly to have revolted. Now the tenour of his letters went in this wise. *My faithfull allegiance, according to my purpose, no lesse in my accustomed behaviour than in covenants of agreements, I verily for my part carrying alwayes one and the same mind, have for the time hitherto kept and performed, as by many effectually proofes hath evidently appeared. And ever since that you created me Cæsar, and exposed me to the terrible noise of battailes, consenting my selfe with the place of commaund wherein I was set, like a trustie servitiour and officer, filled your eares evermore with newes of prosperous achievements performed to my wish and hearts desire, attributing nothing at all to mine owne perils and adventures; whereas by daily examples and continual proofes it is well knowne, that where the Germanes were spread abroad and intermingled every where, I was in painefull travailes, of all others scene first, and in my repose and refection last.*

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But if I may with your good leave say so much, in case there be any change and alteration now (as you thinke there is) hence is commeth: The souldiers spending their yeares in many warres, and those right dangerous, without reaping any fruit of their service, effected that in tumultuous manner at length, which long since they determined, as impatient to serve under a Commander in a second place; seeing that by a Cæsar they could have no recompence made for their long labour, and many victories. To whose anger, for that they neither found augmentation of dignities, nor touched their yearly wages, thus also is fallen our unlooked for to aggravate the matter, That being men acquainted with cold and frozen countries, they were commanded to come to the utmost parts of the East world, and drawne away needie and bare, apart from their wives and children. Whereupon they being enraged above their wonted manner, in the night assembled themselves together, and beset the palace with loud voices, and those often reiterated, styling Iulian by the name of Augustus. This set me in a trembling, I confesse, and I withdrew my selfe: and thus so long as I could keepe me out of the way, I sought to save my selfe with holding my peace and biding my head. But when they would give me no time nor respite to consider upon the matter, fenced (as I may so say) with the wall of a free and pure heart, I went forth and stood in the sight of them all, supposing this their tumultuous rising might either by authority of countenance or gentle words be allayed. Howbeit, they grew into a wonderfull heat, and went so farre, as that because I essayed to overcome their stubborn obstinacie by entreatie, they instantly menaced death, as it seemed by their violent assaults following one in the necke of another. In the end being overcome, and reasoning thus with mine owne selfe, that if I were once flabbed, some other perhaps willing ynough would be declared prince, I gave my assent, yet hoping still to assuage this their franticke and armed violence. This is the very order and manner of my proceedings, which I beseech you to entertaine with a peaceable and gentle construction. Neither thinke that any thing hath beene done otherwise, nor admit malicious persons and evil willers readie to whisper in your eares pernicious matters: such I meane, as are wont for their owne gaine and advantage to make debate and variance betweene princes: but putting aside flatterie, the very nourice of vices, set your mind upon iustice, the most excellent vertue of all others, and receive unfainedly and bona fide these equal conditions which I propose unto you: reasoning and reckoning thus in your mind, That these things are behoofefull to the Romane State and to us, who in neerenesse of blood and in the height of supreme fortune are conjoined. And (pardon me I pray you) I desire not so much that such things should be done which with reason are required, as that profitable and honest courses should of you be approved: those commandments even henceforth still I purpose right willingly to embrace, such I meane as need require to be performed. To be short, I will allow unto you Spanish horses for your chariot, and chosen piked young men to be entertaining led among your Gentiles and Scutarij, some of them being a race from the barbarous nations descended on this side Rhene, or at leastwise out of those that yeld themselves and revols to our side: and this promise I to doe, not onely in a thankfull mind, but also with willing heart, so long as I live. For* Praefects of the Prætorium, you shall of your clemencie give unto those who for their equitie and desert are knowne worshie of the place. The residue, as well ordinarie civile Iudges, as messengers of warre affaires, likewise Pensioners to guard my person, who are to be promoted, meet it is they be left unto my will and pleasure. For a folly it were (where as it may be prevented beforehand) to admit those to the guard of an Emperours person, whose behaviour, whose mind and affection is not knowne. This one thing verily I may be bold without all doubt to avouch, The Gauls having bene with long troubles and most grievous misfortunes vexed, neither will of their owne accord, nor

*in regard of overage preeminence.

*i. LL. capit Iulianus.

can by compulsion send young souldiers into strange and remote countries, least if their youth being utterly spent, they be afflicted anew; and calling to remembrance, as they do, what is past, in a desperate feare of dangers hanging over their heads, be readie to perish. Neither will it be convenient, that from hence aid souldiers should be sent for to oppose against Parthian nations, considering that as yet the violent rodes and invasions of their barbarous enemies be not stopped: and (if you will abide the truth to be spoken) these provinces here being afflicted with continuall troubles and calamities, have need themselves of forraigne helpe, and those right strong and valorous. These things by way of exhortation (so the best, as I deeme it, of the State) have I written, requiring and requesting the same to be put in execution. For well I wote (that I may speake nothing proudly, according to an imperiall place) well I wote I say, what adverse and wofull cases of the Commonwealth, when it was in manner remediesse and given as lost for ever, the concord of princes yeelding by turnes one unto another, hath reduced into better rearmes; considering it is evident by the example of our ancestors, That rulers when they thinke of these and suchlike courses, find in some sort the way to lead a fortunat and blessed life, and so commend a most pleasant remembrance of themselves unto posteritie and future times for ever.

CHAP. X.

Constantius taking it to the heart that the name of Augustus was conferred upon Iulianus, ploveth many things that take no effect. But Iulian walking warily, after he had subdued the Franks called Attribuary, returneth to Vienna, there to winter.



With these missives he jointly sent others of more secret credence to be presented closely unto Constantius, and those were penned in an oburgatorie and biding style: the tenour whereof, neyther might I search out, nor if I might, became it mee to publish abroad. Now, for the performance of that office of embassage, were chosen grave persons, to wit, Penadius master of the offices, and Eusebius, then his high Chamberlain, who after they had delivered the letters, were to report, without concealing of aught what they saw, and confidently to deale about the order of the future affaires. Among other things, the envie of these new begun enterprises of Iulian, was aggravated and made much more by the departure of Florentius the Præfect, who prefiging the troubles that would arise by the above said sending for souldiers (as it was commonly spoken) of purpose was departed to Vienna, pretending for his excuse, In regard there was such want of victuals, that he and Cæsar were parted, whom in truth he dreaded, for that hee had oftentimes very hardly entreated him. And afterwards, when he understood that hee was mounted to the imperiall throne, having little hope or none at all of life, became very fearefull and now that he was farre removed, delivered himselfe from the dangers that he doubted: and leaving all his neerest friends and kinstolke behind him, went aside, and by soft journeyes came unto Constantius: and to shew himselfe lyable to no fault, many imputations he charged upon Iulian as a traytor to the State. After whose departure, Iulian considering well and wisely of the matter, willing also it should be knowne, that he had spared him when he was present, gave commaundement, That his wife, his children, and those whom he held dearest, together with all his goods not once touched or diminished, should returne in safe.

safetie to the East parts, allowing them to take the benefit of the publicke post-horses and waggons. And the said embassadours with no lesse diligence following after, carrying with them those letters and instructions, as I have before said, and still minding their wayfare, when they came to Iudges and rulers of higher place, were indirectly stayed & detained: who after they had endured long & chargeable abode through Italie and Illyricum, at length cressed over *Bosphorus, and travelling forward with easie journeys, they found *Constantius* making his abode as then at *Caesarea in Cappadocia, a place before time named Mazaca, a citie of good importance, and well frequented, situate at the foot of the mountaine Argeus: who being admitted into the presence, by permission graunted unto them delivered their missives. No sooner were they read, but the Emperour grew into choler and indignation beyond his usuall manner, and looking fawrie upon them, that they feared death, he commaunded them to goe forth, and could not abide afterwards eyther to move question unto them, or once to heare them speake. Howbeit, in as great a heat as hee was stricken into, yet hee stood in a doubtfull mammering, Whether he should command those forces wherein hee trusted, to march against the Persians, or against *Iulian*? And sticking thus a long time, after he had weighed sundrie counsels, hee gave eare to the advice of some that perswaded him to that which was good, and so proclaimed his journey Eastward. Yet for all his angrie mood, soone after he both dismissed the embassadours aforesaid, and also appointed *Leonas* his *Quæstor to ride with all speed into Gaule, with letters also written unto *Iulian*; affirming, that he nothing liked of this new change and alteration, but charging him (if hee regarded the safetie of his owne person and of his nearest friends) to lay downe his swelling pride and vanitie, and to containe himselfe within the power and government of a *Cæsar*. And that the feare of what he menaced might the sooner induce him thereto, as if he presumed and bare himselfe highly of his great forces, he promoted *Nebrius*, then *Quæstor of the said *Cæsar* in the rovine of *Florentius*, to be Præfectus Prætorio, and *Felix* the *Notarie, he made master of the offices, and preferred some other officers. For advanced he had *Gumularius* the successor of *Lupicinus* to be¹ master of the Armour, before any such matter was knowne. *Leonas* therefore being entred into Paris, was received as an honourable and prudent personage; and the morrow after, when the² prince was gone out into the field with a multitude as well of armed souldiers as common citizens, whom of purpose he had called together, commaunded he was to present his letters unto him, standing aloft in his Tribunal, that he might be seene from above. And after the scrow of the edict sent was unfolded, and begun to bee read from the beginning, when the reader came to the place containing thus much, *That Constantius disallowing all that had beene done, indged the power and authoritie of a Cæsar to be sufficient for Iulian*, there was on all sides set up a sound of terrible voices crying out in this note, *God save Iulian Augustus, and according as the provincials, the souldiers, and authoritie of the Common wealth hath decreed, which indeed is refreshed, but yet feareth new excursions and invasions still of barbarous enemies, [Sobesit.]* Which words being heard, *Leonas* with the letters of *Iulian* importing the same, returned safe, and *Nebrius* alone was admitted to the Præfectship: for so much *Cæsar* also openly had sayd in his letter should stand with his good will and pleasure. As for the master of the Offices, he had a little before ordained *Anatolius* to be the man, who before time was in place to give answer unto requests, like as he had made other officers, according as he thought them meet for

his

his owne behoofe and safetie. And for as much as among these proceedings hee feared *Lupicinus*, though absent, and then making his abode in Britannie, a proud minded man, and of a swelling nature: and for that hee had him in suspition and jealousie, that if he knew thus much beyond the seas, he would stirre up some matter of alteration and rebellion: a *Notarie of his was sent to *Bononia, for to observe and watch carefully, that no man might be suffered to passe over the narrow seas: By means of which prohibition, *Lupicinus* returned, before that he tooke any knowledge of these newes, and so was not able to raise any troubles. Howbeit *Iulian* a right joyous man now, in regard of his higher fortune and the confidence he had in his souldiers, because he would not wax luke warme, nor be reproved as one remisse, idle and doing nothing, after hee had dispatched embassadours unto *Constantius*, went forth into the marches of *Germania secunda: and having strengthened himselfe with all furniture and provision, which the businesse in hand required, drew neere to the towne Obtricensis, neere Mosæ. And afterward having crosed over the Rhene, he suddainly oversan the cuntry of the Franks, whom they call *Arthuarij*, men of an unquiet spirit, and at the same time in very licentious manner raunging over the coasts of Gaule: whome when hee had suddainly surprisid (fearing no hostilitie, but exceeding secure, for that they could not remember that any prince had entered into their townes and territories, by reason of the difficultie of the stonie wayes that kept them off) he overcame with little ado: and after he had taken prisoners and slaine most of them, to the rest that remained, upon their earnest suit he graunted peace, in what conditions he would himselfe, supposing this to bee expedient for the neighbour borderers that were possessors and holders of land. From whence he returned with like celeritie by the said river: and diligently surveying the garrisons along the marches, & reforming what in them was amisse, hee came as farre as to the *Rauraci: where having recovered those places, which the barbarous enemies had in times past taken in and holden as their owne, and fortified the same more carefully, he departed by the way of *Belantio to Vienna, there to Winter.

CHAP. XI.

Constantius having concluded a firme peace with the king of Armenia, assembled an armie, and besiegeth Bezabde: the wals whereof he laboureth in vaine to undermine and overthrow.

IN this sort went the affaires in Gaule: which while they had so prosperous and safe successe, *Constantius* sent for *Arfaces* king of Armenia: whom after he had entertained most liberally, he forewarned and exhorted to persevere a faithfull friend to us: for hee understood, That the king of the Persians had oftentimes deceitfully, what with threats and what with craftie devices, beene in hand with him to cast off the societie of the Romans, and to combine with him. Who taking many an oath, That he could forgoe his own life before that he would change his mind, was highly rewarded: and so with the traine that he brought to accompanie him, returned into his realme, and never durst afterward breake his promise, as being obliged unto *Constantius* by a bond of many favours and pleasures done unto him; among which, this was the chiefe, that he had joynd unto him in marriage *Olympias* the daughter of *Ablabius*, sometime Præfectus Prætorio, and the espoused wife of his brother *Constantius*. After he

was

*the Fifth or
streights of Con-
stantinople.

*Tizania.

*Treasurer.

*Treasurer.

*Chanceller or
Secretary.

*Julian.

*or Chanceller:
*Belogoe.

*Low Dutchland,
or Netherlands.

*People about
Rusil.

*Belantio.

* *Antioch. Cap. alio.*

was dismissed, himselfe by the way of * Melitina, a towne in Armenia the lesse, and by Lacocena and Samolata, passed over Euphrates, and came to Edeffa. Where, when he had stayed a long time, expecting the companies of souldiors as they assembled together from all parts, and waiting for plentiful provision of victuals, after the Autumnall Equinox he went forth and came to Amida: the wall whereof when hee approached, and beheld round about, how it was full of ashes and dead embers, he shed teares and groined againe, to consider what calamities that wofull and miserable citie had endured. There *Vrsulus*, Treasurer to the State, who chanced then to be in place, with griefe of heart cried out and said: *Behold wist what courage and valiant hearts are our cities defended by the souldiors, for the payments of whose wages, the wealth of the very Empire beginneth now to faile.* This fo bitter a speech of his, the militarie multitude remembered afterwards at * Chalcedon, and there rose up in a mutinie, to his destruction. From thence marching with thickest squadrons, when he approached Bezabde, he pitched downe his tents: which being fenced all about with an high rampier and deepe ditches, riding a great way off about the circuit of the fortifications of the towne, he was informed by the report of many, that the places were more strongly rebuilt, which before time the injurie of time had decayed. And because he would omit nothing that of necessitie was to be provided, before the heat of fight, he sent certaine sage and wise men unto the * defendants of the towne, to urge them by proposing a twofold condition, either to returne home into their owne countries, with the graunt of other mens goods without bloudshed; or else to become wholly subject unto the Romane Empire, where they should bee advanced with dignities and rich rewards. But when they upon a naturall obstinacie and inbred resolution rejected this offer, as men being nobly descended & of high parentage, they addressed themselves with undergoing of extreame perils and paines against all the preparations that belong unto a siege: He therefore began to give an assault unto all parts of the towne, with his men marshalled in thicke rankes, and with sound of trumpets to incite their courage to the service: the valiant Romane souldior, for that the legions were gathered under sundrie defensive routes of shields, going softly and safely forward, began to undermine the wals: and because all manner of casting-weapons were discharged upon them that came under the said wals, and thereby the said joynt frame of their shields loosened, they departed upon the sound of the retreat. Now, after their hearts were for one whole day refreshed, the third morning being more curiously covered and defended, with lowd outcries every where on all sides they assailed to skale and get up the wals. And albeit the defendants lay close within behind haire-clothes, because they would not be seene of the enemy, yet so often as need required, they would stoutly thrust forth their armes, and with stones and darts assaile them that were beneath. And when the hurdle fences of oysters went confidently forward, and were at hand to touch the wals, then there fell from above great pipes and barrels, milstones, and peeces of broken pillars, with the exceeding weight whereof the fighting men below were overwhelmed: and thus their devices to cover them being violently driven asunder and laid gaping open, they made shift to get away with the utmost danger of their lives.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

With new engines of batterie Constantius shaketh the walls of Amida, and with many assaults redoubled, in sundry sorts wearieth as well his owne people, as the Persians besieged.

THe tenth day therefore, after the assault began, when our mens hope grew worse than it was, so that they were let all in heaviness, thought good it was to bring over that huge frame of a Ram, which the Persians in times past, after they had by the batterie thereof rased Antiochia brought from thence, and left at Carras: which being on a sodain scene, and most artificially set together and fitted accordingly, daunted the hearts of the besieged so, as that they had fallen in manner to the last remedie of yeelding, but that they tooke heart againe, and prepared to oppose some means against this terrible and menacing engin. Neither after this gave our men over one jot to adventure rashly, or to advise politikelly: For whiles this old Ram, beeing unjoynted and taken in peeces, for easier carriage, was a setting in order and readinesse, with all cunning and strength of man, notwithstanding the exceeding force and firme resolution of the defendants, the peeces of ordnance were still defended: nevertheless with a number of stones and bullets sent out of slings on both sides, many were killed, and still the mounts and bulwarkes waxed greater, and quickly rose to a mightie height: so that the siege grew more fierce and hotter every day than other; and many of our men lost their lives in the place: for that, fighting in the sight of the Emperour in hope of rewards, and taking off their helmets from their heads, because they might the sooner be knowne, they were with the cunning shot of the enemies archers overthrowne: and therefore tending watch and ward both night and day they stood more wary on both parts, and did their devoir. And now by this time the Persians, seeing the banks & terraces brought up to a mightie height, and without the huge ram aforesaid, after which there followed also other smaller engines of that kind, were stricken with a wonderful horror, and did what they possibly could with might and maine to burne them all: and albeit they ceased not to sling heaps and bales of wild-fire, and shoot fiery darts, yet they laboured in vaine; for that most of the timber peeces were covered all over with skins and hayre clothes thoroughly wet; others againe well smeared with alum, that the fire might glide off without doing harme. But the Romans bringing them forward with great force and valor, though with much difficultie, yet defended and saved them: and in an earnest desire they had to win the towne, they set nought by imminent and present dangers: and on the other side the defendants of the wals, when the greatest Ram aforesaid came toward them, ready to shake downe the tower that stood against it, by a subtle deuise ensnared the yron front that it beareth out before (and in truth it resembled a Rammes head) with long ropes on either side, and so held it fast, that by returning backe againe it should not gather new strength, nor be able with thicke jurses and pushes, forcibly to strike the wals to any purpose: and withall they powred downe scalding hot pitch. The engines also being advanced forward, stood along time carrying upon them huge stones, to batter the wals, and other casting weapons. Now, when the mounts without were rayfed still higher, the defendants fearing their destruction was at hand, unless they tooke the better heed, ran headlong into a most bold and adventurous action: and in a sodaine fall, issuing by

Y

numbers

* *Chalcedon. Syn. Calcedon. Turcia.*
* See the 23. booke, how he came to his death.

* To wit, the mercenary garrison souldiors.

numbers out at the gates, and setting upon the formost of our men, threw with all their might upon the Ram, fire-brands and yron buckets laden with fire. But after a skirmish valiantly performed with doubtfull fortune, most of them prevailing nought, were driven backe within the wals: and anon from the mounts which the Romans had erected, the same Persians as they stood upon their bulwarkes were assailed with arrowes, slings shot, and fiery darts, which flying among the roofes and curtaines of the towers, for the most part went by, or glanced in vaine, and did no hurt, for that there were some of purpose readie to quench them. And when on both sides the fighting men grew to be fewer, and the Persians were driven to utmost dispaire, but that they found better meanes, they estoons gave the attempt with greater care and diligence to fallly out of their fortifications: and so the multitude breaking suddenly forth, among our armed souldiers, some appointed there were of purpose, who carried greater store of fire than those before, and threw yron skutles full of flaming fire upon the timber frames, stickes also and twigges, with other dry fewell, very apt to take fire. And for that the exceeding blacke clouds of sinoake tooke away all sight, when the trumpet sounded the battaile, the legions in good array marched on a quicke pace: and as the heat of skirmish grew still by little and little, by that time they came to buckle at hand-strokes, all the forscide engines at once were on a light fire, and in manner burnt, save only that greater one than the rest, which, being halfe burnt, after the ropes were plucked away, that were cast upon it from the wals and held it fast, with much adoe, and by the forcible straining of strong men, was drawne forth of the fire. But when the darkenesse of the night made an end of the skirmish, our souldiers rested not long, but being refreshed with small food and short sleepe, they rose at the call of their capitaines, and removed their munitions far from the wall, providing to fight more close and short along the high bastiles or countermures, which now that they were finished overtopped the walls: and that the defendants might easily be driven from off the wals, upon the very top of the said bastiles were planted two Balists, for feare of which it was verily thought, that not one of the enemies could so much as put up his head and looke out before him. These meanes being sufficiently provided, a little before the twy-light of the morning appeared, three battailons of our men in good array advancing, with the crests of their helmets bending forward in threatening wise, together with a number that carried ladders, attempted to give an assault upon the wals: And now as the armor clattered, and the trumpets sounded, fighting on both sides joyntly with semblable heat and eagrenesse, they made a venturous conflict of it: which as it did spread still more and more, the Romans, perceiving that the Persians hid their heads for feare of the engines of artillery placed upon the mounts, did beat upon the walls with the ram, and then with martocks, pickaxes, yron crows, and ladders, they approached: meane while on both sides flew the casting darts thicke. But that which troubled and annoyed the Persians much more than all the rest, was the sondrie shot discharged from the Balists, running as it were through loope holes and grates from the bastiles newly rayfed: Whereupon, supposing now that they were come to the last cast, they ran resolutely upon the danger of death: and thus having parted betwene them the severall charges to fight upon the point of any extremitie that should happen, and leaving those behind that should keepe the walls, a strong companie of them secretly setting open a posterne gate, issued forth, with others following behind, that closely carried fire with them. And while the Romans one while presse hard upon them that reculed, another while

while receive those that of themselves charge them, they that carried the fire pans creeping softly and stooping low by the ground, conveyed light burning coles within the ioynts of one of the fabrickes raised upon boughes of divers trees, reeds, and bundels of canes, which so soone as the drie fewell had caught fire, were burnt: but our souldiers, together with their peeces of ordnance untouched, were departed first in danger enough.

CHAP. XIII.

While Constantius determineth to abide there by it, there fall continuall showers of raine (foretold by a rain-bow; concerning which there is annexed a speculative discourse) and then followeth Winter: Fearing therefore a tumult of the angered souldiers, without effecting his purpose, he gets backe into Syria.



Vt so soone as the evening ended their fight, so that they departed on both sides to take some short repose, the Emperor distracting and turning himself unto sundrie counsels, considering that important reasons urged him longer stil to attempt the destruction of Phænicha, which fort, like an insoluble bar lay opposed against the enemies outdores, and the late season of the yeare checked him, determined to stay yet there, & continue sleight skirmishes, thinking that the Persians, like haply to be distressed for want of victuals, would quit the place and begone; which fel out otherwise than he supposed: For, when there was but small fighting, the ayre being moist, waterie clouds with fearefull darkenesse arose; and the ground with continuall rain became so drenched, that the clammy trof clay all that country over, standing upon a moist fat turffe & soile, made a great trouble everywhere: and beside all this, cracks of thunder, and flashes of lightning comming thicke one after another, mightily affrighted the timorous minds of men. Moreover, to increase their feare, there were apparitions seen continually of the rain-bow: which how it commeth usually to be shaped so, the laying open of the natural causes thereof will declare. The hot exhalations of the earth, and moist vapours gathered round together into clouds, and from thence scattered into small sprinkling dewes, and by spreading of the sunne-beames made bright and glittering lye rolling full against the verie round bodie of the sunne, and so do shape out the forme of a raine-bow, and the same winding with a spacious and large bent, because it openeth and stretcheth out here in our world, which the realons in Natural Philosphie place over the *Hemisphære. The first colour or shew wherof, as farre as mans eye doth behold and discern, seemeth *pale or yellowish, the second more yellowish or tawnie, the third red, the fourth purple, and the last compounded of blew and Greene. And this temperature of mingled beautie, it carryeth, as our understandings here upon the earth do conceive, therefore, because the first part thereof is seene more thin and waterish, as futable in colour to the aire round about it: the next following is tawnie, that is, of a deeper & brighter hue somewhat than the former yellow: the third red, for that being subject to the brightnesse of the sun, by the receipt of the spirit or aire, it discoloureth and diminisheth his most pure resplendence glittering over against: the fourth therefore a purple colour, because as the thicke sprinkling dewes through which it riseth glitter betwene, it catcheth forth shining rayes and sheweth to our sight a colour coming neere unto that of a flame:

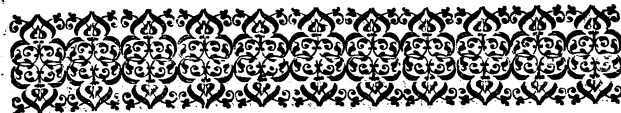
Y ij

which

* or halfe part of the whole
Sphære.
* Latine.

which colour, as it spreadeth more abroad, turneth into blew and greene. Others are of opinion, That the forme of a raine-bow then appeareth to things here beneath in the world, when the beames of the sunne infused deeply into a thicke cloud carried up on high, have cast a cleere light into it: the which not finding issue, winding round into it selfe, with much fretting and striking therupon, shineth, and those colours verily which come neereſt unto white, it taketh from the Sunne that is aloft; but such as are greenish, from the resemblance of the cloud next over it; as usually it falleth out in the sea, where the waves be white that beat upon the shore and sea banks, but those farther within the sea, be without any mixture blew or azure. And because it is a signe of change of weather (as wee have said) namely after a cleere aire gathering heapes of clouds, or contrariwise, after thicke aire making a change to faire and pleasant weather, therefore we read often in Poets, that *Iris*, the Rain-bow, is sent from heaven, when there is an alteration toward of the present state. There be many others, and those sundrie opinions, which now it were a superfluous thing to reckon up, considering that my narration hasteneth to returne whence it hath digressed. With these and such like objects the Emperor was tossed betweene hope and feare, whiles the Winter came on apace, and grew to be hard, whiles he suspected also to be forelaid in those deserts and wild tracts; and withall, he feared likewise some mutinie of the souldiers that were discontented and angrie. Over and besides all this, it vexed his perplexed mind, that having now the doore set open (as it were) into a rich mans house, he was to returne, without effecting his purpose, with empirie hand. For which causes, giving over his vaine enterprise, he returneth into Syria, minding to Winter in Antioch, after he had endured a labourious and most dangerous Summer, and the same a long time to be lamented. For, thus it fell out, as if some, fatall constellation so ruled divers events, that evermore when *Constantius* himselfe in person warred with the Persians, some aduerse and crosse fortune attended upon him: whereupon he wisht, if it might not otherwise be, to win by the conduct of his captaines; a thing that we remember sometimes hapned in deed.

THE



THE XXI. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Iulian purposeth first to begin with *Constantius*, and to set upon him, conjecturing his death by sundrie presaging tokens, dreames, and such like devices: as touching which *Ammianus Marcellinus* setteth downe his owne judgement.



Hiles *Constantius* was held occupied with this hard fortune of wars beyond the river *Euphrates*, *Iulian* making his abode at *Vienna*, bestowed both dayes and nights in laying plots against future accidents and afterclaps, bearing himselfe aloft (so farre forth as his weake and poore estate would permit) but alwayes standing in doubt, whether he should by all meanes draw *Constantius* to reconciliation and concord, or, to strike a terror, begin first to provoke him by warre: which as he carefully revolved in his mind, he feared him both wayes, as well a bloudie minded friend, as an adversarie in civile troubles oftentimes superiour: but most of all the fiercest example of his brother *Gallus*, held his restlesse mind in suspence, whom his owne negligence, and the deceitfull sleights of some, mixed with perjuries had betrayed. Howbeit, he tooke courage otherwhiles, and addressed his mind to many & those urgent affaires, supposing it most safe for his estate, to shew himselfe a professed enemy unto him, whose passions he guessed by the times past, as he was a wise prince, but that through fained friendships he was deceived by secret traynes. When hee heard therefore, and understood what *Constantius* had written by *Leonas*, he tooke small regard thereof, but admitting none of those that by his pleasure and appointment were promoted to offices (save onely *Nehridius*) himselfe being now *Augustus* and Emperour, did set forth the Quinquennall games and solemnities, and wore a rich and sumptuous diademe set with shining pretious stones, whereas in the beginning of his raigne he tooke a garland of small value to goe about his head, like unto a Master of the wrestling gallerie, apparelled in purple. In which time he sent unto *Rome* the funerall reliques of *Helena* his wife deceased, to be entered in a nannor or possession of his upon the high way *Nomentana*, neere unto the citie, wherethe wife also of *Gallus*, *Constantina*, her sister, was sometimes buried. Now, it tooke him in the head, and incensed was his desires (seeing *Gaul* now quieted) to set first upon *Constantius*, guessing by many presages of Prophecies (wherein he was right skilfull) as also by dreams that he would shortly depart this life. And for as much as malicious folke lay an imputation unto this learned prince, and

and studious of all kind of knowledge, That he attained to the foresight of future things by naughtie and unlawfull arts; briefly it is to bee considered whence it comes, that this kind also of no meane learning may befall unto a wise man. The spirits of all the elements, for so much as they be eternal bodies, at all times, and in every place having the powerfull motion of foreknowledge, out of those things which by sundrie disciplines and sciences we desire to learne, participateth with us the gifts of foresight and divination: and the substantiall powers, by divers rites and ceremonies pacified, minister unto mortall men, as it were out of lively and ever-running veins of fountaines, propheticall words: over which the president is (as they say) that divine power, or Goddesse Themis, whom so named, for that it is lawfull and possible to foreknow against the future time, whose fixed decrees set downe by fassall law, which in the Greek tongue are called Themena, the antient Theologers have shruined in the verie bed and throne of Iupiter, that life giving vigour. Auguries also and Auspices are gotten, not according to the will and pleasure of soles, that know not things to come, (for there is no man so foolish as would say so) but God is who directeth the flights of birds, so, that the sound of their bill, or flight of wing, by the trouble some or gentle passage thereof, may shew before hand future events. For, the goodness of the heavenly power (either because men deserve so much, or for that the same is moved with some affection unto them) useth even by these arts also to discover unto us those occurrences that hang over our heads. Semblably, they that observe the coughing entrails and bowels of beasts, using to be turned into infinitis formes, know such accidents as are to fall. The inventor of which learning one named Tages was seene (as men fable and talke) suddenly to have risen out of the earth, in the parts of Hetruria. The hearts of men do then also reveale events to come, when they boyle in heat of spirie, but they utter and speake with all divine masters. For, the Sunne (as Naturall Philosophers say) the soule of the world, sending abroad out of himselfe, our minds as sparkles, when he hath set them aburning verie hot, causeth them to be privie to that which is to come: Whence it is, that the Sibyls^a so often say, They burne, while a mightie deale of flames scorches them. Besides all these, the creaking noyce of voyces, and occurrent signes meeting us, thunder moreover, flashes and lightnings likewise the shooting of starres, signifie many things. As for dreames, seldome are they to be beleev'd; but infallible they would be, in case they who receive, and debate of them misd not in their conjecture: And otherwhiles (as Aristotle affirmeth) fasted they are and stable, when the sight of the eye as a living creature, soundly sleeping, and bending neither way aside, seeth most directly before it. And for that foolish people prate other while, and in their ignorance come out with these words, If there were some knowledge of foreseeing, why knowes not one, that he should be slaine in battaile, or another, that he should suffer this or that? Sufficient it is to answer thus, That a Grammarian hath sometimes spoken barbarously, a Musician sung absurdly, and a Physician bene ignorant of a remedie; and yet therefore it followeth not, that either Grammar, Musike, or Physicke have not their being. Whereupon Tully, among other excellent sentences, hath delivered this also: The gods (saith he) shew tokens of things to come: In these, if one chance to erre, it is not the nature of the gods, but the conjecture of men, that hath faulted.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

With these arts and an hypocriticall profession of Christianitie, Iulian confirmeth and strengteth himselfe. Meane while the Alemauns kill a certaine warlike captaine and the garrison souldiers of Iulian, and put others to flight.



East therefore this discourse of ours running, as they say, without the bounds of the race, should breed a fulnesse and lothing in the reader, let us returne to the particular unfolding of such things as were foreseene. When Iulian, as yet being Caesar, shaking his shield with sundrie motions, exercised himselfe in the field at Paris, after that the small pins whereby the roundle thereof was close jointed were shaken out and fell downe, the handle onely remained, which he held still and clasped with a strong hand: And when all there present, were affrighted herewith, as an ominous signe portending some evill fortune, *Let no man* (quoth hee) *be afraid: I have thus sure which I held.* Item, when afterwards at Vienna he went sober to bed and tooke his rest, about midnight a certain image very bright and glorious appeared unto him, and uttered plainly unto him, lying as good almost as waking, these heroicke verses, and repeated the same many times: upon the confidence whereof he supposed there was no calamitie or adverse fortune behind to trouble him. And these were the verses:

Ἰὺλιε, σὺν τοῖς ἑσπέραις πύλαις ἀνὰ τὴν ὁδοῦ πορεύεσθαι,
ἡμετέραν δὲ Κρήνην ἑσπέρῃ βαίνειν οὐκ ὀκνῆσαι.
Εὐκαὶρὴν, βασιλεῦς Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀντιόχῃ μένει,
Ἰλίου φίλον φίλον σὺν ἡμῖν ἐλπίσιν ἔχει.

When Iupiter shall reach the bound of noble Aquarie,
And Saturne touch of Virgo bright the twentie fift degree,
Then shall the king of Asia, Constantius, of this life,
So sweet and pleasant, make an end, with heavynesse and griefe.

*or Empress.

He lived therefore in the meane time without any change or alteration as touching his present State, but with a peaceable and quiet mind disposing of all occurrences; and by little and little making himselfe strong, that unto the augmentation of his dignitie the encrease of his strength also might be answerable. And to the end he might without any impeachment allure all men to favour him, he made semblance that he adhered to the Christian Religion, from which a pretie while before closely he was revolted: and making some few privie to his secrets, he set his mind upon divination by inspection of beasts bowels, birds flight, and other such arts, as worshippers of the idols have alwaies done. But to cloke these matters in the meane time, upon that solemne holiday which the Chistians celebrate in the moneth of Januarie, and commonly call the * Epiphanie^a, hee went into their church or congregation, and after hee had solemnly done his worship and devotions to their * God, departed. While these things thus passe, and that the Spring now approached, stricken with suddaine and unexpected newes, he fell into a fit of sadnesse and sorrow: for he understood, that the Alemauns beginning at the territorie of *Radomarius* (from whence after the league made there was no harme feared) waited the tracts confining with Rhetia; and that whole compa-

*and thereupon named Epiphany.

*Twelfth day.

*The true Gods.

nies of brigands raunging up and downe all abroad at libertie, suffered nothing to passe by their hand unattempted. Which outrage least being winked at and neglected, it might stirre up occasions anew of warre, that before lay dead, he sent one *Libino* a *lieutenant, together with the Celts and Petulantes that wintered with him, to take order for the redresse of this affaie, as should bee thought requisite: who being come with speed neere unto the towne *Sanctio, was discovered as farre off by the Barbarians, who alreadie purposing to fight, had hidden themselves along the vallies: and so having exhorted his souldiors, though in number inferior, yet exceeding desirous to give battaile, unadvisedly hee chargeth upon the Germanes, and in the very beginning of the conflict was himselfe the first man that lost his life. Vpon whose death, as the Barbarians became more bold and confident, and the Romanes enkindled to revenge their captaine, there was a tough battaile resolutely fought, and our men, after some few slaine and wounded, with the huge multitude of enemies preassing hard upon them, were broken and put to rout. With this *Vadomarius* and his brother *Gundomadus* likewise king, *Constantius*, as hath alreadie bene related, had established a peace. After which, when *Gundomadus* was dead, thinking that *Vadomarius* would be faithfull unto him, and a silent executer of his secret designs, he gave him in charge as his herauld (if wee may beleve the report of Fame onely) and wrote unto him, That (as if the covenant of concord were broken betwene them) he should otherwise trouble the marches neere unto him, to the end that *Iulianus* standing in dread thereof, might never depart from the defence and protection of Gaule. Which instructions *Vadomarius* following (as we may well thinke) committed those and such like outrages afore said; being a man from the very prime of his youth wonderous skillfull in beguiling and deceiving the world, as afterward also he shewed, whiles hee was Marquess or Warden of the marches in Phœnice: but being taken with the manoir and convict, he forbore and abstained. For when his *Notarie, whom he had sent unto *Constantius*, was caught up by the stationarie souldiors in centinell, and searched, if happily hee carried any thing about him, there was found a letter of his, wherein, beside many others matters, hee had written also this: *Your Cæsar hath no [mariall] discipline or knowledge as all.* Howbeit, in his missives continually he styled *Iulian* Lord, **Augustus*, and God.

CHAP. III.

Iulianus having taken Vadomarius prisoner, who was the principall author of this overthrow, and one much addicted to Constantius, confined him and sent him away into Spaine: and when he had passed over Rhene, he terrified the Alemans, and as their humble suits for pardon graunted them peace.



Iulian considering that these things (as they were dangerous indeed and doubtfull) would breake forth in the end to some mischievous extremitie, bending his whole cogitation and mind upon this one point, made hast to surpris *him at unawares, that he might establish in safetie the securitie both of himselfe and of the provinces; and such a plot as this he devised. *Philagrius* a *Notarie, afterwards Lieutenant generall of the East, hee sent into those parts, a man in whose wisdom (whereof in times past hee had good proofe) hee reposed great

affiance: and unto him, among other instructions, according to which hee was to deale, as the occasion of present occurrents should require, he delivered also a little paper written and sealed, charging him not to open or read it, unless he saw *Vadomarius* on this side Rhene. *Philagrius*, as he was commanded, went forth on his journey: and whiles he was present there, and busied about divers affaires, *Vadomarius*, who had passed over the river, fearing nought (as in time of sound and settled peace) and seeming to know nothing that had bene done amisse, when he saw the Provost or captaine of the souldiors that lay there, after hee had spoken some few words of complement unto him (as the manner is) invited himselfe (because he would leave no suspicion behind him at his departure) and promised to come unto a feast of his, unto which *Philagrius* also was bidden. Who being entred into the place, no sooner espied the king, but remembered the *Emperours words: and pretending by way of excuse some earnest and urgent businessse that he had, went backe unto his inne: where, after hee had read the writing, and thereby taken knowledge what was to bee done, immediately returned, and sat him downe among the rest of the guests. After the feast was ended, hee layd strong hand upon *Vadomarius*, and thus attached, committed him to the said captaine of the souldiors, for to be straitly kept about the *standards and ensignes, after he had first read unto him his commission and warrant, yea, and compelled those of his traine and companie (as touching whome hee had no commaundement) to returne home. Howbeit, the king himselfe being brought to the princes campe, and now shut out of all hope to obaine pardon, as knowing that his *Notarie was intercepted, and what he wrote unto *Constantius*, alreadie published and knowne abroad, yet having not so much as any reviling speech or foule word given him, was sent into Spaine. For this order was very carefully taken, That when *Iulian* should depart out of Gaule, this *Vadomarius*, a most fell and cruell man, might not licentiously trouble the State of the provinces there, which hardly and with much adoe was brought into frame. *Iulian* lifted up with this good hap, that the king was apprehended sooner than he looked for, whom he stood in dread of when he should take his journey into farre countries, no whit slackt the care of his affaires, but determined to set upon the Barbarians, who, as I have shewed, slew *Libino* the *lieutenant in a skirmish, together with some few of his souldiors. And because the rumour of his coming should not cause them to remove into the parts more remote, after hee had passed over Rhene in the dead time of the night with the most expedite and lightest appointed companies of his auxiliarie forces, hee compassed them about, mistrusting no such matter. And when with the rustling and clattering noyse of armour and weapons they awoke and started up, whiles they looke about for their swords and darts, he hastily flew upon them, and some he flew; others craving mercie, and offering booties, he tooke prisoners upon their submission: to the rest that remained, upon their entreatie, and promising withall to continue in stedfast and assured quietnesse, hee graunted peace.

CHAP. IIIII.

The hortatorie Oration of Iulianus unto his souldiors, when he meant to give battle unto Constantius in open field. A solemne oath taken of them all, except Nebridius, whom Iulian delivereth from the furie of the souldiors, and saveth his life.



High exploits being performed with stout and resolute courage, he guessing what a world of civile and domestick troubles hee had raised, and foreseeing by quicknesse of wit and understanding, that nothing was so well befitting suddaine enterprises as expedition, he thought himselfe should bee in safer estate, if hee professed openly his revolt and breach of allegiance: but stand-

ing doubtfull of his souldiors loyaltye, he first pacified by a secret kind of religious ceremony * *Bellona*^f: and then, after he had summoned his armie together unto an assembly, standing upon a banke raised of stone, and now as it seemed very confident, he discoursed thus with a lower voice than he was wont to doe. *Long since in secret deliberation with my selfe, I suppose, that you my noble and worthy fellow souldiors, stirred up with sobriety and valiant exploits, expect this counsell at my hands, namely, how those events which are feared might be thoroughly thought upon and well taken heed of before hand: for it becommeth souldiors growne up in glorious acts, to use their cares more than their tongues, and deeme no other commaunder to be of approved equitie than him, who may be both prayed and liked worthily. To dispatch therefore what I have purposed, letting all circumstance goe by, marke I pray you favourably what I shall in few words deliver. Being by the will of God in heaven entermingled in company with you in the very beginning of my youth, the continuall invades and invasions as well of Alemans as of Frankes, I repressed, and jointly with vigorous courage, I made it bene passable to the Romane forces as often as they would, standing unmovable against the noyse of rumpors and the violent excursions of puissant nations, trusting I assure you and grounding my selfe upon your vertue and valour. And these painefull labours which we have taken and sustained, Gaule an eye-witnesse thereof (which after the losse of many a mans life after long and grievous calamities hath bene relieved) shall commend unto posteritie from age to age for ever. But now, seeing that by the compulsion of your grave and honourable iudgement, as also of urgent necessity, I am through the grace of God and your favour lifted up to the imperiall dignitie, if Fortune further my enterprises, I will aspire higher and reach at greater matters, professing and declaring thus much openly, That unto the armie, the equitie and noble promise whereof hath bene so renowned, I have bene scene both at home temperate and mild, and in many warres also against the banded and combined forces of the [barbarous] nations, considerate and mercie. That we may therefore jointly with one accord and mind prevent adverse events, follow this way and policie that is right good (as I take it) seeing the welfare of the State is correspondent to our intention and desire: and whiles the countries of Illyricum are without greater garrisons, let us march on apace without stay, and take the time to seize into our hands the utmost bounds of Dacia, and from thence by the means of good successe be furnished with instructions what ought further to be done: and as the manner is of hardie and redoubted leaders and capitaines, promise, I beseech you, by the bond of an oath, continuance of concord, and fidelitie unto me your Commaunder, who will endeavour dili-*

* the goddess of Warre.

diligently, and after my accustomed manner, that for my part nothing be done inconsiderately or faintly, yea, and produce the testimonie (if any man shall require it) of a sincere and uncorrupt conscience, that I will enterprise or attempt nothing willingly, but what is expedient and profitable to us all in common. This verily I earnestly desire and request, Take heed that in the fit of heat and boiling anger none of you breake forth to the hurt and hinderance of any private person: but let him consider thus much, that as the infinite overthrowes and losses of our enemies, so the indemnities and safeties of the Provinces, testified notably by examples given of verses, have made us so famous. This Oration of the Emperours being no lesse approved, than if it had bene an Oracle, the whole assemblie was seene to stirre and moove exceeding much: and desirous of noveltie and change, with one consent made a terrible noyse, with lowd voices and wonderfull clattering of their shields, calling him, Grear and high Commaunder, and (as they had seene by experience) the Fortunate Conquerour of barbarous Nations and Kings both. And beeing all commaunded throughout to sweare allegiance unto him, with setting swords close to their owne neckes, they tooke a solemne oath in set forme of words, and that under paine of horrible curses, That they would in his quarrell, even to the spending of their lives (if need so required) undergoe all chaunces and perils whatsoever: which done, all the great officers and rulers following, yea, and those that were next in place unto the prince, obliged their fealtie with the like oath. *Nebridius* the Praefect was the onely man of all that companie, who although in his inward purpose he was sure ynough and stedfast, yet boldly refused to sweare, saying, *That he might not be bound by oath against Constantius, unto whom for his many benefites at sundrie times he had already bene obliged.* Which when the souldiors that stood neere unto him heard, they were in a great chafe and furious heat of anger, and made at him to have killed him outright, but that the Emperour with his rich coat of armes protected him, as he fell downe at his knees. And being returned into his royall palace, when he espied him gone before, and lying prostrate in suppliant wise, beseeching him, That for to ease him of feare he would vouchsafe to reach forth his right hand unto him: *And what (sayth he) shall I keepe especially for my friends, in case thou touch my hand? But goe thy wayes from hence whither thou wilt, in safetie and securitie:* Which when he heard, he retired himselfe apart, without any harme done unto him, to his owne house in * *Thracia*. *Iulian* having provided thus aforehand, as the weightie importance of the businesse required, knowing also by experience, how powerfull and effectually in troublous affaires is prevention and getting ground before, after he had by a signall and watchword given warning of his journey into * *Pannonia*, he advanced forward his tents, and marched on with his ensignes displayed, and rashly committed himselfe to doubtfull fortune.

* *Thracia*.

* *Hungaria*.

CHAP. V.

What act: Constantius performed, both domestickall and militarie, whiles he wintered in Antioch.



OW, meet it is that I unfold the times past, and recount summarily what acts *Constantius* wintering in Antiochia achieved both at home and in the warres abroad, whiles these affaires aforesaid passed in Gaule.

Among many other right honourable personages that came out of strange countries to doe their reverence unto the Emperour, there were also *Tribunes of the better sort, men of marke appointed thereunto. When as therefore *Constantius* being returned out of Mesopotamia was received with this kind of dutie, one *Amphilochius* a Paphlagonian, who had bene Tribune, and not long before, whiles he served under *Conitans*, was deeply suspected upon presumptions that carried a likelihood of truth, to have sowed matter of quarell and discord among his elder *brethren, presuming verie sawfly to stand in place, to the end that himselfe also might be admitted to the like obsequious service, was known and debarred: And when there were many that muttered hereat, yea and cried out, That he was not worthy to live any longer, as being an obstinat and stiffe-necked traitor, *Constantius*, who in these matters was more mild than otherwise hee used to be, *Surcease* (quoth he) *to trouble the man, who, as I thinke is guiltie, but not yet openly convicted; and remember yee, that if he have committed any such matter from under mine eye, he shall receive punishment by the doome of his owne conscience, from which he cannot be hidden:* and so he departed. The day following the same *Amphilochius*, at the solemne games *Circenses* stood beholding the sight, as he was wont, just over against the Emperour, and upon the setting up of a sudden shout, at the sending forth of an expected game or matterie that was to be performed, when the *crosse-barrs on which he with many others leaned, brake in peeces, so that they all and he together fell downe to the ground, some few of them were slightly hurt, but hee alone was found with rupture within of his *midriffe to have yeelded the ghost: whereupon *Constantius*, skilfull also in the foreknowledge of things to come, rejoiced much. At the same time he espoused and tooke to wife *Faustina*, having a good while before buried *Eusebia* (who had to her brethren *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, men of Consuls degree) a lady for bodily beautie and commendable behaviour exceeding a number, and yet in so high an estate right courteous; through whose most just favour, as I have shewed before, *Iulian* was delivered out of dangers, and declared *Cesar*. At the same time also there was good regard had of *Florencius*, who for feare of an alteration in the State departed out of Gaule: and by occasion that *Anatolius* Praefectus Prætorio in Illyricum was late deceased, hee was sent to take his place, and together with *Taurus*, likewise Praefectus Prætorio in Italie, hee received the ensignes * of the highest and most honourable *office. Nevertheless, preparation was made of meanes for warre, as well foraine as civile: the number also of horse-mens troups was augmented, and with like carefulnesse there were enrolled supplements for the *legions, by appointing a levie of new & yong souldiers throughout the Provinces. Moreover, all degrees and professions were fore burdened with finding apparell, armour, weapons, and Engines to discharge shor, as also gold and silver, yea and plentie of victuall of sundrie sorts, and divers kinds of beasts for carriage. And because the king of Persia for all the hard Winter was with much ado driven

*Captains.

*Constantius and Constantius.

*on rails.

*or rim of the belly covered with scales.
*Hypis he desired her to, that Iulian as his concubine should likewise perill who desired him, as against him as the said Tribune had done before time, in siding with *Constantius* and who now stood opposite unto him.

*The Constallity.

*Footmen.

driven backe, and therefore more puissant forces of his were feared, so soone as the mild weather and temperat season of the yeare came about, embassadors were sent with rich presents unto the kings and potentates beyond Tigris, with instructions to admonish and exhort them all, to be of our mind, and to hold with us, as also to attempt no fraudulent nor deceitfull practise: But above all, *Artares* and *Meribanes*, the kings of *Armenia and *Hiberia, were bought and wrought to our side, with costly and gorgious suits of robes, with many gifts also of fundrie sorts; who were like to endamage the Roman affaires, if in the dangerous and doubtfull times they had revolted unto the Persians. Amid so many troubles and urgent negotiations, died *Hermogenes*, and promoted to the Praefect-shipp was *Helpidius*, borne a Paphlagonia, a man that carried no presence with him, and for infirmities in his speech, of no reckoning; but verie simple and plaine, of nature gentle, and nothing bloudily minded: inlomuch as when *Constantius* commaunded him to put a certaine innocent person to torture in his presence, he was verie well content to bee deprived of his place, and besought, That these matters might be committed to others better than himselfe, for to be accomplished according to the princes mind.

*Turcomania and Auscholia, according to *Græci*, or Persian, after *Caspian*, *Artares*, *Georgiana*.

CHAP. VI.

In what sort Constantius provided for his instant affaires. The politike speed that Iulian made in setting his designs forward.



ONSTANTIUS therefore in this difficultie of urgent businesse standing doubtfull, was to seeke what course to take, as one along time much troubled in his mind, whether he should goe against *Iulian* into countries farre off, or repel the Parthians upon the point now, as they threatened, to passe over Euphrates: and sticking thus in equall ballance, in the end, after he had consulted oftentimes with his captains, he inclined wholly this way, namely (when he had finished, or at least wife appealed the neerer warre, and left behind him at his back no enemies, whom he might feare, now that *Illyria and Italy, as he thought, were daunted and quelled) to take *Iulian* as a hunters prey in the verie beginning of his enterprises: for, to allay the feare of his owne souldiers, these were the verie words that otherwhiles he gave forth. But because hee would not bee thought to waxe coole, or to have omitted the other side where warre was on foot, as minding to disperse and spread a terror of his coming in all places, and fearing withall, least Africke, a countrey fit and commodious for the Emperour in all occasions that might befall, should in his absence bee invaded, as if hee had bene departed out of the marches of the East, he sent thither by sea *Gaudencius* a *Notarie, him I meane, who as I briefly touched before, lay as a spie a good while, to observe the proceedings of Iulian in Gaule. For he hoped that hee with his obsequious and quick service, would be able to effect all, and that in two regards: First, because he feared the adverse *part, which he had offended: and then, because hee made hast by the meanes of this so good an opportunitie, to commend his doings unto *Constantius*, who, he made no doubt would get the victorie: For no man then there was of the contrarie opinion, but fully of the same mind. This *Gaudencius* being thither come, and carrying in mind the charge which the Prince had given him, after he had by letters instructed *Cresus* a *Lieutenant, what was to bee done, as also the rest of the commanders, and made choyce of the stoutest souldiers from all places, yea and brought over out of both the *Mauritanie nimble and light appointed

*Sclavonia.

*Chancellor or Secretary.

*of Iulian.

*or Captains.

*Barbarie.

*Gauls,
*Marians,
*Gauls,
*Remigio & his
*Cape Bovi,
*Cape Coci,
*Cape Palfano.

*Sopr.

*Tender,
*Encamping them-
selves.

*Rhea, Nigra.

*Allone with the
charge of the
horse-men, as
appeareth a little
beneath.
*Treasurership of
the household.
*of the State, or
Empire.
*Seward or Se-
nial of the
household.

*Offenders.

*Whom he re-
moted before, *At a
2. from Amiens.*

pointed skirmishers, kept most straitly the sea coasts that lay opposite unto *Acqui-
tanie and Gaule. Neither failed *Constantius* of his purpose by this policie: For, so
long as he lived none of the aduerse part set foot in those lands, although there was
a number of armed men that observed the coast of Sicilie, reaching from *Lilybæ-
um to *Pachynus, readie soone to sayle over, if the passage had bene cleere and
open. *Constantius* having disposed of these and other small and lighter matters, as
he thought (considering how things stood) expedient for him, was aduertised by
messengers and letters from his captaines, that the forces of the Persians being all
assembled together under the conduct of their proud *king leading the way be-
fore, were now *marching neere unto the edge of Tigris, and doubtfull it was
whither they went to breake out and make invasion: At which newes being
much moved, to the end that making his abode neerer, he might prevent their at-
tempts, he departed with all speed out of his wintering harbour, and sending from
all parts for his horsemen and strength of infanterie wherein he trusted, he passed o-
ver Euphrates by Capssana, upon a bridge of ships, and went to *Edessa, a citie
stored with victuals, and strongly fenced, waiting there a while, untill either his
owne discoveries, or else some fugitives brought him word that the enemies en-
camped forward. Meane while *Julian* departing from the Rauraci, after hee had
dispatched his businesse, which ere while we shewed, sent backe into Gaule *Sallusti-*
Nebrius, Semblably the *Mastership of the armour he committed unto *Nerius*,
feating *Gumari* an old traitor, of whom he had heard say, that whiles he had the
leading of the Scutarij, he secretly betrayed *Frerian* his Prince and Sovereign. Al-
so to *Iovius* he gave the *Questorship, of whom I have made mention in the acts of
Magnenius, and unto *Mamertinus* the charge of the *Treasure and revenewes. *Da-*
galaphus he ordained *Captaine of his domesticall traine, and others, according
to his owne will and pleasure (whose good deserts and faithfull service hee well
knew) over the fouldiers. Being therefore to make his journey through the Mar-
tian woods, and the wayes joyning upon the banks of the river Ister, being, as a-
mong sudden occurrences, exceeding uncertaine what to doe, hee feared especially
this one thing, least having so few in his traine to accompanie him, he should grow
despised, and offend *the multitude readie to repugne and repine against him. To
prevent this inconvenience, he with good foresight tooke this wise course: For di-
viding his armie into divers regiments, he sent some under the leading of *Iovin*
and *Iovius*, to march with speed along the knowne wayes of Italie; and others he
committed to the conduct of *Nerius* *Generall of the horse: to the end, that being
thus spread sundrie wayes, they might be thought an infinit number, and so fill all
places with the feare and terror of them. For even thus did *Alexander* the great,
and after him many other skillfull leaders, when the case so required. Howbeit, hee
gave charge unto them that thus were gone forth in their march, to stand well up-
on their guard, as if the enemy forthwith were readie to encounter them, and to
keepe watch and ward by night in their stations and sentinels, least they might by
some outrode at unawares be set upon. Which businesse beeing thus, as it was
thought, well digested, following that manner whereby he had oftentimes broken
through the Barbarians tracts, and presuming confidently upon a continued traine
of successes, hee went on still farther and farther. And when he was come to the
place whence he understood the river was navigable, he embarked in silver boats,
whereof, as hap was, he found good store, and along the channell of the river he pas-

led

sed as closely as possibly he could: keeping himselfe therefore secret, for that finding
no misse of fine viands, but contenting himselfe with slender and course dyet, hee
passed beside the good townes without forth, securely: laying for his rule to fol-
low, that notable saying of old *Cyrus*, who turning in by the way to an hostlerie,
and being asked of his host, What good cheere he should provide for him, answer-
ed, *Bread onely, for I hope, quoth he, to sup neere unto some river.*

CHAP. VII.

*The fame of Julian comming chaseth away certaine captaines of the aduerse part. Lucil-
ianus thinking to make head against him, is sodainly taken prisoner, and in few
words rebuked and chastised. The straits and passages of Illyricum and
Thracia, with great celeritie intercepted by Juli-
anus, are fortified.*

BVt fame, which with a thousand tongues, as folke say, multiplies the re-
port of things exceedingly, was with much talke spread through all the
*Illyrians, That *Julian* having overthrowen a number of kings in Gaule, **Scardoniam*,
vanquished an armie of manie nations, and bearing himselfe proud of
his sundrie successes, was comming neere at hand: at which rumor *Taurus*, Præ-
fect of the Prætorium, being stricken with feare, departed quickly, avoyding him
no lesse than a foreine enemy, and ryding away speedily with change of post-hor-
ses allowed by the State, after he had passed over the Julian Alpes, in the same trice
had *Florentius* the Præfect likewise away with him. Howbeit *Lucillianus* a Comes,
who at that time in those countries had the charge and command of the forces
moved with some sleight intelligences, as touching the stirre and trouble that *Julian*
made, having his abode at Sirmium, and gathering souldiers together, as many as
the speedie execution of the businesse in hand would permit to bee sent for out of
their proper stations, intended to make head against him when hee should come:
but he, like a firebrand or casting dart set on fire, hastening swiftly, as if hee flew
to the small end of his appointed journey, was no sooner come to *Bononia, which
standeth 19. miles from Sirmium, but in the old of the Moone, & therefore shining
not the greater part of the night, he leapt all on a sodaine out of his ship, tooke land,
and presently sent *Dagalaphus* with a companie of light appointed men to call *Lu-*
cillianus unto him, or to take him away perforce if he made resistance: who being
even then at his rest, and rayled up with a troublesome noyse, when he saw himselfe
environed round about with a companie of men whom he knew not, conceived
presently what the matter was, and at the hearing of the Emperours name, amazed
with feare, obeyed his commandement, though full against his will: And thus he
who a little while before was commander of the horse-men, and bare himselfe
proud and stout enough, yeelded to the will and pleasure of another, and being set
upon an horse, such as came next to hand, was presented unto the Prince as a base
captive, unneeth able to call his wits againe together, so much oppressed they were
with the terrour hercof. But when at the verie first sight of him he perceived, that
he had leave and favour granted him to adore the purple robe, hee taking heart a-
gain at the last, and now secure of himselfe, *My Lord Emperor* (quoth he) *you have
done unwisely and rashly, thus to venture your person with so few upon these foreine parts.*
To whom againe *Julian* with a grim and bitter kind of smile, *Reserve* (quoth hee)
*these wise words of mine for Constantius: For this ensigne of Imperiall maiestie re-
ach d*

*Scardoniam,

*Bononutler,
Simione,

ched out to thee, not as to a counsellor, but because thou shouldst cease to feare. After this, when Lucillianus was voided away, Iulianus supposing now he was to make no delays, nor to slacke his businesse in hand (as he had bene alwaies a Prince in doubtfull and dangerous affaires, bold and confident) marching toward the citie which he presumed was no lesse than surrendered, went a quicke pace: and as hee drew neere unto the suburbs, which were verie large, and reaching out a great way in length, the whole companie of souldiers, and the multitude of people of all sorts, coming forth with many burning lights, gay flowers, and luckie vowes, calling him *Augustus*, and *Lord*, brought him into the royall palace, where, taking much contentment at this good speed, and grounding the hope of future events with a lucky preface, That according to the example of this mother citie so populous and so well frequented, he should in other cities also be received as a gracious & healthfull starre; after he had proclaimed the morrow after a solemne game of running with chariots for the prize, to the great joy of the people, when the third morning waxed once light, as impatient of delays, hee rode with speed along by the common high-ways, and meeting with no man that durst make resistance, he tooke in *Succi, and kept them with garriisons and for the defence thereof hee ordained as ruler *Neuius*, a man of approved trust and fidelitie: the site of which place it will be meet now to shew. The tops standing thicke together of the high mountaines *Hæmus and *Rhodope, whereof the one ariseth from the verie banks of the river Ister, and the other from the hither part of the river *Axius, ending at length in streits with risings of small hills, cut through the mids of the Illyrians and Thracians; of one side bordering hard upon the midland *Dacæ and Serdica, on the other looking downe to Thracie and *Philippopolis, great & noble cities: and, as if nature foreknew, that the nations seated round about, should be reduced under the Romans dominion, so framed and fashioned of purpose, in times past gaping more obscurely betwene the hills thrust close and neere together, but afterwards when the Roman State rose up to greatnesse and glorie, laid wide open for passage also of carts: And sundrie times when the avenues thereof were shut up and stopped, they have checked the attempts of great captaines and puissant nations. As for that part which faceth Illyricum, being of a meaner height, is now and then taken as it were at unawares and passed over: but that part over against it, opposit unto Thracie, broken and bearing forward downe right, both of the one side and the other, encombrd with rough and craggie wayes, is hardly climbed, although no man be there to impeach. Under these high banks and cliffes, there lyeth on both sides a spacious ground of plaine fields; the upper plot reacheth unto the Alpes Iulie, the nethermore is so flat and open, as that it is inhabited without any let, all the way as farre as the *narrow sea and *Propontis.

CHAP. VIII.

An embassage of Iulianus sent unto the Senat of Rome, with an invective against Constantius; two of whose legions under the conduct of Nigrinus having taken in Aquileia, drive Iulianus into new thoughts and counsells.



Hese things thus set in order, as in such & so urgent a businesse might be, this *Soveraigne commander, leaving the Generall of the horsemen there, returneth to Næssum, a wealthy towne, to the end that he might from thence dispose readily and with speed of all particulars that should

make for his commoditie and profit: Where he commanded *Vistor* the Hystorographer, whom he saw at Sirmium, to come from thence unto him, ordained him Lord Deputie to governe Pannonia secunda, honoured him with a brazen statue, a man for his siber carriage right commendable, and long after made him Prefect of [Rome]-cie. And now by this time, bearing himselfe more aloft, and thinking verily that *Constantius* could never possibly be wrought unto an agreement, he sent unto the Senat a sharp and invective oration laying open certaine reprochfull villanies and vices against him: Which when they were read in the Senat house by *Tertullius*, who as yet governed the citie of Rome as Præfect, right notable was the curtesie and thankfull goodnesse of the nobilitie unto him, joynd with an honourable testimonie of their affiance in him: for with one accord of sentence and judgement, they cryed out all lowd, *Ausurvisus reverentiam rogamus, i. We wish and award reverence and honour to thy Author*. Then also it was, that he harrowed the memoriall of **Constantine*, as one that had bene a deviser of innovation and troublous confusion in the auntient lawes and customes received of old: laying openly to his charge, That he was the first of all others who advanced Barbarians unto the honour and dignitie of Consuls, unfavorably I assure you, and with small discretion: who when he ought to avoid that which he right bitterly blamed in another, shortly after preferred to a Consulship *Maxentius*, a man neither for honest life, for brave part, for fightly preference, nor glorious reputation in the world, comparable to any of these, upon whom *Constantine* had conferred that most honorable magistracie; but contrariwise, one full of imperfections, rude, and uncivill withal, and (that which was intollerable) in high place of authoritie cruell. As he was thinking of these and such like matters, and carefull about most weightie and serious businesse, fearfull and unexpected newes were brought unto him, shewing the wicked attempts of some, like to hinder the forward courses of his designs, unless with watchfull providence hee repressed them also, before they grew farther. The two legions **Constantiæ* with the additio of one cohort of archers, which he found at Sirmium, he sent (as whose allegiance he yet distrust) into Gaule, under a colour of some urgent and necessarie occasions. These making but slow halt forward, and fearing as well the long and tedious journey, as the Germans, cruell and continuall enemies, plotted to make some rebellion, through the counsell and inciting of *Nigrinus*, borne in Mesopotamia, and *Tribune of a troupe of horse-men. Having contrived this matter by secret conferences, and strengthened it the more by deeper silence, when they were come into Aquileia, a towne strongly seated, and compassed about with mightie munitions, bulwarkes, and walls, in hostile manner all on a sudden they tooke it in; and the naturall inborne townesmen and common people, who favoured and friended still the name of *Constantius*, put to their helping hands to set forward this horrible and fearefull tumult. And having shut up all wayes of entrance, and manned the towers and bulwarks thereof with armed souldiers, they made preparation against the time to come for fight, living in the meane time at ease and libertie: and by this so audacious an act, they stirred up the Italian inhabitants, to side with *Constantius*, as if he had beene yet living. When *Iulian* was advertised hereof, abiding then at Næssum without feare of any troubles behind his backe, and knew besides by reading and herselfe, That this citie, how ever it had bin divers times besieged, yet never was either rased or rendered up; the more earnest he was, and made halt to gaine it to his owne side, what by cunning practises, and what with sundrie sorts of flatteries, before some greater mischief might arise.

*Tuscani.

*Carnarum,
or Monte Argenteo, Italia.
*Valuta, Religio.
*Bardie,
Tucce.
*Kibenburg,
Germania.
*Philippopolis,
Thracia.
*Philips, Thracia.

*I take it to be the
Fifth Boipora
Thracian, or Hel-
lenic.
*Mardi Marmora.

*or Emperor
Iulianus.

*the Great.

*Captain.

And therefore he commanded *Iovinus*, a captain of the horse-men, who coming by the Alpes was entred into *Noricum, to returne with speed for the quenching of that fire one way or other, which was now on a flame. And that nothing might be wanting, he gave commaundement, All souldiers who followed either *court or captain, to be slaid as they passed by the same towne, for to bee readie to their power to give aid.

CHAP. IX.

The siege and assault of Aquileia, whiles Iulian wintered in Constantinople, upon hearing of Constantius his death, are described.



Hese things thus set in order, himselfe not long after taking knowledge of *Constantius* his death, passed with speed through Thracia, and entred Constantinople: and being oftentimes advertised, that the said siege would rather hold long, than bee dreadfull and dangerous, having appointed for this service *Immo* with his companie and other captaines, he removed *Iovinus* from thence, to be employed in other affaires of more importance and necessitie. When as therefore Aquileia was compassed about with a double pavoisad of shields, thought convenient it was by consent of all the captaines to draw the defendants, what with threatening words and what with faire speeches, to yeeld: and after much debating to and fro, seeing their obstinacie grew still more and more, they depart from the parle without effecting their purpose. And because there was now nothing looked for but fight, after they had on both sides refreshed their bodies with food and sleepe, early in the morning with sound of trumpets incensed they were to doe mischief one unto another; and so with more hast than good advilement, they set up cries amaine, and prepared to encounter. The assailants therefore carrying before them roof-fences and hurdles very thicke wrought, marched softly and with good heed; and so with a number of yron tooles assayed to dig under the walls, and many of them brought scaling ladders, framed to the just measure and heights of the said walls. And when they were now almost at the very wall, some with stones that came tumbling downe upon them, were bruised and fore squized together, others shot with darts that flew singing about their eares gave back, and drew away with them all the rest; who for feare of the like welcome, were wholly averted from their purpose of fighting. The besieged now emboldened with this first encounter, assumed confident hope of better and better still, and made small account of any thing behind, but with settled and resolute hearts, along the river where it yeilded convenient place, with uncessant labour they performed watch and ward, and all other meanes for their better securitie. On the other side, the assailants without, although they were fore troubled with the feare of dangers, yet for very shame, least they might be thought dull of spirit and slouthfull, seeing that the assailing by open force sped no better, betooke themselves to artificiall fabrickes and engines meet for a siege. And because the place was no where found meet eyther to set Rams to it, or plant engines against it, or to undermine it, by reason that river *Nariso runneth along the citie side neere unto it, there was a device found out comparable to those in old time. They built with quick speed certaine towers of timber higher than the enemies bulwarkes, and placed the same upon *three ships strongly fastened one to another, on which stood armed men, that putting

*Beyern, or Bavaria.

*Comitatus and signa.

*Narison. Leand.

*Triremis.

their whole strength together, joyntly laboured all at once with equall courage neere at hand to drive away the defendants from their standings: and under them were light appointed skirmishers, that came forth of certaine holes in the said towers, put forth and layed over little * bridges, which of purpose they had framed and joyned before, and made hast in a trice to passe over upon them: to this end, that whiles they which were placed aloft on both sides, assaile one another with casting-weapons and stones, these that went over on the said bridges, without any one to disturbe them, having pulled up part of the stone-woke in the wall, might make a breach and entrance into the towne within. But this second enterprise as wisely as it was begun, sped amisse in the end. For when these towers drew neere, assailed they were with shot of fericie darts all besmeared over with pitch, with reed also, with stickes, twigs, and sundrie sorts of fuell, readie to catch a light fire. Which towers being quickly set a burning, when they bending forward, and reeling with the weight of those that stood waving upon them, fell downe into the river, some of the armed men, sticke with engine-shot a farr off, were killed from their very tops. During which conflict, the footmen beneath, after their ship-mates that served on the water aloft were fallen, with huge stones were crushed, all but some few, who by swift footman ship, through combersome places of refuge, escaped. At length, after the conflict had continued untill it was toward evening, at the sound of the retreat, as the manner is, they departed on both sides asunder, and passed that little remnant of the day diversly affected. For as the assailants upon sorrow and lamentation for the death of their fellowes; so the defendants in hope of winning the upper hand, were mightily incensed, and yet these also themselves rooke the losse of some few of their owne side right heavily. Nevertheless, no time was lost, and after allowance of so much, for one whole night, as was sufficient to recover their strength with rest and food, betimes the next morning the fight began afresh at the sound of trumpet. And some of them bearing up their shields over head, to fight more nimbly; others carrying ladders, as before, upon their shoulders, and running forward with fervent violence, exposed their breasts to the stroke of many a dart. There were also, who setting in hand to breake the yron port-cluses, were soone fired away, or killed with mightie stones from the walls. And some that went about very boldly to passe over the ditches, by the suddaine assaults of them that issued forth secretly at the postern gates, as they rushed on unadvisedly, were fore hurt and set backe. For the safe recourse they had to the wall and vauure strengthened with turfe, defended these wait-layers from all danger. And albeit the defendants, in skill of martiall feats surpassed, who now had no other helpe left but their walls: yet our souldiers picked forth of the best companies, not able to endure long delays, went round about all the places neere unto the citie, seeking by what forcible meanes or engines they might make way and breake into it. But when they could not effect so much, so great difficulties were in their way, they began more slackly to lay siege unto the citie; and the stationarie or garrison souldiers leaving their guards and centinels, by wasting the fields neere adjoining, got plentie of all things meet and necessarie, and imparted a great deale of the booties which they had gotten, unto their fellow souldiers: whereby swilling in a deale of drinke, and cramming themselves with full fare and high diet, they became heavie spirited and unlustie.

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CHAP.

CHAP. X.

After newes brought of Constantius his death, the men of Aquileia besieged, set open the gates unto Agilo, sent from Iulianus. Nigrinus is burnt quicke: other two are executed with the sword. Iulianus taketh charge of the affaires in Illyricum and Italie.

Iulian having intelligence hereof, by the common report and relation of his confors, whiles hee wintered yet in Constantinople, politely tooke order to set in frame these troubles. Soone after therefore he sendeth Agilo, colonell of the Footmen at that time, a man of good note, and well knowne, to this end, that upon the sight of that right honourable personage, and knowledge taken by him of Constantius his death, the siege should breake up. Meane while, that the siege of Aquileia might not bee given over, though it was, since all their paines and labours undertaken otherwise came to nothing, that these who so fiercely stood out, should be forced for very thirst to yeeld: and whereas, notwithstanding the conduit pipes were cut betweene them and the springs heads, they valiantly made resistance neverthelesse, nay with more courage and confidence than before; with much labour the course of the river was turned away: which device likewise tooke no effect. For when the meanes of drinking liberally and with greedinesse were cut off, those that by their owne wilfull rashnesse were enclosed within, lived sparily, and contented themselves with water out of pits and wells. While these things thus passe, and fell out as hath beene said, Agilo, according as he had commaundement, came upon them: who being covered over head with a thicke fence of shields, approached confidently: and when he had delivered many speeches, and those truly, whereby he acquainted them with Constantius his death, and how the Empire was settled upon Iulian, reputed he was a liar, and escaped not without reviling tearmes: Neither gave any man care unto his relation of what was done, before that upon graunt of safe-conduct he was admitted alone unto a certaine bastile or fortification, where, upon a more religious protestation of his true report, he recounted the same againe that before he had delivered. Which when they heard, after long sorrow the gates were set open, and they all came forth by heapes, and with joy received this peaceable captaine: who in excusing and cleering themselves, presented Nigrinus as the author of all this outrage, with some few others, requiring that with the execution of them, the crime of majesty, and the calamities of the citie might be expiated. To conclude, before Mamertinus the Praefectus Praetorio, then sitting in place of justice, Nigrinus, as the hottest persuader of this warre, was burnt quicke. But after him, Romulus and Sabotius, principall* bookekeepers of the towne, convicted to have sowed discord and stirred up sedition, without regard of what perill might ensue, had for their desert punishment by losse of their heads. All the rest, whom necessity and not their owne will forced to these furious broyles, went away without harme. For so this mild and mercifull Emperour, weighing well the case with equity and reason, tooke order. And these verily were the proceedings that passed afterwards. But Iulian reliant still at Massima, was encompassed with deeper cares, fearing many things on both sides. For he stood in dread, least, if the souldiors shut within Aquileia, by some suddaine impression should stop the streits of the Iuli-

an Alpes, he might loose the provinces and the succours which he dayly expected from thence. Semblably, he feared much the affaire of the East, hearing that the souldiors dispersed over Thracia, against suddaine violence quickly assembled, drew toward the confines of Succ, under the leading of *Comes Marrianus: But yet for all that, himselfe also in regard of these instant businesse, working effectually with such careful provision as was meet, gathered together the Illyrian forces, bred up and inured in martiall exploits, and readie in all conflicts to joyn with any warlike commander: not despising in this so troublous and busie a time, the good and profit of private persons, but giving audience to causes and matters in controverfie, and especially to the* States of free townes, to the favouring of whom being overmuch inclined, he unjustly invested many of them in great offices of State. There finding Symmachus and Maximus, two Senators of good make for their noble birth, sent as embassadours unto Constantius; when they were returned from him, hee visited them in honourable manner, and rejecting a more worthy personage, in the rowme of Terentius he made Maximus Praefect of Rome, and all to gratifie Rufinus Pulcatius, whose sisters sonne he knew him to be: in whose government the markets were plentifully served with victuals, and the complaints of the commons, which oftentimes were wont to arise, ceased. Then also, to settle the fearefull State in securitie, and to embolden those that were obedient, he declared Mamertinus, the Praefect Praetorio in Illyricum, Consul together with Nevius: he (I say) did this, who but of late had beyond all measure taxed Constantine as the first man that began to countenance and honour base Barbarians.

CHAP. XI.

When there was a very dangerous warre toward, from the Persians, Constantius in much sorrow and perplexitie, in fearefull hast frameth his souldiors to their allegiance. Meane while the Persians, repelled by the direction of the destinies, retorne home.

Whiles by these and such like meanes he plotted new designs, and that upon ticklish tearmes betweene hope and feare, Constantius at Edeffa perplexed in his mind by occasion of fundrie reports delivered by his intelligencers, was drawne into a survey of divers courses, as doubtfull which of them to take: one while preparing his souldiors to skirmishes and battailes; another while readie to goe in hand, if opportunitie might serve, to lay a siege a *second time to Bezabde: wisely considering, that being shortly to take a journey into the North parts, he did not leave the tract of Mesopotamia without defence. But being thus unresolved in his counsels, withheld hee was by many delays, for that the *king stayed yet beyond Tygris, untill by sacrifices and religious ceremonies he had warrant to enter upon his expedition. For if he had passed over that river, and found none to make head against him, without any difficulty at all, he might have gone over Euphrates also: and other wise again, keeping his souldiors for civile warre, he feared to expose them unto dangers about citie walls; having had experience particularly, of what strength the walls of that Fort, and how resolute also and valourous the defenders were. Neverthelesse, because he would not sit still, nor be despised for his slouth, he enforced Arbetio and Agilo, with other captaines and officers of the Cavallerie, to make hast with puissant regiments under their conduct, not meaning that they should provoke the Persians to fight,

fight, but keepe the hither banks of Tigris with good guards and fore-fences, and to lye in espiall, whither their king in his violence would breake forth. This directi- on moreover he gave, by admonition and writing off, That so soone as the multi- tude of enemies began to passe over, they should draw backe with speed. And whilst these captaines keepe the limits accordingly as they had in charge, and ob- serve the secret designe of that most deceitfull nation, himselfe remaining with the stronger* part of the armie, had a carefull eye to all urgent occasions, as if he meant to take the townes that he had in his protection, by sallies and outrodes. But the spies and fugitives from the adverse part, as they otherwhiles came, delivered in- telligences repugnant one to the other: as being uncertaine of future issues, by reason that among the Persians there be none privie to their counsels but the no- bles and great lords, who are silent and trustie: among whom likewise there is a god also worshipped, under the name of Silence. Now, the foresaid captaines sent dayly for the Emperour himselfe to come unto them: for they protested, that they were not able to withstand the violence of that most fierce king, without all their forces put together. Meane while that these matters are thus carefully handled, there arrived sune messengers one after another, by whose faithfull relation it was knowne for a truth, That *Julian* having with great celeritie passed beyond *Italie* and *Illyricum*, seized as he went the straits or passe of *Succi*, and waited for aids to come with speed from all parts; that being thus environed with a multitude of armed men, he might over-run *Thracia*. Which being knowne, *Constantius* driven into a great agonie, with this one comfort yet sustained himself, That in* home- troubles he had alwaies the upper hand: but considering how difficult a matter it was to take counsell what to doe in this case, he made choice of this course especia- lly, namely, to bestow his souldiours in* publicke waggons, and send them before by little and little, with the more expedition to meet with and resist the imminent danger. And this opinion of his being by a generall consent of all the armie ap- proved, they went, as they had commandement, lightly appointed. And as he was taking this order, the next morning word was brought, that the king with his power which he had led forth, was returned home, by occasion that the prelagging signes by birds brake off his enterprise. After this feare was thus allayed, and all the forces called backe, save those which ordinarily were appointed for the defence of *Mesopotamia*, he returned to* *Hierapolis*.

CHAP. XII.

Constantius delivered of this care, by a stinging and biting Oration incenseth his souldiours against Julianus, whom he rearmeth Rebelle, and sendeth Arbetio and Gomoarius before with certaine Cornets of the more light appointed horsemen.

BVt doubting whereto these enterprises would in fine tend, when his ar- mies were come together, hee summoned to an assembly all the Cen- turies, Maniples, and Cohorts, with found of trumpets filling the whole field with the multitude: and then, that the more readily hee might bind them to establish what he was to give in charge, standing upon an high Tribunal, and the same with a thicker guard about it than usual, composing his countenance to a chearefull aspect, thus he discoursed unto them for their better encouragement: *Being as all times careful, that I commit not ought either in word or*

deed (were it never so little) that suited not well with persue honestie: and like a warie Pilot or skilfull Saylor, setting up and bending downe the helme according as the billowes stirre, I am constrained now to confesse unto you (most loving friends) mine errors, may rather, if I may speake a truth, my humanitie and courtesie, which I thought verily would have profited the common affaires. To the end therefore it may more easily bee knowne, what is the cause of assembling this companie, listen I pray you with patience and favour. Mine uncles sonne *Gallus*, what time as *Magnentius* (whom your valour and prowess overthrow) obstinately persisted in working the trouble and confusion of the State, I lifted up to the high place of *Cæsar*, and then sent him to aid the East parts: who, when he had by many lewd practises, horrible to be seene or rehearsed, forsaken the way of iustice, was by the doome of law iustly punished. And would God, that *Envie*, most forcible in stirring up of tumults, had rested so and stood contented herewith, and that the remem- brance alone of griefe past (but the same commonly is devoid of care) had disquieted and troubled us. But now another accident is happened, more sorrowfull I dare well say than all that was before, which by our native and in-bred fortitude with the helpe of God in heaven we shall repress. *Julian*, whom we ordained for the defence of *Gaule*, whiles yee were employed in assailing forraigne nations that made a foule stirre round about *Illyricum*, presuming upon victorie in some light skirmishes which he had with the *Germanes*, halfe naked men, hath borne his head aloft like a mad man, and assuming into his proud scotarie some few aid souldiours, readie in their fell stomacke and desperate boldnesse to enter into any mischievous action, conspired the hurt of the Commonweale, having abandoned and trodden underfoot Iustice, the mother and nurse of the *Romane* world, who as a goddesse to be revenged of such as joy in wicked deeds, will in the end bring such proud, swelling, and fierie spirits to dead sparkes and embers, as my selfe have found by experience, and as I easily am induced to beleve, by the knowledge I have out of ancient histories. What remaineth then, but that we withstand these tempestuous whirlewinds that are raised, and by speedier remedies repress and quell the rage of this warre new sprung up, before it bee growne to greater strength. For there is no doubt to be made, with the favour of that most high God assisting us, by whose eternall sentence unthankfull persons are already con- demned, but that the edge of the sword so impiously prepared, will be turned upon them to their utter destruction, who not provoked with injuries, but made greater by many bene- fices, have thus risen up to endanger the innocents. For, as my mind perseseth, and iustice readie to further good counsels, doth promise, I dare undertake, that if they come once to buckle in close fight, they will for starke feare grow so benumbed, that they shall not be able to endure the ardent light, brandishing and sparkling out of your eyes, or the first noise of the ourcise at the ioyning of battaile. After these speeches uttered, hee drew them all to his mind, and when they had answered the same with kind words and loving acclamations, they shooke their speares in angrie wise, and called to bee led forth out of hand into the field against the rebell. Whereupon the Emperour turning his feare into the joy, soone after dissolved the assembly, commaunded *Arbetio*, whom he knew already by former proofes to bee above all others a fortunate man in ap- peasing of civile warres, to goe before him in his journey, with the^m *Lancearii* and^a *Mattarii*, & the companies of the light armed souldiours: likewise *Gomoarius* with the *Læti*, who was to be opposed against them that should come into the straits of *Succi*, one, whom in this respect he preferred before others, because hee was mischievously bent against *Julian*, as who had beene despised and disgraced by him in *Gaule*.

*The old Legio-
nary souldiours and
Infanterie.

*Civile warres.

*That lay as possi-
ble for the affaires of
State.

*Haleppo, *Edessa*.

CHAP. XIII.

Constantius after this, being disguised with dreames, and as hee thought forsaken of his smelard Geni^{us}, and frighted withall by a certaine unluckie and ominous token, whiles hee came unto a village neere Antioch, fell mortally sicke, and dyed.



His fortune thus sticking & standing still in this tumultuous state of adversities, shewed by signes as openly almost as if they had spoken plaine, That the painfull end of his life was at hand. For, both terrified he was in the night time, and before also that hee fell fast asleepe, he saw the ghost of his father, as offering unto him a faire babe: Again^e, when he had taken the said babe unto him, and bestowed it in his bosome, it stricke from him, and flung a great way off, the ball which himselfe carried in his right hand. Now, this betokened nothing else but a change in the State, although the interpreters answered pleasing things to him. After this, he confessed unto his familiars that kept neere unto him, & daily bare him companie at the table, That now, as one forlorne, he saw no more any secret apparition in cherefull and pleasant forme, but he thought it stood hard by him in poore and mournefull maner: and suppoled it was, That a certaine tutelard Geni^{us} allotted unto him for the protection of his life, had forsaken him, readie to depart verie shortly out of the world. For, the Divines out of their learning, say, That all persons new borne, saving alwayes the stable firmesse of the destinies, have to accompanie them some such powerful spirits, to guide, as it were, & governe their actions, and yet the same appearing to vrie few, even those whom many kinds of vertues have made great and famous: And this doctrine both the Oracles, and also excellent authois have taught us, among whom is Menander likewise the Comical Poet, in whom are read these two ^o Senarie-Iambick verses.

**Amor inquit adest, et deservit,
Amor inquit inquit inquit inquit inquit.

*One Angell hath each man, his birth once past,
Which him directs, whiles lively breath doth last.*

Semblably, out of those everlasting verses of Homer, wee are given to understand, That they were not gods of heaven that communed with valiant men, neither flood by, or helped them as they fought, but familiar Genij, or angels that conversed with them: by means of whose especiall helpe, it is said, that Pythagoras, Socrates, Numa Pompilius, the former Scipio, and as some thinke, Marius and Octavianus, the first that had the name of Augustus given unto him, excelled, likewise that great Hermes Trismegistus, Apollonius also Tyanicus, and Plotinus; who adventured by discoursing upon this Theme by way of argument, both mystically and profoundly, to shew the first beginnings when these Genij became linked to mens soules, which, being once received into their bosomes, they protect, as long as they may, and instruct them in many high points, in case they perceive them to bee pure, and by the immaculat societie of the bodie severed from the filth of sinne. Well, Constantius with all speed being entred Antioch, and minding earnestly to adresse himselfe, as his manner was, against the troubles of civile warres, after he had put all things

things in readinesse, hastened to go forth into the field, although a number secretly in troubling maner were exceeding much against it: For no man durst either openly dissuade him or say nay. Toward the later end of Autumne he put himselfe in his journey, and when he was come to a certaine countrey ^{*Manor, not far from} the said citie, to wit three miles off, named Hippoccephalus, in the morning when it was day light, he espied the dead bodie of a man slain lying on his right hand (with the head severed from the shoulders) stretched out along just against the West side: And being afrighted with this ominous signe, himselfe, as the destinies hastened his end, went on apace the more resolutely, and came to Tarsus, where hee got a light ague: but supposing that all danger of this crasse of his, might bee shaken off by stirring in his travaile, he came by difficult and cumbrous wayes to ^{*Mop-} Mopustia, the utmost ^{*Station of Cilicia as men go this way, scituar under the foot of the} station of Cilicia as men go this way, scituar under the foot of the mountaine Taurus. And when the next morrow he would have gone forth, the grievousnesse of his discale growing upon him, had so impaired his strength, that he was staid there; and so by little and little the unkind and excessive heat of the fever so inflamed the bloud within his veins, that his bodie burning in maner of a furnace or oven, would not suffer a man so much as to touch it. When as therefore all means of medicines failed, drawing toward the howe of death, hee bewailed his end. While his memorie and senses were yet sound and perfect, he ordained by will (as the report went) Iulian to succeed him in his imperiall place. After this, when his wind grew short, which is the forerunner of death, hee became speechlesse, and after he had strugled a long time with his soule, readie now to go forth of his bodie, he departed this life the third ^{*day before the Nones of October, when} day before the Nones of October, when he had ruled ⁴ and lived 40. yeares and a few moneths.

CHAP. XIII.

His Testament and his heire. The ingenious and plaine dealing of Ammianus Marcellinus, in describing the vertues of Constantius.



After this, when his reliques were with grievous grones, lowd lamentations, and monesfull mourning interred, those that were of highest place in the court consulted what to do, or what they should go about; and when they had founded some few in secret wife, about electing an Emperour, by the instigation, as it was said, of Eusebius (who was pricked in conscience for his offences committed, what time as Iulian aspiring now to the government of the State, crossed him) there were sent Theolapbus & Aligidus, then ^{*Comites, un-} Comites, unto him, shewing the death of his kinsman, and requesting him, setting all delays aside, to go directly into the East, and to possesse himselfe thereof, being readie to yeeld him obedience. But the voyce went, and rumors ran abroad, That Constantius in his time had made his last will and Testament, wherein he did set downe, as I said before, Iulian to be his heire, and gave to those whom he loved, seoffements upon trust, and legacies. Now, his wife he left behind him with child [of a daughter] whereupon, being borne after his death, and called after his ^{*name, when he came} name, when he came to ripe yeares, he was coupled in marriage to Gratianus. Observing truly then the difference of his vertues and vices, meet it will be that the principall be first declared. He kept in all places the State and Maieitie belonging to an Emperour, and with a loslie and brave mind despised popularitie; exceeding sparing hee was in the bestowing of high dignities, suffering seldom times any innovations about the administration of publique offices, and never erecting any militarie titles: neither was a

*General of the
hoſe.

my captaine or commaunder under him advanced with the dignitie of * Clariffimus: for they were, as we remember, ſtilled Perfectiffimi. Neither came the government of a Province to be general of the hoſe, nor ſuffered hee *him to meddle with any civile affaire: but as well all officers of the campe, as civile magiſtrats, after the manner of the reverence and reſpect done in old time, had alwayes in honour the Præfects of Prætorium, as the verie height of all authoritie. Paſſing careful and warie in preſerving of ſouldiers, a precise examiner otherwhiles of their deſerts. As for the Palatine dignities, he gave them, as it were, by a certaine plumb-line and level, and in his dayes no new upſtart, or unknowne perſon came in place to beare any great ſway in the court, but he onely that after ten yeares ſpace was thoroughly knowne, like to a mannage the maſterſhip of the offices, or the Treauſure and Revenewes, or any ſuch like function. And verie ſeldome it fell out, that any martiall man paſſed to the adminiſtration of civile matters: and on the other ſide, none took the charge of ſouldiers, but ſuch as had bene hardened in warre ſervice. An earneſt mind and affection he had to learning: but when as by reaſon of his dull and heaue ſpirit he could not attaine unto Rhetoricke, he left it and went to Poetrie, wherein he did nothing to any purpoſe. In a frugall and ſober kind of liſe, by moderat eating and drinking, he had his health ſo well, that ſeldome he contracted any diſeaſe, but when he did, ſicke he was almoſt to death. For, by long experience and prooſe in * Phyſicke, we have obſerved, That ſuch dangerous maladies are incident to bodies not looſely nor riotouſly given. A little ſleepe contented him, when time and occaſion required. And in ſo many yeares of his raigne paſſing chaſt he lived, ſo as he could not be touched ſo much as with ſuſpition of incontinencie, by any page or groome attending about him: in which behalfe, malicious people, if they can find no fault indeed, yet ſlicke not to rayſe ſlanders of ſuch as be in higheſt place, and may live as they liſt. A right good horſeman he was, and launched a dart verie well: but above all, as a moſt cunning archer, he ſhot ſure, and beſides was exceeding ſkilfull in the feats of ſervice on foot. To ſay nothing, that hee was never ſeene abroad and out of his houſe to have ſniſt his noſe, or ſpit, or caſt his head at any time at one ſide, nor ſo long as he lived to have taſted of any apples, or ſuch like fruit, becauſe this hath bene often related already.

CHAP. XV.

He cloſeth not nor concealeth his vices, but with the pencill of hſtoricall truth, paineth them to the life, having deſcribed the ſhape and limaments of his bodye, together with his buriall.



Having recounted ſummarily his good parts, as many as wee could come to the knowledge of, let us now proceed to his bad. Where as in other affaires hee was comparable with princes that were of the middle ranke, if he had caught hold once of any preſumption of affecting or aſpiring to the Empire, how untrue or ſlight ſoever, in liſting and examining thereof he would never make an end, but without all regard of right or wrong proceeding herein, he went farre beyond the monſtrous courſes of *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and *Commodus*, whole crueltie he taking for a patterne to imitate, in the beginning of his raigne, ſlew and rooted out all of his owne bloud and kinred. To adde more unto the ſorrowes of theſe poore wretches that were enformed againſt, as culpable in any point of pery or high treason, his rigour and wrathfull ſuſpitions were ſtreined and ſtretched to the uttermoſt in all

in all ſuch caſes. And if an inckling were given of any ſuch thing, he addreſſing himſelfe to ſtreit inquisition after it, more eagerly than might ſtand with civile juſtice, did ſet ſuch as were ſell and dreadfull, to be the examiners and judges of theſe cauſes: and in puniſhing ſome, he went about to lengthen out the time of their death, if nature would permit, as one in ſuch points of judiciall trials, more cruel even than *Gallienus*. For he, being many times forelaid by the trains of traitors indeed, namely, *Aureolus*, *Posthumus*, *Ingenius*, *Valens*, ſurnamed *Theſſalonicus*, and many others, puniſhed otherwhiles verie mildly their hainous faults, that would have coſt them their liues: but this man enforced their facts, even thoſe whereof ſome doubt was made, to ſeeme by violence of torment moſt evident and certaine. And in theſe and ſuch like caſes, hee then hated to the death, when moſt of all hee laboured and endeavored this, to bee reputed juſt and mercifull. And like as out of a drie wood the ſparkes that ſlie by a gentle blaſt of wind, with an unreſtrainable courſe, reach to the daunger of cuntry townes; even ſo hee alſo out of the leaſt matters raiſed whole heaps of miſchiefes and miſeries: farre unlike unto that moſt deſt and noble prince * *Marcus*, who, what time as * *Cæſius* had * mounted up to the imperiall dignitie in Syria, and a packet of letters ſent from him to his complices and adherents, was preſented unto him, and the bearer intercepted, cauſed the ſame ſealed as it was, ſtraight waies to be burnt: this did he whiles he abode in Illyricum, for feare, leaſt if the traytors were detected and knowne, hee might offend and diſpleaſe ſome of them whom he would not. And as divers of ſound judgement are of opinion, it was a ſigne rather of great vertue in the ſame prince, * to have left the Empire without any bloudſhed of thoſe of his traine and privie Counſell, than if he had bene revenged ſo unmercifully: According to the doctrine alſo of *Tully*, in a certaine Epistle to *Nepos*, taxing *Cæſar* for crueltie: For, *Felicitie*, quoth hee, *is nothing elſe but proſperitie of honeſt things*: Or, that I may define it otherwiſe, *Felicitie is that fortune which helpeth good counſels, which whoſoever uſeth not, can by no meanes be happie: And therefore in wicked and impious counſels which Cæſar ſooke to, there could be no felicitie: And more happie in my judgement was Camillus, whiles hee lived in exile, than in the ſame dayes Manlius, although he might, as he deſired, have raigned king*. *Heraclius* alſo the Ephesian, affirmeth the ſame, and advertiſeth us, That brave and worthy men have divers times bene overcome (ſuch are the variable events that fortune worketh) even of idle and ſlothfull cowards. And that this moreover among other principall prayſes is moſt eminent, when as authoritie placed in high degree, having the deſire to hurt, to be cruell and wroth, ſubdued, and, as it were, put under the yoke, hath erected a glorious trophie of clemencie, in the caſſe of a victorious mind. Now as this Prince in foreine warres went away with hurt and ſoyle, ſo by reaſon of civile conflicts, wherein he ſped well, he bare himſelfe proud, and by occaſion of the inward ulcers of Common weale, he was all embred with horrible and filthy bloud: Whereupon, in a perverſe purpoſe rather than juſt and uſuall, he reared with great coſt and charges in Gaule and Pannonia triumphall arches even out of the loſſe and calamitie of the Provinces, together with the titles of his acts affixed thereto, for men to read, ſo long as thoſe monuments would be able to ſtand. Exceeding much addicted he was to his wives, to the ſmall puling voyces of Eunuches, and to ſome Courtiers, who applauded every word he ſpake, and obſerved to honour him, and ſooth him up in whatſoever hee affirmed or denied. The diſtaſtfull bitterneſſe of theſe times, was made the worſe by the unſatiable extortion and ſnatching of theſe receivers, & importunate collectors of tributes and

* *Aurelius Antoninus* *Philophus*
* *Arrianus*
* by way of ſuſtination.

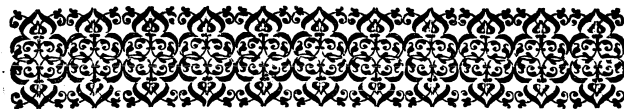
* Happily here is meant that ſoule and in a uſual ſenſe of a euſe.

* *Imperio cunctis*
* *conſentium ſine*
* *curæ eſſe*
That it might be ſaid that hee had ſuſtained his death
That his Empire was not interrupted, the thing that
At wander ſtrange and other good Emperors aimed at.

taxes, who drew more hatred upon his head, than money into his coffers. And this seemed unto many the more intollerable, for that he never heard any cause, nor rendered the indemnity of the provinces, when they were over-layed with taxes, tributes, and imposts, one in the necke of another. Over and above all this, apt hee was to take away againe what hee had once given; and that perfect and sincere religion of the Christians hee blended with foolish and doting superstitions: and being given to search therein more intricately, than to settle it with gravitie, hee stirred many schismes and discords, which as they spread more and more, hee maintained with contentious words and disputations: inso much as, whiles their bishops coursed up and downe by troupes on post-horses, allowed by the State, from Synode (as they tearme it) to Synode, labouring to bring all rites and ceremonies to their owne dispose and will, he thereby cut the sinewes quite of those that kept waggons for hire. As touching his forme and feature of bodie, this it was. His complexion somewhat blacke or browne; the cast of his eye loftie, his sight quicke; the haire of his head soft, his cheekes alwaies shaven, and shining beautifully, from the grafting of his necke to his groine very long; bow-legged and short withall, whereby he both leapt and ran passing well. Well, being thus dead, his corpes being embalmed and chested, *Iovianus*, who then was Protector Domesticus, had commaundement to attend upon it with royall pompe as farre as to Constantinople, to be entered close unto the necrest of his bloud: and unto him, sitting upon the Carroch that carried the Reliques (as the manner is unto Emperours) were presented the essays and proofes of the souldiors corne and victuals, as themselves tearme them, *Indicia proba*: also publique beasts were shewed, and according to the usuall custome they came upon him, and grew more and more: which together with officious meetings upon the way, and other such signes, portended verily unto the sayd *Iovianus* the Empire; but the same to no effect, and without any port or continuance, as unto one that was the minister of such funerall pompes.

* *Publicæ animalis*:
I suppose hee meaneth post-horses, carriages, and victuals, &c. for draught and carriage, in service of the State.

THE



THE XXII. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The death of Constantius once knowne, Iulianus as yet a young man of good growth, with exceeding applause of all men is received by the Constantinopolitane.



While the mutable and rolling chances of Fortune worke these occurrences in divers parts of the world, *Iulian* among many affaires which he projected in Illyricum, pried continually into the bowels of beasts, and gazing withall at the flight of birds, longed to know before hand, what end all accidents would have: but when he had received doubtfull and darke answers, he rested still uncertaine of the future. And at the length *Arunculus Gallus* the Oratour, a skilfull Soothsayer, and promoted afterwards to be governour of the province Narbonensis, told him the events, instructed before hand (as himselfe said) by the inspection of a liver, which hee had seene hidden within a duple skin. And when as *Iulian* feared for all that, least this might bee devised to humour his desire, and was therefore sad and heavie, himselfe espied a much more certaine praefaging token, which evidently shewed the death of *Constantius*. For at the very same instant, when the said *Constantius* died in Cilicia, it happened, that the souldior, who with his right hand lifted him up to his horse backe, caught a fall and lay along on the ground, whereupon he cried out by and by in the hearing of many, That He was fallen who had rayed him up to his high place of dignitie. And albeit he knew these were glad some signes, yet standing fast still, as it were, upon his guard, he kept himselfe within the bounds of Dacia, fearing even for all this, many accidents: for he thought it no point of wisdome to trust in conjectures, which peradventure would fall out contrarie. While hee stood thus doubtfull and in suspence, behold all on a suddaine there came as embassadours sent unto him, *Theodolaphus* and *Aligildus*, with tidings, That *Constantius* was deceased: and saying moreover, That by the last words he spake he nuncupated him successor in his imperiall throne. Which being knowne, after he was exempt from dangerous broyles and troublous stires of warre, hee bare himselfe wonderous high: and now beleiving prophesies, and making use of his owne experience, namely, how expedition in his affaires had diverse times stood him in much steed, hee gave knowledge by proclamation of his journey into Thracia: and so advancing forward his ensignes in an happie houre, after hee had passed through the bending and hanging straits of the *Succi*, hee marched on to *Philippopolis*, in old time called *Eumolpias*, and all those with a cheerefull pace followed

* in the East and West Empires.

* young man of stature.

lowed him, whom he had in his conduct. For they well considered, that the Empire, which they went by force to win, and that with the feare of extreame perils, was now beyond their hope graunted unto him by the ordinarie course of right. And as the usuall manner of Fame is, to amplify all novelties, hee hastened from thence, mounted higher and higher, as it were in some chariot of *Tripolemus*, who for his swift passage round about in the aire, fabulous antiquitie sayth, rode upon winged dragons: and thus dread by land and sea, having no wals to withstand him, he entred into * *Heraclea*, otherwise called *Perinthus*. This beeing soone after knowne at Constantinople, there came forth by numbers a multitude of all ages, and of both sexes, to see one sent downe as it were from heaven. Received therefore he was the third * day before the Ides of December, with the honourable and reverend attendance of the Senat, with the consonant applause also of the people: and thus environed with troupes of armed souldiours and gowned citizens, conveyed hee was along as in battaile ray, having the eyes of all men fastened wistly upon him, not onely with an earnest looke, but also with much admiration. For it seemed to praesage some great thing, that he, as yet a young man newly come to his growth, small of bodie, for his brave acts right excellent, after the bloudie ends of kings and nations, passing from citie to citie with unexpected swiftnesse, which way soever he went, with increase still of riches and forces like a burning flame, so easily seized and tooke up all places; and to conclude, who by the ordinance of the heavenly power entred upon the imperiall government, without any detriment or losse of the Weale publique.

CHAP. II.

He grauntesth out a commission to right honourable personages for the examination and triall of all matters: whence ensued the repairing of the rottering State of Commonweale, and the punishment of some lewd and wicked persons.

Shortly after this he committed unto *Secundus Sallustius*, promoted to be Praefectus Praetorio, the charge to sit upon inquisitions, as unto a faithful minister; and joynd with him in commission *Mamertinus*, *Arbizio*, *Agilo* and *Nevina*, *Iovinus* likewise newly advanced to be Generall * of the Cavallerie in Illyricum: who being all gone over to Chalcedon, in the presence of the ^a Principia and ^b Tribunes of the ^c Ioviani and ^d Herculiani, examined causes more rigorously than reason and equitie required; except some few, in which the truth presented unto them most dangerous malefactors and offenders. And first of all they confined into Britannie *Palladius*, late master of the officers, called into question upon suspicion onely, That he had framed and suggested some matter to *Constantinus* against *Gallus*, whiles he was Master of the offices under the said *Gallus*, being *Cesar*. Then banished they unto * *Vercellum*, *Taurus*, who had beene Praefectus Praetorio: whose fact before indifferent judges, that can discern betweene just things and unjust, might seeme very pardonable. For, what fault committed he, if fearing a blustering wind and tempest that was up, he fled to the protection of his prince? And the acts that passed upon him, were read without great horror, when the publique Act or Record thereof contained this * Exordium: *During the Consulship of Taurus and Florentius, when Taurus was brought in under the Criers &c.* Semblably, to the like point of destruction was drawne

* *Heraclea*, *Oritel*.

* the 11. day of December.

* captains.

* or *Vercellum*, now *Vercelli*.

* beginning.

drawne *Pensadius*: unto whose charge it was layed, That being sent from *Constantinus*, he wrote by way of cyphring, What answers upon many interrogatories *Gallus* made, when his death was at hand: But when he defended himselfe rightfully, he departed without harme of his person. By the like unjust proceeding was *Florentius* the sonne of *Nigrinianus*, Master of the offices for the time being, thrust up into *Boas*, an Isle of Dalmatia. For the other *Florentius*, who had beene Praefectus Praetorio, and was then Consull also, being skared with the suddaine change of the State, having together with his wife escaped the dangers, lay close a long time, and could not returne before the death of *Julian*; howbeit, in his absence condemned he was to die. In like sort, *Enagrius*, *Comes* ^a *rei privatae*, and *Saurinus*, late great Master, or Seneschall of the palace, as also *Cyrrinus*, who had beene a Notarie, were transported over into exile. But for the death of *Vrsulus*, who was * *Comes Largitionum*, Iustice her selfe seemeth unto me to have wept, blaming the Emperour for an unthankfull person. For, when as being *Cesar*, he was sent into the West parts, there to be kept short, and put to all sparing of expences, and had no power graunted, to give aught by way of donative unto the souldiours, to the end, that being thus strait laced, he might lye open to the mutinies of the armie, this selfesame *Vrsulus* sending his letters unto him, * who had the keeping of the treasure in Gaule, commaunded, That whatsoever *Cesar* called for, it should be given unto him without faile. When *Vrsulus* was put to death, *Julian* perceiving himselfe exposed to the rayling words and curses of many, and supposing this foule fact which could not bee purged, might yet bee excused, avouched, That the man was killed without his privitie, pretending, That in an angrie mood of the souldiours he was made away; as who remembered well those words, as I have already related, which he had let fall, when he saw *Amida* rased. And therefore he seemed timorous, or not well advised, when he made *Arbizio*, a man alwayes suspected, and exceeding proud, a speciall Commissioner and Iudge to hear and determine these causes, having others together with the * Principia of the Legions for shew onely present with him: one (I say) whom above all he knew to be opposit and set against his life and safetie, as became him who should be partner in civile victories. And albeit those particulars which I have reported, were displeasing to his well-willers and favourers, yet these examples that follow were executed with due vigour of justice and severity. For *Apo-demius*, lately a Pursivant or Intelligencer, who (as I have shewed) was very hot and sharpe-set to worke the death of *Gallus* and *Sylvanus* and *Paulus* that Notarie, surnamed * *Catena*, a man not to be mentioned but with the griefe and groning of many, were burnt quick, and perished by that end which was to be hoped for. Beside these, *Eusebius*, who had beene chiefe Chamberlaine to *Constantinus*, a man of high spirit, and cruell withall, was adjudged to suffer death: *Eusebius* (I say) who being lifted up from a most low degree to so high a place well neere, as to commaund the Emperour, and therefore intollerable, * *Adrastia*, that beheldeth mens doings, plucking him first by the care (as they say) and admonishing him to live more reformed, when he strived againe and made resistance, threw headlong down as it were from a certaine high and steepe rocke.

* *Arbizio* *Arbizio*: I would read it, *Arbizio* *Arbizio*, he died &c.

* High Treasurer.

* an under Treasurer.

* chiefe captaines and officers of the campe.

* *Chetia*.

CHAP. III.

The most ugly and lothsome face described, of the courts and armie of Iulianus: the same Princes impietie, his barred and deceifull dealing against Christ and Christians.

After this the Prince turned his whole favour and affection toward his Courtiers, even all that were or could bee, not ywis as a Philosopher that professeth the search into the truth. For he might have bene commended if he had retained, though few, yet some at least wife that were of moderate behaviour, and knowne for their honest conversation. But confessed it must be, that he highly maintained the most part of them as the verie seed-plot of all vices; in so much as they infected the Commonwealth with their lewd lusts and wicked desires, and did hurt to many, more by example, than by libertie of sinning: For some of them fed with the spoyle of churches, and out of everie occasion smelling after lucre, being rayfed from base beggerie to so high a leape of great wealth and riches, held no measure either in profuse largesse, or in poling, or in wasting, as those that always had bene accustomed by extortion and pillage to get other mens goods into their hands. Hence budded forth the beginnings of loose and licentious life; hence sprung perjuries: no regard was there of reputation, but such was their wild, se pride, that they stained their credit with dishonest and shameful gains. Among which enormities grew also the foule sinks and deepe gulfs of wastfull banquets, and in stead of triumphs for victories, feasting with triumphs. Then came up the wearing of silkes and velvets without all spare: then increased the artificiall skill of weaving and embroidery, together with the curious cunning of cookerie: then were large ploys for sumptuous and richly decked houses layd for, the spacious modell of which, if the Confull *Quintus* should have possessed in lands he had lost even after his Dictatorship the glory of his povertie. To these blemishes and stains in Court, were adjoynd the enormous transgressions of discipline in campe, when the souldiour in stead of a joyfull shout, studied to sing wanton sonnets: neither had the armed man, as before time, a stone to couch himselfe upon, but feathers and delicat winding beds: now were their drinking pots more weightie than their swords, for they shamed now to drinke out of earthen vessell. Moreover, there was now seeking for houses built of marble, whereas wee find it written in auncient records, That a souldiour of Sparta was sharply chastised, for that during the time of warre abroad, he durst be scene within house. Moreover, the souldiours in those dayes, were to their allyes and countrey men so stout, and withall so given to extortion, but contrariwise to their enemies so false harted, and cowardous, that having by ambitious suits and idleness gotten wealth, they could most skilfully distinguish the varietie that was in gold and pretious stones: farre otherwise than we find in records of later date. For well knowne it is, that in the time of *Maximian Caesar*, when a fort or campe of the king of Persia was rifled, a certaine common souldiour after he had met with a Parthicke sabbell, wherein were perles, upon simplicitie, for want of skill and knowledge, threw out the gemmes, and went away sufficiently contented with the beautes onely of the lether bagge. It fortuned about the same time, that a certaine Barber being commaunded to come and pole the Emperours head, entred in arrayed in rich and costly apparell, whom when *Iulian* saw, he was much astonied, (quothe he) *commaunded not a Receiver,*

*or Ambrose.

bus

bus a Barber so be sens for: Howbeit the said party being demanded, What he might dispend by his art? answered, He got everie day as much as came to the allowance for twentie men victuall, and as much for horse provender (which they commonly terme *capira*) also he had a good stipend or salarie by the yeare in money, over and beside many commodious suits and requests graunted unto him. Whereat being moved and displeased, he discharged away all such, together with Cookes and others of the like sort (who were wont to receive in manner the same fees) as those whom he had little need of, and gave them licence to passe whither they would. And albeit from the verie first instructions of his childhood, he was given much to the worship of idols and heathen gods, & as he grew by little & little elder, became zealously affected to the same, as standing in fear of many things, yet some points thereto appertaining he practised as secretly as possibly he could. But when those matters being past and gone which he feared, & he perceived once the time of libertie was come wherein he might do what he list, then discovered he the secrets of his heart, & by verie plaine and absolute decrees ordained, That the temples should be set open, that beasts for sacrifice should be presented before the altars, and that the worship of the gods should be put in use againe. And to effectuate and strengthen these designs of his he digested, the Christian bishops which were at dissention, together with the people divided into schismes, he admitted into his pallace, and gave them this admonition, That having appeased and ended all civile discords among themselves, everie man confidently should professe and follow his owne religion, without any impeachment whatsoever: which he did with a stiffe and constant purpose, to this end, that as this libertie increased dissentions, he might not afterwards feare the multitude of them according in one mind, as having found by experience, That no savage beasts are so noisome and hurtfull to men, as Christians are to themselves, and for the most part of them mortall and deadly. And oftentimes he would come out with these words, *Heare me, whom the Alemans and Frankners have heard*, thinking to imitat the speech of that auncient Prince *Marcus*. But little marked he, that the case was much altered: For, the sayd *Marcus*, when he travailed over Palestina, in his way to Egypt, being oftentimes diquieted with the odious and stinking sturres of the tumultuous and unruly Jewes in griefe of heart is said to have taken up this exclamation, *O Marcomans, O Quadi, O Sarmatians, I have at length found others more unquiet than you.*

*Idols, or heathen gods.

CHAP. IIIII.

The Egyptians unseasonably importuning and troubling him, hee wisely expelleth. By a kind of civile submission he laboureth to currie favour with all men. The Eshnicke Philosopher Maximus he familiarly entertaineth. The same of his vertues and puissance, driveth other Princes to a certaine secret dissimulation, and embassages from all parts repaire unto him.



This verie same time, upon sundrie rumors, there were stirred up & came abroad a number of Egyptians, a litigious kind of people, taking much pleasure and joy at all times, in an ordinarie custome they have, to sue one another and maintaine ambiguous controversies, but above all, most greedie to require a gaine, and that by way of multiplication and increase, if they have given ought to an Attorney or creditor, for to be eased thereby of a debt, or

*A Proctor, or Advocate, Comptroller, the time I take in that Office, gives a little after at

Cc

at

at least wife to be allowed more commodiously by way of forbearing and giving day, to bring in those summes which are as debts demanded : or, for feare of some odious cimation, to call into question and molest rich men in the case of extortion. All these being thronged thick together, flocked about the prince himselfe and the Praefects of the Pretorium ; where chattering like a sort of Iayes, they disturbed and troubled them out of all order most rudely, readie to extort and wrest what they avouched they had given unto verie many, whether rightfull or otherwise, it skilled not, even threescore and ten yeares before. And when they would suffer no businesse else to bee dispatched, *Iulian* published a proclamation, commanding them all to passe over the water unto Chalcedon, with a promise, that himselfe also in person would follow quickly after, to decide and determine these their causes. When they were gone over, there went out a precept to the masters of the ships, who use to sayle to and fro between, That no man should be so hardie as ^{*transport} *transport* over sea an Egyptian any more. Which precept was kept so straitly, and with so forward carefulnesse, that their obstinat purpose thus to quarell, and forge accusations, came to nothing in the end : & so disappointed of their presumed & conceived hope, they returned all home. Whereupon a law passed, as if equitie her selfe had indited it, whereby provided it was, That no Advocate or Attorney should be troubled about those ^{*moneyes} *moneyes* which it might appeare for certaine, that he rightfully and by law had received. Well, when as the first day of Ianuarie was come, what time as the names of *Mamertinus* and *Nevira* were entered into the rol or kalender of Consuls, the Prince was seene in a verie humble manner of dutie, to goe on foot with other honourable personages : a thing that others commended, but some againe found fault with, as a base part of his, and full of affectation. Afterwards, when *Mamertinus* exhibited the games ^k *Circenses*, what time, as the manner was, these were brought in and presented, who came to be manumitted and made free, himselfe, as his custome was, commanded by the under ^{usher} *usher* [*Legem* ^{agi}] and being straightwayes advertised, That the jurisdiction for that day pertained to another, himselfe also changed the December morning, as lyable to an errour. In this while much resort there was to the court of justice, from divers wayes and coasts, and a number of folke there were, who upon sundrie occasions did put in their bills. And when as on a certaine day word came unto him, That *Maximus* the Philosopher was come out of Asia to see him, he leapt up full undecently, and forgetting who ^{*himselfe} *himselfe* was, ran apace forth a great way from the palace gate, to meet him, kissed him, received him, and with much reverence and honour brought him in, shewing himselfe by this unreasonable ostentation of countenance, to bee an excessive hunter after vaine glorie, and forgetfull of that notable saying of *Tullie*, whereby such persons are noted & taxed in these words : *Even those Philosophers themselves* (saith he) *in these verie booke which they pen and entitle, as touching the contempt of glorie, write their owne names, so as even in this verie point, that they seeme to despise the same and glorie of the world, willing they are to be named, and that men should talke of them.* Not long after, two of those busie and pragmaticall ^{*Pursuivants} *Pursuivants*, who were called and put out of their places, came boldly unto him, promising, if they might bee re-flored unto their degree which they had in warfare, to shew where *Florentinus* lurked and hid himselfe. Whom he rated, and teamed Promoters, saying moreover, It was not the manner and part of an Emperour, to be induced by indirect suggestions and informations, to fetch a man backe againe into daunger, that for feare of death lay hidden, and who peradventure should not bee suffered long to hide his head,

head, without hope of pardon. In all these proceedings there was assistant to him a noble ^{*Senator} *Senator*, a man of an excellent disposition to vertue, & carrying with him the ancient gravitie of old time, who by chance was found about businesse of his owne at Constantinople, and him of his own meere motion and pleasure he made a Proconsular deputie in Achaia. Neither for all his being so precise and earnest in reforming of civile abuses, neglected he those of the campe, but hee ordained captaines and commanders over souldiers, such as had beene a long time approved and tried ; repairing moreover all the cities throughout Thracia, together with the utmost frontier forts, and taking diligent care, that neither armour, apparell, money, or victuall should be wanting unto them, who lying dispersed along the banks of Ister, and opposit to the rodes and invasions of the barbarous enemies, hee heard say, performed their service with great vigilancie and valour. Whiles hee disposed thus of these affaires, suffering nothing to be done slackly, when his favourites next about his person, perswaded him to set upon the Gothes joyning so neere, who had beene so often false and perfidious, he said, That he sought for better enemies : for, the Galatian marchants (quoth he) are sufficient for them, by whom they are everie where sold, without regard of state and condition. As hee was employed in these and such like businesse, fame commended him to forreine nations, as a brave and eminent person, for prowesse, sobrietie, skill in feats of armes, and good progresse in all vertues : and growing thus forward by little and little he filled the whole world with his name. The feare therefore of his comming being spread all abroad, as well among neighbour nations, as those that were farre remote, there came with great care from all parts embassages thicke : Of the one side, those beyond Tigris and the Armenians, craved peace : on the other side the men of Inde strived a vie, and sent great men with gifts before-hand, even from as farre as the Indians and ^{*Serindians} *Serindians* : From the South climat the ^{*Mauri} *Mauri* offered their service to the Roman State : from the North and Easterly regions, in which the verie ^{*Phasis} *Phasis* falleth into the sea, the Bosporians, and other people before time unknowne, brought with them their embassages in suppliant manner, requesting, That upon performance of their yearly tributes and duties, they might bee permitted to live quietly within the bounds of their native countries.

CHAP. V.

An exact description of provinces and nations which at this time are inhabited farre and wide in Thracia, and along the circuits of Pontus Euxinus.



At this time now it is (as I suppose) that since we are by occasion of this great Prince devolved upon these parts, we should truly and plainly deliver somewhat that we have seene or read, as touching the utmost coasts of Thracia, together with the situation of the gulf ^{*or} *or* sea of Pontus. ^{*Athos} *Athos*, that exceeding high mountaine in Macedonia, through which sometimes the Medes ships passed, & ^{*Caphereus} *Caphereus* the rock or Promontorie in Eubaea, where *Nauplius*, father to *Palamedes*, caused the fleet of the Argives to be split and cast away, although they stand a great way asunder, divide the ^{*Aegean} *Aegean* and Thesalian Seas one from the other. As for this ^{*Aegean} *Aegean* sea, spreading it selfe by little and little as it groweth broader, on the right hand where

C c j

^{*Transactum.}
Some read *Transactum*, as if it had beene his proprietas.

^{*happily the same}
that the Seres,
^{*Mauri}
^{*Phasis}

^{*Mar-Majore.}

^{*Morre Sarto,}
or Argian coast
the *Caphereus* rock
then, *Chios*, *Sophaea*.

^{*Archipelago.}

it stre-

^{*Transactum}
Transactum

^{*asces}

^{*Pursuivants}
orac-
cording to cheu-
all customs, and
then it is to be-
referred unto [*Legem*
agi] that men
might commence
their Actions, and
proceed in their
laws.

^{*to visit an Em-}
perour.

^{*or Indurians}

*Idoli di Archep-
lago.
*Salles, *Sapian*.
*Lembro, *Siphi*.
*Tenedo.
*Stalimne.
*Talo.
*Meclyn
So called of
Smintha, a citie in
Troas, where he
was worshipped.
*Troia.

*Alpeola, *Mario*
Nigro.
*Manta di *Marina*.
*Marogna, *Nigro*.
*Oeno, *Nigro*.

*A part of Italy.

*Strenio di Galli-
polio, *Bras de S.*
*Greece.
*Valia, *Rocher*.
*A certain Fro-
montorie.
*Aconce.
*Boasalar.
*Callipoli.
*Achellum and
*Aulium.
*Aulo, *Enchiridion*.
*Lampicie, *Sepi*.
*Lepicie, *Sepi*.
*Pantus, *Seyran*.
*Tartalis, *Mer*.
*Nigro.
*Chazro, *Stephan*.
*Comula.

*Hexamili *Sepi*.
*Heracine, *Ore*.
*Racile, *Ore*.

*Varmora, *Pelle*.
*Carpellica, *Pelle*.
*Calonio, *Mer*.
*Ceras, *Mer*.
*Borica, *Girga*.
*Seyran.

*Aqua dulce
or helybia.

*Pera, *Sepi*.

*or chueis

it stretcheth wide by the Sporades, is full of Islands, as also by the Cyclades, so called, for that they doe all of them encircle Delos, the noble place of the gods native: on the left hand, where it washeth Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos, and Thasus round about, when the winds are big and blow full upon it, with great violence it beatech upon Lesbos: From whence with a returne of the current and refloeing waves, it dasheth upon the temple of *Apollo Sminthius*, and upon Troas, as also upon Ilium, so famous for the chaunces that befell to noble and worthy warriors. And here it maketh the gulfe or Bay Melas, lying full against the Western wind, at the very entrance and beginning whereof is scene Abdera, the habitation of *Protagoras* and *Democritus*, and the bloudie feat of the Thracian king *Dionides*: as also those bottomes and vales by which the river Hebrus runneth into it: likewise, Maronea and Aenus, which when *Aeneas* in a cursed and unluckie houre had begun and soone abandoned, by the guidance of the gods he self bestowed to aunceit Aulonia. From hence growing small by little and little, and as it were by certaine naturall commerce rushing into Pontus, and joyning to it selfe a part thereof, shaped it is in forme of the Greeke letter ϵ , and cutting Hellepontus from Rhodope, passeth along by Cynossoma, where it is thought *Hecuba* was buried; also by Coela, Sestos, and Callipolis: and over against them, by the Sepulchres of *Achilles* and *Ajax*, it floweth close to Dardanus and Abydos, whence *Xerxes* by making a bridge of ships joined close together, went over the sea on foot: then passeth it by Lampiacus, which the king of Persia by way of gift bestowed upon *Themistocles*; and by Paion, which *Parus* the sonne of *Iason* built. Whence swelling on both sides in manner of an halfe globe, and opening a wide partition of lands, with the armes of Propontis that stretch round about, it bedadlieth on that side Cyzicum and Dindyma, the religious and sacred temples of the great dame Cybele: Apamea likewise and Cius, Astacus also called in the age ensuing after the kings name, Nicomedia. But what way it holdeth on Westward, it beatech upon Cherronefus & Agos Potamus, in which place *Anaxagoras* foretold, That stones should fall from heaven: also Lyfimachia and that citie, which when *Hercules* had founded, he named Perinthus, and dedicated it to the memoriall of his companion. And to keepe the fashion of the perfect and complete letter ϕ , in the very middest of the roundle lyeth Proconnesus, an Island fashioned somewhat long, and Besbicus: beyond the top whereof it groweth narrow againe, and running betwene Europe and Bithynia, passeth along Chalcedon, Chrysolpolis and certaine obscure stations or harbour townes. For upon the left skirts and sides thereof the haven Athyras looketh downe, as also Selymbria and Constantinople (Byzantium in old time) a Colonie of the Athenians, and the Promontorie Ceras, carrying a turret built aloft upon it, giving light to ships; for which it is called Pharos: and from thence an auncient fountaine exceeding cold, with many water-courses issuing from it. In this manner being broken, and by the participation of both seas determined, and now growing more mild, it enlargeth it selfe, and even like unto a maine sea indeed spreading wide and long, as farre as a man may possibly ken. Now, the whole circuit thereof, as if it lay like an Island, as a man layeth along the coast and skirts of it, containeth the measure of three thousand stadia, as *Erasthenes*, *Hecataeus*, and *Protemy* affirme, as also other most skilfull searchers into these and such like kinds of knowledge, and by the assent of all Geographers is shaped to the forme of a Scythian bow, fitted with a string and bent to the full. And looke where the Sunne riseth out of the East Ocean, limited

it

it is with the fennes and meres of Maotis: what way the Sunne bendeth Westward, confine it doth upon the Romane provinces: where hee looketh up to the Northern Beares, it hath people bordering upon it, different in language and manners: to conclude, the South side thereof hath a gentle plaine and falling of the ground from it.

CHAP. VI.

Part of the contents in the former Chapter.



Long these most spacious and large tracts, there bee townes of the Greekes dispersed; all which, except some few in divers and sundrie ages, the Milesians, coloners of the Athenians, built: who among other Ionians were long before placed in Asia by Nileus, the sonne of that famous *Cadmus*, who is reported to have exposted himselfe to death in the Doricke warre, for his country. Now, the small ends or tips of the said bow on either side, which the two Bospori doe expressly resemble, stand just opposit one against another; the one named Thracius; the other, Cimmericus. And for this cause called they are Bospori, for that through them in times past the daughter of *Inachus* transformed, as the Poets say, into an heifer, passed over to the Ionian sea. The right side therefore, at the bending in of Bosporus Thracius, Bithynia boundeth upon, which they in old time called Mygdonia; wherein lye the countries Thynia and Mariandena; wherein also are seated the Bebricians, delivered from the crueltie of *Amicus* through the valiant prowesse of *Pollux*: also that remote station, in which the Prophet *Phineus* flood in horrible dread of the ravenous Harpyia, flying up & downe in such threatening manner as they did: by which shores curving and crooking into long coves or creeks, the rivers Sangarius and Psylis, Bizes also and Rhebas, poure themselves into the sea. Against which withoutforth are the Symplegades, two rocks reaching up on every side into high and steepe heads, and were wont in old time to encounter and meet, yea, and with a terrible noise to run and beat one upon another with all their hugeness, and giving way backward, fetch their feele or beire againe, and with a fierce charge and assault to returne full butt upon the same that they had knocked and beaten before. Betweene these rocks that thus open and shut, and jurre one against another so often, if a fowle should happen to flye, by no swiftnesse of wing could he possibly escape and get away, but be crushed to death. These cliffes, when as *Argo* (the first ship that ever was making speedie way to Colchis, for to steale the golden Fleece) had passed by them without harme, flood unmoevable conjoynd in one bodie, with the head or point crack round about: so that no man who seeth them now, would ever beleeve they were at any time parted asunder, but that all the songs and poems of men in old time agreed joyntly thereupon. Beyond part of Bithynia, the provinces Pontus and Paphlagonia stretch out in length, wherein stand Heraclea, Sinope, Polemonion, and Amyfos, great cities: also Tios and Amastris, all founded auspiciately by the direction of bird-flight, such was the precise care of the Greekes: likewise Cerasus, from whence *Lucullus* brought such fruit as are named Cerasia, Cherries. Semblably certaine Isles bearing up aloft, containing in them Trapezus and Pityus, townes of no meane account. Beyond these places, there is the hole or cave Acherusius, which the people dwelling thereby call *μυχρινος*: also the haven Acone, with divers rivers,

*Mar delle Sabac-
che, *Della Tan-*
na.
*Hares about the
North pole.

*Stretto di Con-
stantinopoli.
*Stretto di Caffa.

*Sometime this
for the guilt of
Venice: others for
the Medians
saga.

*Sangari, *Bellin*.
*For Psylis.
*Fenicia, *Trimer*.
*Ribas, *Gylis*.
*Pavonae.

*Camarina, *Ca-*
stello.

*Roni, *Calido*.
*Ausep, *Bonacato*
or *Penduracia*.
*Nig.
*Pontas, *Chal-*
cedonia.
*Varia, *Nigro*.
*ori, *Amis*.
*Samarro, *Nigro*.
*Cherada, *Nigro*.
*Trebondia.

*Lirio. Nig.
*Delap. Orell.
*Pompon. Nig.
*or rather Armo-
nus, out of Her-
cules.

rivers, to wit, Acheron (named likewise Archadius) *Iris, Tembrius, and, hard by, *Parthenius, running all downe into the sea with a swift course and violent streame. Next unto these is the river *Thermoodon, falling from the mountaine *Armoni-
us, and gliding betwene the woods and groves of Themyscyræ; into which the Amazones in times past were forced to sit upon this occasion. The auncient Ama-
zones, after that the bordering nations were fore weakened with continuall losses,
as who by them were waisted with bloudie rodes and invasions, aymed now at
higher exploits: and considering their owne puissance, and the places bordering
neere unto them, oftentimes gave the attempt upon more mightie nations, as being
ravished with the heat of greedie desire. And when they had broken forreiv-
through many countries, they made warre upon the Athenians, and beeing in a
sharpe conflict discomfited and scattered asunder, and having the flanks of their
Cavallerie layed naked, were slaine every one. When the defeature and death of
these were knowne, the feeble remaines of them that were left at home, declining
the deadly violence of their neighbours, who had before time suffered extremities,
and were like to pay them home with semblable measure, flitted to the more peace-
able seat of Thermoodon. The progenie of these being in long time after multi-
plied by many issues and generations, returned with a mightie power to their first
native places, and in proceesse of time became dread to people of divers discents and
originals. Not farre from thence mounteth up *Carambis, an hill of gentle ascent,
rising full upon the Northren *Elice, overagaint which is *Criu-metopon, a pro-
montorie of Taurica, distant from the other two thousand and five hundred stadia.
And from this place all the maritime coast, which beginneth at the river *Halys, ly-
ing straight in length like a line, shapeth out the string fastened to the two ends
of the bow aforesaid.

CHAP. VII.

More of the same argument as before.



Upon these countries confine the Dahæ, of all others the most fierce war-
riors; and the Chalybes, who were the first that digged up & wrought
iron into Steele. Beyond whom, the open lands are possessed by the
Byzares, Tapites, Tibareni, Mossynæci, Macrones and Philyres, people
by no acquaintance knowne to us: and from them not farre stand the monuments
or tombes of noblemen, wherein were entered *Sthenelus, Idmon, and Typhis*. Of
whom, the first was a companion of *Hercules*, wounded to death in the warre a-
gainst the Amazones; the second, an Argure or Soothsayer to the Argonauts;
and the third, a most skilfull and expert pilot of the ship abovenamed, *Argo*. After
you have passed beyond these parts before specified, you meet with the den or
cave Alion, and the streame of Callichorus, surnamed so upon this occasion: For
that *Liber* or *Bacchus* having after three yeares vanquished the Indian nations, and
being returned to those tracts, about the greene and shadie banks of this river
brought againe into ure the old songs and daunces *Orgia. Some are of opinion,
That such sacred ceremonies and solemnities as these were called *Trieterica. Be-
yond these confines, are the populous and well frequented territories of the Ca-
maritzæ, and the river Phasis with roring streame commeth to the Colchi, the au-
ciant offspring of the Egyptians: where, among other cities, standeth *Phasis,
bearing the name of the river abovesaid; also *Diofcurias, knowne even to this
day.

*Cabo Piello.
*Cabo Leone.
*Pompon. Nig.
*or rather Armo-
nus, out of Her-
cules.

*Lirio. Nig.

*Polidonia, Villa
*Savazopol. Ca-
pado.

day. The founders whereof, as we find in record, were *Amphius* and *Telechius*, two
Spartanes, the chariot-drivers to *Castor* and *Pollux*; of whom began the nation of
the Hemiochi. Not farre removed from these, dwell the Achæi, who having fini-
shed a certaine former warre at Troy (I meane not that warre which was fought
for the quarrell of *Helena*, as some authors have written) by reason of contrarie
winds wandering, and driven into Pontus, finding nothing but hostility, and no
where any assured place to set foot in, possessed themselves of the hill tops, alwaies
full of snow: and thus being pent in, and hardened with the chilling cold of the
weather, accustomed they were to get their living dangerously by robbing, and by
that meanes grew afterwards beyond all measure fell and cruell. As touching the
Cerceti, who joyned close unto them, there is no memorable matter written. At the
backe of them dwell the inhabitants of the Cimmerian Bosporus, where are the
Milesian cities, and the mother of them all, *Panticapæum: before which, runneth
the river *Hypanis, swelling as well with his owne water, as forraine streames run-
ning into him. Then a great way off, the Amazones stretching out in length even
as farre as to the Caspian *sea, inhabite about *Tanais, which rising among the
rockes of *Caucasus, glideth by many winding turnes and reaches, and parting A-
sia from Europe, is hidden at last within the meeres of Mæotis. Neere unto this
is the river *Rha, on the sides whereof groweth a comfortable and holisom *root,
so named, good for many uses in Physicke. Beyond Tanais, there spread out in
breadth the Sauromatæ, through whome all the way run the rivers Maracuss,
*Rhombites, Theophanes, and Totordanes: although there be another nation also
of the *Sauromatæ, farre distant from these, joyning hard upon the shore, which
letting in the river Corax, sendeth it to the utmost maine sea. Neere unto this
is the meere Mæotis, of an exceeding large circuit, out of the most plentifull veines
whereof, by the straits Patares, a maine deale of water breaketh forth, and runneth
into Pontus; in the right side of which are the Islands *Phanagorus and *Hermo-
nassa, reared by the industrious labour of the Greeks. About these marshes which
lye furthest and utmost, there dwell many nations, in varietie of speech & customes
unlike one another, namely, the Taxamæ, Mæotæ, Iazyges, Rhoxolani, Alani, Me-
lanchlænæ, and together with the Geloni, the Agathyrsi, among whom there is
plentie of the *Adamant stone: others also lye hidden beyond, because they are of
all the rest furthest within. But neere to the left side of Mæotis lyeth *Cherronefus,
full of Colonies, inhabited by Greekes; whereby the men are quiet and still, set-
ting their minds upon tillage, and living upon the increase of fruit, that the earth
yeeldeth. From these, no great way off, are the Tauri disjoyned, and those divided
into sundrie kingdomes: Among whom, for their exceeding crueltie, the Arinchi,
Sinchii and Napæi most terrible (and by reason of their long licentious libertie the
more cruell they be) have given name unto the unhospitall sea; which of the con-
trarie, by way of merriment and jeast, is called Pontus *Euxinus, like as we tearme
a foole *Euesbes in Greeke, the night, *Euphronie*, and the furies, *Ermenides*. For,
appealing and pleasing their gods with offering men for sacrifice, and sacrificing
strangers to *Diana*, who among them is named *Orsilochie, they used to fasten up-
on her temple walls the heads of men slaine, as the perpetual monuments and re-
stimonies of valiant exploits. In this [byland] Taurica, the Island Leuca, without
any inhabitants in it, is dedicated to *Achilles*. At which, if any happen by chauce
to arrive, after they have seene certaine tokens and remaines of antiquitie, the tem-
ple

*Volsper. Nig.
alluding to Bos-
phorum, which
was the old name
in Taurica.

*Bos. Mærotan.
*called also Hy-
canum, and hath
at this day many
names, according
to sundry lang-
ages, and countries
that bound up to
it.

*Tana.
*Alliot. Nig.
*Volga by some.
*Rha-Ponticke:
and not Rhaba-
rum or Rheu-
barbe: For this is
purgative, the o-
ther rather bin-
ding.

*Copa.
*or Samartians,
Taurians, and
Russians.
*Marriga Threuta.
*Moncastru. Nig.

*Diamond.

*S. Taurica. Pero-
scopia, and Gela-
ta. Pines.

*or Asinus.

ple also, and oblations consecrated to the said worthy prince, in the evening they go to shipboard againe: For they say, no man is able to stay there all night, without danger of his life. There also are rivers, and there breed white birds, like unto the *Halcyones: concerning the first originall of which fowls, and the battailes in Hellefpontus, we will discourse in due time. Now, there be certaine cities within this Taurica, among which the principal are Eupatoria, Dandace, and *Theodisia, besides other of smaller account, not stained or polluted with any sacrifices of mens bodies. Thus farre forth is thought the top of the bow to reach.

CHAP. VIII.

More still of the same argument.

THe remnant now thereof, with a gentle bent, and lying under the Northern Beare-starre, as farre as to the coast of Bosporus Thracius, we will, as order doth require, prosecute and declare, telling you thus much by the way, that whereas the bowes of all other nations are bent with the staves thereof crooked, onely those of the Scythians and Parthians, having the bowing and open hornes thereof drawne about on both sides, inward, represent the shape of the Moone in her wane, and a streight and round rule divideth them just in the mids. In the verie beginning therefore of the joynt or knitting together, where the Riphæan mountains do end, dwell the Arimaspî, righteous men, and for ther meekenesse & humanitie wel known; by whom the rivers *Chronius and *Bifula do run along, and hard by them, the Massagers, Alani, Sarmatae, and a number of other obscure nations, of whom we know neither the names nor their manners. Then after a meane space betweene, openeth the gulfes *Carcinites, a river also of the same name, and the sacred grove of *Trivia*, held religious with much devotion in those countries. Then *Borysthenes, springing from the mountaines of the Neuri, carrying much water by occasion of his owne fountaines, and growing big with the confluence of many rivers, with a streame of huge rolling waves entrencheth into the sea: upon the rivage wherof, full of woods, standeth the citie also Borysthenes, and Cephalonius, likewise the altars consecrated to *Alexander the Great*, and to *Cæsar Augustus*. From hence, a great way betweene, is that Biland, or demy Isle, which the Sindi inhabit, an ignoble and base kind of people, who upon the overthrow of their lords and masters in Asia, enjoyed afterwards their wives and goods. Under theselyeth a little strond or shore, the homeling inhabitants call it *Achileos-dromon, a place memorable in times past for the exercise there of that Thessalian Commaunder. And next unto it standeth the citie *Tyros, a colonie of the Phœnicians, by which passeth the river *Tyas. Now in the middle space of the bow (which as I said before carrieth a large round bent, and which is fiftene daies journey of a nymble and light appointed foot-man) are seated the Alani of Europe, and the Costobocæ, and infinit nations of the Scythians, which in length reach out as farre as the lands that stretch forth without an end: of which some few feed upon corne and fruits of the earth, all the rest wandering in scattering life over the vast wilderness (which never felt the plough, nor know what feednesse is, but lye desert, and subject to many frosts) feed after the filthy manner of wild beafts: Their wives and children, their houses (such as they be) and their household-stuffe, are set upon waines covered over with barks: and whensoever it

*or Chronus,
Menel, Geron.
*or Vifula:
de Witel, Geron.
*Golfo de Ni-
gropoli.
*Diana,
*Nieper, Mercat.

*Achilles race.

*Suri,
*Nette.

pleaseth them, they sit without any let, tumbling and rolling with them the same wagons whither they list. Moreover, when you are come to another bent or compass, full of creeks and havens, which determineth the utmost figure of this bow, there beareth forth the island *Peuce, round about which dwell the Troglodites, and Peucimi, and other smaller nations. There also standeth up Iltros, sometime a most mightie citie, likewise *Tomi, Apolloni* Anchialos, and *Odyffis, beside many other contained within the coasts of Thracia. But the river *Danubius, which hath his head neere unto the mountaines *Rauraci, that confine upon the borders of Rætia, stretched forth through a wider part of the world, & receiving into him three score rivers (in manner all navigable) through this Scythian shore, breaketh forth into the Sea at seven mouthes, and their names carrie their interpretation according to the Greeke *tongue: of which the first is Peuce, the island above sayd, the second Naracustoma, the third Calonstoma, the fourth Pseudostoma, as for the fift Boreconstoma, and the sixt Stenostoma, they be farre lesse than the rest: the seventh is a mightie great one, and in manner of a meer, blacke. Now this whole sea Pontus, in all the circuit thereof flowing round about, is both cloudie and *sweeter also than other seas, yea and full of shallows, for that the ayre thickened oftentimes with the breathing up and elevation of moist vapours, congealeth; and is tempered with a multitude of waters rushing into it, and riseth into certaine flats full of shelves and sand-banks, by occasion that a number of streames comming into it everie way about, cast up mud and heaps of sand. And knowne for certaine it is, that from the utmost bounds of our sea, fishes flocke by whole skuls, or shoals, to this nooke of the Ocean, to breed and shut their spawne; to the end, that with the sweetnesse of the water, they may more holesomely bring up their yong frye, secured from the devouring Whales and monsters of the sea within hollow places of receit, which are there verie thicke. For, in this Pontus there hath bene at no time seene such, but onely harmelesse Dolphins, and those but small. Now, what coast soever of this same maine gulfes of Pontus, is beaten with the North-east wind and frostie aire, it is so thoroughly frozen and congealed, as that neither the courses of rivers are supposed to roll underneath the yce, neither is it possible for man or beast to set firme footing upon the ground, so unsure it is and slipperie: a fault that never taketh hold of the sea as it is pure of it selfe, but mingled with river waters. Having bene thus carryed somewhat farther than we thought, proceed we to the rest of our hy storie behind.

*Prima, Nigra,
*Koria, *Cypren,
Anchialos,
*Varna,
*Donau.

*Reiger to the
Dien,
males &c.

*Stom in Greeke
signifieth a mouth

*Fresher.

CHAP. IX.

Iulianus borne up on high with the favour of all men, hasteneth so go unto Antioch: what acts he did in this journey.



Here fell out another occurrent to encrease the heape and measure of these present joyes, which verily was a long time hoped for, but protracted by many circumstances of delays. For rydings came by *Agilo and Iovius*, afterwards *Questor, That the defendants of Aquileia, wearied out with so long a siege, after they were advertised of *Constantinus* his death, did set open their gates, went forth, and delivered the authors of those sturres and commotions: and that when the said parties, as hath bene related afore, were burnt quicke, all the rest obtained

*Treasurer.

tained a graunt of pardon for their trespasses. But *Iulian* verie proud of these prosperous proceedings, carried his thoughts and conceits beyond the ordinary compasse and reach of men, as having by continual proofs & trials found that unto him ruling now the cite of Rome peaceably, favorable & gracious fortune, carrying, as it were the words ^{*}*Cornucopia*, i. wealth & abundance, presented unto him all glory and prosperitie: adding moreover unto the titles of his victories past, thus much, That whiles he held the empire alone, he was neither troubled with civile commotions at home, nor any of the Barbarians passed beyond their owne bounds: and all nations (upon a lust and desire they have evermore to inveigh against things past, and to blame them as hurtfull and noisome) were wonderfully inflamed with an earnest affection to resound his praises. Having therefore after considerate deliberation disposed of all things, according as the divers causes and times required, and withall animated his souldiers, what with many hortatorie orations, and what with a competent stipend, inciting them more readily to make dispatch and put all things in readinesse; borne thus aloft with the favor of all men, and addressing himselfe to goe to Antioch, he left Constantinople supported with verie great meanes of a flourishing estate: for being there borne he loved and esteemed it highly as the place of his nativitie. After he had crossed therefore the narrow sea, and passed by Chalcedon and ^{*}Libyfa, where *Annibal* the Carthaginian was buried, hee came from thence to ^{*}Nicomedia, a citie before time famous, so enlarged at the great expences of precedent Princes, that for multitude of buildings, as well privat as publike, it might be reputed to those that know it aright, a certaine region or quarter of that eternall citie, Rome. The walls whereof when as hee beheld how they were resolved into wofull ashes and dead imbers, shewing the anguish of his mind by silent teares, he went toward the royall palace with a softer pace, weeping for the miserable case wherein it was, in this regard especially, that the magistrates and whole comminaltie met him in mournfull and poore plight now, which had beene afore time a most flourishing state. And some of them hee agnized, as having beene brought up there under *Ensebius* the bishop, whose kinsman hee was, though a farre off. Here also in like manner, when he had given and allowed bountifully toward the reparation of those edifices which the earthquake had overthrowne, he came by Nicea, to the marches of ^{*}Gallogræcia, whence bending his journey at one side toward the right hand, hee turned to ^{*}Pessinus, for to visit the ancient temple of the great mother ^{*}*Cybele*. From which towne, in the second ^{*}Punicke warre, by the direction of *Cibyls* prophesie at Cume, *Scipio Nasica* translated her image to Rome: As touching whose arrivall into Italie, I have by way of digression, together with other particulars belonging to this matter, written somewhat in the acts of the Emperour *Commodus*. But why this towne should carrie this name, the writers of histories agree not: For some have affirmed, that the citie was surnamed so, by occasion of the said goddesses image fallen from heaven, of ^{*}*Ilus*, which with us, in Greeke, signifieth to fall. Others report, that *Ilus* the sonne of Tros, and king of Dardanie, called the place so. *Theopompus* avoucheth, That it was not *Ilus* who did so, but *Midus* that most mightie king of Phrygia. Having therefore adored the divine power there, and pleased the same with sacrifices and vowes, he returneth to ^{*}Ancyra: and as he was going further from thence, the multitude disquieted him; & whiles some required to have their goods given unto them which by violence and extortion had beene taken away: others complained, That they were unjustly ^{*}tyed and incorporated into the societies of the Curia: and

^{*}Libyfa, Lemela.
^{*}Comidia, Neme.
Nithor, Tereus.

^{*}Antaria, I. noul.
Thee, Theete.
gods.
ant. tualia
and the Carth-

^{*}Angust, A. Dima
^{*}Ad d. i. heu.
sith the word at-
tend in the 25.
booke.
^{*}Decuriones, or
Senators in Ancyra.

some

some againe without respect of daunger, laboured as if they had beene starke mad, to bring their adversaries within the compasse of high treason: but he, a more grave and severe judge than either *Cassius* or *Lycurgus*, weighing indifferently from point to point their causes, awarded to everie man his owne, no where drawne away from the truth, but sharply bent against slanderers and false accusers whom hee hated, as having tryed oftentimes the malapert folly of many of this kind even to his owne perill, whiles he was yet in low estate, and a privat person. And for an example of his patience in the like businesse, this one, although there bee many besides, shall suffice to be put downe. A certaine person there was, who in verie troublous manner approached an adversarie of his, with whom he was at variance, for speaking certain words in most bitter wise, tending to treason. And for that the Emperour dissimuled, and made as though he heard not the matter, he enforced the same still, and daily renewed his accusation: So as at length being asked what hee was, whom hee thus called into question, hee answered, That hee was a verie rich ^{*}Bourger. Which when the Prince heard, with a smiling countenance, *What presumptions* (quoth he) *haddst thou, to give thee light hereunto: Because* (sayth he) *he is about to make himselfe a purple garment of a silken cloke.* Who being commaunded after this, to goe his wayes with silence, and without harme, like a bafe fellowe accusing as bafe a companion of an high and hainous matter, neverthelesse was verie instant and importunat still. *Iulian* wearie with this busie and troublesome fellowe, casting his eye upon the High Treasurer that stood hard by, *Command* (quoth hee) *that there may be given a paire of* ^{*}*purple stockings*; *to this dangerous prating companion, for to be carried unto his adversarie; who, as it is given mee to understand by his report, hath lodged up for himselfe a cassocke of this colour; that it may be knowne what little good such ragges and slender clothes can doe, without verie great power and strength beside.* But as these parts bee commendable, and to bee imitated by good governours, so this was distastfull, and worthy to be reprehended, namely, That during his regiment there was hardly any man, who being once shot at by these ^{*}Curiales, how well soever he was strengthened and backed with privileges, with number of yeares which hee had served, with the strength also of any noble discent mere foraine, could have remedie, were it never so just and reasonable: in so much as most men herewith affrighted, were faine to buy out their troubles with bribes and money given underhand. Well, having thus gone through his journeyes, when hee was come to Pylæ (a place that pertaineth the Cappadocians and Cilicians asunder) the governour of that Province, named *Celsus*, whom he knew since time they were students together in Athens, he received with a kisse, tooke him up into his carroch to sit with him, and brought him in his companie to Tarsus.

^{*}or citizen.

^{*}or shoes, pedum
legnum.

^{*}Decurions, Bur-
gesses, & Senators
in corporat towne
and citie, called
Anacuriales.

Dd ij

CHAF.

CHAP. X.

Julian wintereth in Antioch, and there giveth good proofes of patience, lenitie, and equitie: but as bitter and professed enemy of true religion debarreth from the schooles the Christian Grammarians and Rhetoricians.

BVt after this, hastening to see Antioch, the head citie and beautie of the East parts, by making ordinarie journeyes, thither he came. Now, as he drew neere unto the citie, entertained he was with vowes, as if hee had beene some God: and hee admired the publique voyces of that mightie multitude, crying out with one accord, *Thas a starre of salvation and health was now risen, and shone upon the East parts.* Now, it happened at the very same time, that when the revolution of the yeare was finished, the solemnities called *Adonia*, after the ancient rites and ceremonies were celebrated, in honour of *Adonis*, the darling of *Venus*; who, as Poets faine, was in his very flower unhappily killed with the tuske of a wild bore; which is a signe of corne cut in their full growth. And this seemed an ominous and unlucky praefage, that at the first entrance now of the Emperour into this goodly citie, the seat of Princes and Emperours, there were heard on every side yelling lamentations and dolefull plaints. And here there shewed it selfe a proofe or testimonie of his patience and mildnesse, small though it were, yet admirable. He had hated one *Thalassius*, sometime a principall cleike in the office of Requests, a secret enemy to his brother *Gallus*, and who laid wait for his life: who being forbidden to adore the Emperour, and to be present with other honourable personages to doe his dutie, his adversaries with whom he had suit in the judicall court, the morrow after, when a superfluous multitude were assembled together, stepped unto the Emperour, cried out with open mouth: *Thalassius an enemy to your Grace, hath violently taken our goods from us.* Then hee, guessing that by such an occasion as this the man might be undone and murdered, answered them thus: *I acknowledge (quoth he) that the partie whom yee name, hath unjustly offended me; but meet it is, that you in the meane time forbear and hold your peace, until he give me satisfaction, being his enemy too, and a greater man.* So he gave commandment unto the Prefect, sitting by him, That their matter should not be heard before himselfe were reconciled to *Thalassius*. While hee there wintered at his hearts desire and contentment, he enjoyed during that time no allurments of pleasures, wherein all Syria throughout doth abound: but under a shew of solace and reposing himselfe, employing his mind in the deciding of judicall causes, which were of no lesse importance than martiall affaires, distracted he was with manifold and sundry cares; peizing with precise and exquisite docilitie, by what meanes hee might give every man his owne, and that by just and righteous sentences both the wicked might be chastised with moderat punishments, and the innocent defended, with the safetie of their goods. And albeit in time of pleading and arguing a case, he was otherwhiles out of the way, and spake beside the purpose, namely, whiles he would be asking unreasonably every one of those that were at debate, What religion they were of? and what God they worshipped? yet there is not a definitive sentence of his touching any controversie knowne, squaring from the truth: neyther could he ever be charged either in regard of religion, or any other by-matter, to have swerved from the straight line and rule of equitie: For that is a desirable and righteous

*Furrow. Some read Furrow, as an under cleike.

ous judgement indeed, whereby sundry examinations of matter, this is found just, and that unjust: from which, that he might not exorbitate and goe aside, he was as warie, as if he avoided dangerous rocks. And this was he able to attaine unto, because acknowledging the levitie of his owne nature, given to be very hastie, he gave the Prefects and those that were next about him, leave boldly by convenient admonition to curb and reine his passions, tending (otherwise than became) unto that which was decent and comely: and he shewed otherwhiles, that he grieved at delinquencies, and joied in reformation. And when advocats and defenders of causes with exceeding great applause highly commended him, as a prince that had the true knowledge of perfite reason, being moved hereat, he spake thus by report: *I would take joy, and were a proud man, in case I might be praised of them who I knew were able also to dispraise me if I did or said otherwise than well.* Now, it shal suffice in lieu of many mild examples of clemencie, which he shewed in the hearing of mens causes, to put downe this one, neither unpertinent to our present purpose, nor any way absurd. A certain woman judicially convicted and brought into the court, seeing her adversary one of the Protectores, otherwise than she looked for, in his armor lightly appointed, found her selfe much grieved, and stormed at this so strange a fashion: Whereupon the Emperour, *Follow thy plea, good woman* (quoth he) *if thou thinkest thy selfe any way wronged; for this man here is so well appointed, that he may with lesse cumbrance goe through the myre: little harme can he do so thy cause.* And by these and such like examples, as himselfe used commonly to say, thought it might have bin, That the same ancient lady *Iustice*, whom because she was displeased with mens vices, *Aratus* exalteth up to heaven, in the time of his reign returned to the earth: but that he did some things not according to the discretion of the lawes, but after his owne will, and divers times with his errors and delinquencies in that behalfe, eclipsed and darkened his courses to glorious in many respects otherwise. For, after many other good acts, some of the lawes also he reformed for the better, which by cutting off their doubtfull constructions, and long circumstances, shewed plainly what they bad, and what they forbad to be done. But this one inhumane and unmercifull deed of his, would be buried in perpetual silence, That hee debarred the professors of *Rhetoricke* and of *Grammer*, to teach those of the Christian religion.

*Cum, out of his gowne, and in manner armed.

CHAP. XI.

Divers men of great name, who had beene sometime adversaries of Julian, were punished sundrie wayes. A seditious uprore raised in Alexandria, which bred many broiles and murders, by an edict of Julianus is appeased.

AT the verie same time *Gaudensius* that notorious Notarie, who had been sent, as I said before, from *Constantinus*, as an opposit unto *Julians* designs in Africk, as also *Julianus* late deputed Praefect, or Vice-gerent there, an exceeding great supporter and abettor of the same side, were fetched backe, kept bound in prison, and by justice put to death. Then also it was, that *Artemius*, who had been the Marques of *Aegypt*, at the urgent and instant suit of the Alexandrines, charged with a number of heinous crimes, was executed with the losse of his head: after whom the son of *Marcellus*, late generall of the horse and foot both, as one that aspired to be Emperour, suffered death openly. Moreover *Romanus* & *Vincemius*, Tribunes of the first & second band of the Scutarij, being convicted

*Duc.

to have plotted certaine designs above their estate and degree, were banished. And after some small time betweene, the Alexandrians given to understand, that *Artemius* was dead, whom they feared, least upon his returne with power and command as before (for so he had threatened) he would, as one highly displeased, sit on many of their skirts, turned the edge of their anger upon **Georgius* the bishop, as who had oftentimes snapped, as I may so say, at them with his viperous teeth. The sonne he was of **Insulius* by report, borne at Epiphania, a towne of Cilicia, and being growne to greatnesse, with the losse and hinderance of very many, against the good of himselfe and of the Commonweale, ordained bishop of Alexandria, a citie, which of the owne inclination (and even when there are no causes at all) is usually given to many seditious tumults and turbulent commotions, according as the very Oracles give true report. The people here, having their minds already enraged, were much more incensed by this *Georgius* also, who in the open eares of *Constantinus* ceased not to accuse many of them as rebellious and disobedient to his commandements: and thus forgetting his owne profession, which teacheth him nothing but just dealing and mildnesse, he forooke that course, and betooke him to the mischievous practises of dangerous promoters. And among other matters hee was said maliciously to have informed *Constantinus* of this also, That in the foresaid citie all the houses, built sometime by *Alexander* the first founder, with great charges and expences of the State, and now annexed to the soyle, ought by right to yeeld profit and renewes to the common Treasure. To these mischiefs, this one more also he added, for which within a while after he was driven headlong upon his owne destruction. Being returned from the princes court, as he passed by the beautifull temple of *Genius*, guarded, as his manner was, with a great traine about him, casting his eyes aside toward the very temple, *How long* (quoth he) *shall this sepulchre stand?* Which word of his being once heard, many were smitten as it were with a thunderbolt, and fearing least he would give the attempt to overthrow it also, they wrought by secret traines to raise what matter they possibly could to bring him to ruine. And loe, upon the suddaine arrivall of joyfull newes, importing the death of *Artemius*, the whole multitude of the commons, for this unexpected joy set agog, and grinding their teeth, with a terrible noyse came upon *Georgius*, whom they haled and rugged with his legs and feet wide stragling, trampling and spurning him with fundrie sorts of evil entreating, and putting him to paine and torment ynough. And together with him, *Dracontius* the Mint-master, and one *Diodorus*, by calling in manner of a **Comes*, had their legs drawne through with cords, and so were killed together: the former of them, for that he overthrew an altar newly set up in the Mint-house, whereof hee was the Master: the other, because whiles hee was over-seer for the building of a Church, he cut off very licentiousely the lockes of boyes haire close to the head, supposing that this fashion also smelled of Idolatrie. And the outrageous multitude not content herewith, after they had mangled their dead bodies, layed them upon camels, and so carried them to the lake: and when they had burnt them with a swift fire, slung the ashes into the **sea*, fearing, as they gave it out alowd, least if their reliques had beene gathered up together, there would have beene churches built for them like as for the rest, who being urged to forsake their religion, went so farr in keeping of their faith unspotted and undefiled, that they endured dolorous torments even to glorious death, and now are rearm'd Martyrs. And verily, these wofull and miserable men, when they were led to cruell execution, might by

*an Arrian.

*The Comes
Comes his fellow,
or under captain.

*hard by the lake.

the helpe of Christians have beene refused, but that all the people one with another bare so deadly hatred unto *Georgius*. The **Emperour* certified hereof, bent fully to take revenge for so wicked an outrage, and being now at the point to have the malefactors punished with losse of life, was yet pacified with the gentle words of his neereft favourites: and sending out an edict in a sharpe and bitter Oration, detested the wicked act committed, threatening extremitie of death, in case any thing thenceforth should be attempted, forbidden by justice and the lawes.

CHAP. XII.

Julian addresseth himselfe to the Persian warre. His sacrifices, Heavenshif ceremonies, consultation of beasts inwardly and bird flight. The temple of Apollo Daphneus by casuall fire burnt, incenseth Julian against the Christians. Certaine Prodigious and Earthquakes, whereby Nicomedia was overthrowne.

MEane while, preparing an expedition against the Persians, which in the highnesse and stoutnesse of his mind he had conceived before time, caried aloft he was with an hote desire to the revenge of dishonours past, knowing and hearing, that this most fierce nation had for the space almost of threescore yeares together set their sure markes and cruell monuments in the East of slaughter and saccage, as having oftentimes put whole armies of ours to the sword. Now, a twofold desire he had that incensed him to this warre: first, for that impatient altogether of ease and rest, he dreamed of nothing all night but trumpets and battailes: againe, because in the very prime and flower of his youth, being presented and exposed to the warres of cruell nations, whiles the prayers were yet fresh of kings and princes, who were thought might be vanquished by force of armes, rather than hold forth their hands by way of humble supplication, he had an ardent desire, among other ornaments of braverie and glorie, to insert in his style the addition and surname of *Parthicus*: which implease of his, when some idle and envious backbiters saw to be set forward with great preparations, they kept a muttering, and gave it out, That it was a foule indignitie and pernicious, that by the exchange of one only bodie there should so many stirres and troubles be raised, employing all their endeavour and diligence in putting off this service and journey. Yea, and they commonly said, even in the presence of those, who they supposed would bring what they heard to the Emperours eare, That unless he went more calmly to worke in this excessive prosperitie and successe of his affaires, he would (like as come that is growne over-ranke and plentifull, soone fall to the ground, and lye along with the weight of his owne wealth and felicitie. And thus harping much a long time upon this string, with secret plots and close devices they came barking in vaine about this valiant man (who was nothing moved hereat) much like unto the Pygmazans or **Thiodamas*, that rustically peasant of Lydia, about *Hercules*. But he for all this, as beeing of an haughtier spirit than all the rest, never the later casting and devising with himselfe the greatnesse of this voyage, endeavoured earnestly to prepare all things meet and convenient therefore. Notwithstanding all this, I say, he drenched and embred the altars exceeding oft, with much shedding of blood, sacrificing otherwhiles an hundred buls at once, and infinite flocks of sundrie smaller beasts, yea, and white sheepe fought for and gotten farr and neere by land and sea: so that the fouldiors every day, in manner, that went over their heads, full pampered and

franke

frankesed as it were with plentie of flesh, living rudely and uncivilly, and through their greedie desire of bibbing quite marred and growne diseased, were faine to be set upon mens shoulders that passed by, and out of those publique houses, where they should have studied to punish feasting rather than give way and libertie thereto, to bee carried along the streets to their innes and lodgings, and above all other, the Petulantes and the Celts, whose boldnesse and audacitie was in those dayes growne above all measure. Moreover, the rites of superstitious ceremonies were come to an excessive height with greatnesse of expence, before time unusual and grievous to be endured: and every man (since he might doe any thing without impeachment) professing knowledge in prophecies, as well the ignorant and unskillfull, as the learned and taught scholler, without all end, or any orders appointed beforehand, were permitted to seeke after the answers given by oracles, and the science of peering into beastes bowels, which now and then discover future events: yea, & the faithfull information, where ever it might be found, of birds by singing, of fowles by flying, and of oses let fall from the mouth, were with studious affection of varietie sought for. And whiles these matters run on thus, as in time of peace, *Julian*, who was very studious and diligent to leame many things, entred into a new way of consultation, minding to lay open the propheticall and soothsaying veins of the Castalian fountaine, which *Hadrianus Caesar* is said to have stopped up with an huge heape of great stones, fearing, least as himselfe found by the prediction of the waters, that he was to take the charge and government of the Commonweale; so others also might come by knowledge of the like: and forthwith appointed, that the bodies which had bene entred round about it, should bee translated from thence after that manner and fashion, as the Athenians had purged the Isle Delos. At the very same time, even the *eleventh day before the Kalends of November, the most stately temple of *Apollo* ⁸ *Daphneus*, which *Antiochus Epiphanes* (that irfull and cruell king built) together with the image therein of *Jupiter Olympiacus*, equall in bignesse to the patron that it resembled, by suddaine violence of fire was burnt. Which being thus by so terrible a misfortune consumed, so farr forth grew the Emperour wroth and angrie, that hee commaunded more streight and sharper inquisitions to be holden than ordinarie, and the Cathedrall church of Antiochia to be shut up: for he imagined, that the Christians had done that deed upon spite and envie, for that against their wils they saw as an eye-lore the sayd temple enclosed round about with a sumptuous cloyster, supported with pillars. Now, the speech was, though grounded upon a very light and vaine rumor, That the same temple of *Apollo* upon this occasion was set on fire; for that *Aclepiades* the Philosopher, of whom I have made mention in the acts of *Magnentius*, coming unto that place by the citie side, to visit *Julian*, did set a little silver image of the goddesse *Celestia*, which he was wont to carrie about him wheresoever he went, at the verie feet of that high Colosse or image aforesaid, and when he had lighted certaine torches and waxe tapers, as the custome is, departed: Whereupon, after midnight was past, what time there could be no body present to helpe, the sparkes flying from the torches, caught hold upon that exceeding old wood whereof it was made, and so the fire light one after another occasioned by the dry fewell they met withall, mounted up and burnt what combustible matter it could possibly reach, although the same were a great way in height from it. The same yere, even when the mid-Winter was neere at hand, there fel out a fearful scarcitie of water, in so much as some rivers stood still and ran not, yea and the springs were dried up, which be-

fore

fore time boile up plentiful store of water: but afterwards they came to their former passe againe as well as ever before. Also, the 4.* day before the Nones of December, when it grew toward evening, the rest of Nicomedia with an earth-quake fell downe, and in like sort no small part of Nicæa: Which accidents, albeit they stricke the penfive prince into a dumpish fit of heavinesse, yet he neglected not the rest of his urgent affaires, untill the time came of his wished for fight.

*The second day of December.

CHAP. XIII.

Julianus writeth a booke called Mesopogon, against the Antiocheans. He gently entreatheth Theodorus of Hierapolis, who had sided with Constantius. The iudgement of Ammianus Marcellinus, as touching the oxe Apis sought and found.



OWbeit among such principall and serious businesse, hee seemed to deale in one thing that was superfluous and unnecessarie, in that upon a love that he had taken to popularity, without any probable reason inducing him thereto, hee let his mind to bring downe the price of all things to be bought and sold in markets the cheapnesse whereof being ordered otherwise than is meet and convenient, is wont otherwiles to breed scarcitie and famine. And notwithstanding the States of Antioch shewed plainly, That it could not be effected at the time when he willed it, yet would he never a whit leave off his purpose: like for all the world to his brother *Gallus*, although he was not bloudily minded. Whereupon faring afterward against them, as murmuring detractors and contumacious, he compiled an invective volume, which hee called Antiochenie, or Mesopogon, upon a malicious mind, reckoning up the shameful reproaches of the citie, and setting to more than were true. After which, understanding there were many pleasant jests and skoffes made of him, being forced to dissimule all for the time, he boiled and swelled againe inwardly with anger. For, mocked he was by these tearmes, as **Cercops*, a little dwarf, using to stretch his narrow shoulders, carrying a goats beard before him, and stalking with a wide pace, like as if he had bene a brother of *Orus* and *Epialtes*, those Giants whose talnesse *Homer* infinitely fetcheth out in the highest degree. He was also tearmed in stead of *Sacricola*, i. a devout sever of God, *Victimarius*, i. the common sacrificer or butcher, whereby many alluded to his often sacrificing. And verie aptly was he blamed in this behalfe, when as for ostentation sake, he used verie boldly to carrie sacred oblations for the priests, accompanied with a sort of women, and he tooke joy and pleasure therein. And although for these and the like causes he fretted and chafed, yet he said not a word, but holding in his passion within the power of his mind, he celebrated his sacred solemnities notwithstanding. To conclude, upon a certaine set festivall day before appointed, he ascended up to the mountaine Casius, so full of woods, and with a round compasse reaching up on high, from whence at the second cocke crowing the sun is scene first to rise. And when he offered sacrifice, and celebrated divine service to *Jupiter*, all on a sodaine he espied one lying prostrat upon the ground, with a suppliant voyce, humbly beseeching life and pardon: And when he asked what he was, answer was made unto him, That it was *Theodorus* of Hierapolis, one of the Presidents traine there, who among other honourable personages, accompanying *Constantinus* as he went from their citie, by way of uncleanely and base flattering him (as

*craffie flatterer, or a wily knave.

E c

who

*21. day of October.

*Against Iulian.

*or Iul.
Memorandum
head.

who doubtlesse should win the *victorie) requested him, and that with teares and grones, which he had at commaund, to send unto them the head of *Iulian* that ungratefull traitor, in such sort as he remembered the said *Member of *Magnentius* was carryed up and downe all about: Which when he understood, *I have* (quoth he) *heard indeed long since by many mens relation, of this thy speech, but got thy wayes in peace, carelesse, and void of all feare, through the clemencie of thy Prince, who, as the wife man hath advised, so diminish the number of foes, and to encrease the number of friends, of his owne accord and willingly lystriveth so to do.* After hee had performed the rites of sacrifice, and was departed from thence, there was presented unto him a writing from the governour of *Egypt*, avouching, *That the oxe Apis, which had bene sought with great diligence and industrie, might yet after a time be found:* Which, as the inhabitants of those countries suppose, is a token of luckinesse, of plentifull fruits, and divers good blessings: as touching which matter, it will bee requisite that somewhat were briefly delivered. Among living creatures by auncient observacion halowed, *Mnevis* and *Apis* are of more note than the rest. *Mnevis* is consecrated to the Sun, concerning which no memorable matter is recorded: the other following, to the Moon: For, *Apis* is an oxe, or bull, lively pourtraied unto us with divers figures of natural marks, but marked most of all with the shape of the new Moon on his right flanke: who when as after a certaine appointed time of life, hee is deepe plunged in a sacred fountaine, and departed out of this life, (for hee may not live any longer than the secret authoritie of mysticall bookes doth prescribe: nor but once in the yeare is there presented unto him a cow, and the same found with certaine especiall marks) another is sought for with publike sorrow and lamentation: and if he may be found with all signes right and perfect accordingly, he is brought to *Memphis*, a goodly citie, and ennobled with the presence of god *Esculapius*: and when by the ceremonious consecration of certaine prelates, to the number of one hundred, he is brought into a bed-chamber, and beginneth to be sacred or hallowed, hee is said by manifest conjectures to shew the signes of future things, and seemeth by certaine crooked tokens, to mislike some as they come toward him: Like as upon a time, when he rejected and refused *Germanicus Caesar*, as we read in the Chronicles, offering him meat, it portended what tell out within a while* after.

*namely his death

CHAP. XIII.

An exact draught of things memorable in Egypt: and first as touching the auncientie of the people: The fate and limits of the kingdome: then the heads, courtes, mounthes, or issues, and strange wonders of Nilus.



Because therefore this present time seemeth to require so much, the storie of *Egypt* would lightly and in few words bee touched, considering that the knowledge thereof I have orderly put downe at large, in the acts of the Emperours *Hadrian* and *Severus*, reporting most things that I saw my selfe. The Egyptian nation, the most auncient of all others, but that it contendeth

with the Scythians about antiquitie, is on the South side bounded with the greater *Syntes, the Promontorie *Phycus and *Boitum, together with the *Garamars*, and sundrie other kinds of people: where it looketh directly into the East, it lyeth along just before *Elephantina* and *Meröe*, cities of the *Ethiopsians*, the **Caradupi* also, and the *Red Sea, together with the *Arabians Scenite*, whom we now call *Saracenes*.

*Soudie de Barbaria, or Emors de Barbaria.
*Caluo di Carana, or Ravatu.
*Caluote Teives.
*, couple dwelling by the Cataracts, or Downe-fall of Nilus.
*Azaxim, Downe.
A gre.
Mör di India.
Lepsum.

racenes. The parts bearing just against the North, are maine lands, cohering one to the other a mightie way; whence *Asia*, and the provinces of *Syria* take their beginning. On the West side, disjoyned it is from the Continent by the sea **Iffiacum*, which some have named *Parthenium*. Meet it will be therefore, that somewhat in briefe I set downe as touching *Nilus* (which *Homer* termeth *Egyptus*) minding shortly to shew other particulars which in these countiees are admirable. The spring heads and originall of *Nilus*, as I for my part verily am wont to thinke, the ages also ensuing hereafter, shall be ignorant of, like as those have bene heretofore to this day. But for as much as the fabling Poets, and disagreeing Geographers deliver divers matters as touching the hidden knowledge thereof, I will dispatch in few words their opinions, such as I suppose found neere unto the truth. Some Naturalists affirme, That in the parts lying under the North, when the cold Winters bind and freeze all, there be mightie great snowes congealed and gathered together: and these afterwards resolved through the force of the exceeding hot Sunne, turne into clouds full of liquid and flowing humors, which by the **Etesian* winds driven into the South quarter, and wrung out with excessive heat, minister plentifull increase of water to *Nilus*. Others are of opinion, That by occasion of great showers of raine in **Ethiopia*, which by report, fall abundantly in those tracts, in the time of parching hot weather, the said river doth rise and overflow at certaine set times of the yeare. But these opinions both, seeme not to accord with the truth: For, reported it is, That in *Ethiopia* either there falleth no showers at all, or else if they do, it is verie seldome, and after great time betweene. Another opinion there is, more embraced than the rest, That whiles the fore-running winds blow and the *Etesian* blasts together, holding on continually for the space of fortie five dayes, they force backe his streame, and by reason that his swift course is thus restrained, he swelleth, and his waves overflow: and so growing bigger still by a contrarie spirit that striveth againe, whiles violent windes beat it backe of one side, and the course of the ever-running springs besides urge it forward on another, it riseth on high, and covereth all: and having once got the ground under it, surroundeth the open fields, and looketh like a sea. But king *Tuba* grounding his opinion assuredly upon that which he found written in certaine **Punicke* bookes, sheweth, That he ariseth out of a certaine hill, which standing in **Mauritania*, overlooketh the Ocean. And he saith, That upon these presumptions and arguments, this opinion was set on foot, because the like fishes, hearbs, and beasts, are bred among all those marshes. Now, this river *Nilus* running along by the parts of *Ethiopia*, having also gone through divers names, which many nations have given him as he palleth along the earth, with a most rich exundation, commeth at length to the Cataracts, that is to say, certaine deepe and broken rocks, downe which as hee falleth, he seemeth to rush rather than to run. Whereupon in times past the people inhabiting there by, when with continual roaring of the water, they had much impaired the use of their eares, and became hard of hearing, were forced of necessity to remove and sit up to higher grounds. From thence passing on with a milde course, at seven mounthes, everie of which both yeeld the use and carrie also the face of so many running rivers, he spreadeth himselfe through *Egypt*, without the helpe of any fountaine waters. And beside verie many rivers derived out of his channell, the father of them all, and falling into other channells welcometh as bigge as it: seven there bee navigable and full of forges, unto which those writers in auncient

*Golfo de Alaxia
or Gizaes.*Abecim, or Al-
habat, as he is called
by the Agyptians.

*Prodromi.

*Written by Car-
thaginians.
*The kingdom
of Mauritania
and Africa.

Ee ij

time

*Rosetto.
*Sturioni.
*Damiata, *Nig.*
Migni, Bonacc.
*Taner, *Nig.*
Calixent, Bonacc.
*Carabes.

* Seguer, C. y *id.*
* Mahlekch.

time have given these names under written, to wit, *Heracleoticus, *Sebenniticus, *Bolbiticus, *Pachniticus, *Mendefius, *Tanicus, and *Pelusiaticus. Moreover, rising from whence I have said, carried forward he is from the marshes, unto the Cataracts aforesaid, and maketh many islands; whereof some are said to lye out so farre along in the water, that hardly hee can leave any one of them behind him in three dayes sayling. Among which islands there bee two of great name, to wit, *Meroc, and *Delta, so called for better marke and distinction, of the triangled form of that [grecke] letter . Now when the Sunne beginneth to passe through the signe Cancer, Nilus riseth higher untill his course into Libra: and thus flowing aloft for an hundred dayes together, beginneth afterwards to decrease, and so the hugeness of his water being abated, where as before he carried ships, now he sheweth the fields passable by men on horsebacke. If it rise and swell over-high, it is as hurtfull, as unfruitfull otherwise, if it flow not high ynough. For, by excessive store of water standing and foking the earth too long, it letteth tillage of the fields, and by the smallnesse thereof it threatneth slender and barrenne corne. Neither doth any holder of land with it to rise above sixteene cubits high. And if it happen to flow moderately, the seed cast upon a land of fat soyle, yeeldeth increase divers times threecore and tenne fold. And it is the onely river that breedeth and affordeth no gales of wind.

С H A P. XV.

Furthermore he describeth the beasts of Egypt, as well by land as water. Among which, the Crocodile, Ichneumon, Hippopotamus, Ibis, and divers Serpents: as also Temples and the Pyramides.

Egypt aboundeth also with many kinds of beasts, among which there be some of the land, others of the water. Some live on land and water both, whereupon they are named Amphibia. And verily, on drie ground feed Roe-bucks, the Bucali, and the Bisturita, ridiculous deformed creatures, and other monsters, which it booteh notto recount. But among the water beasts there be store of Crocodiles every where all over those tracts. This Crocodile is a mischievous foure-footed beast, a dangerous vermine used to both * elements, without a tongue, moving the upper jaw onely, having rowes of teeth fashioned like combes, so that whatsoever it catched once betweene them, the same it biteth perniciously and holdeth fast: it layeth egges like to those of geese: and as he is armed with claws, so if he had * thumbs thereto, such strength he hath, that he is able to overturne whole shippes also. For, reaching out otherwhiles tenne cubites in length, all night long he kepeth the water quietly: in the day time hee feedeth on the land, presuming boldly of his skin which he carrieth about him so strong, that the naturall fence he hath upon his backe, like an armour of prooffe, unneth can be pierced through with the strong shot discharged from engines of artillerie. And the same wild beasts, notwithstanding they be alwayes raging, yet become mild and leave off all their outrageous felleinie for the space of those seven ceremonious holy days, wherein the priests at Memphis celebrate the nativite of *Apis*. Now, beside those Crocodiles which die by * casualtie, some burst asunder, by having their soft bellies digged into underneath, or fretted, with certaine hard crusts growing upon the backs of beasts like unto Dolphins, which the foresaid river main-
taineth:

length :

tainteth: others againe perish and come to their end after this manner. The little pretie bird ² Trochilos, whilst it seeketh for some picking of small food, flying gently about him as he lyeth along, and by tickling his gombes somewhat hard, commeth at length to the very place neere unto his throat: which when the water serpent * Hydrys, a kind of the Ichneumon, seeth, he enueth into the passage of his mouth, made open by the fayd bird that went before, and having gnawne through the belly, and torne in funder the vitall bowels, breaketh forth. This Crocodile, as bold a beast as it is to them that flye from it, yet if he perceiue one venturous to fet upon him, he is most timorous. Vpon the land he hath a very quick sight, and for the foure Winter moneths he is said to eat no meat at all. There be engenderd also in those parts the water horses Hippopotami, of all other beasts wanting reason, most wittie, shaped like horses, but having cloven houfes and short tayles: of whose readie and quicke wit, suffice it shal to shew two proofes. This beast having made his couch among the high over-grownne reedes, standing very thicke together, with most watchfull care looketh about him to see the coasts cleere and all at rest, and finding his time of libertie and opportunitie, goeth forth to feed vpon the standing corne: and when hee beginneth now to retorne with his bellie strut and full, by going backward he maketh many distinct pathes, leaft the hunters following the direct line of one plaine and straight way, should light vpon him, and without any difficultie wound him to death. Semblably, when with over-greedie eating his bellie is swollen so big, that he waxeth unlustie and slow, vpon the reeds that are new cut he walloweth and rolleth his thighes and legges, that so by wounding his feet, the blood issuing forth might make him light, who was before so clammied up and fed fat, and then the fore raw places of his flesh hee daubeth over with mud, untill the wounds doe cicatrice, and be whole and euen againe. These rare beasts, held for wonders and monstres before time, the people of Rome saw first in the Adleship of *Scanning*, father to that *Scanning*, whom whilst *Tully* pleadeth for, he commaundeth the Sardi, That they also would, together with the authoritie of the whole world, have a good opinion of that noble houle. And for many ages after, being oftentimes brought hither, now can they be no where found (as the inhabitants of those countries doe conjecture) forced to flie (so wearie werethey of the multitude of hunters coursing and chafing them still) unto the * Blemmyæ. Among the fowles of *Egypt*, the varietie whereof is innumerable, the * Ibis is a sacred bird, lovely and harmlesse in this regard, That ministring unto her young ones in neast the Serpents egges for food, shee is the cause that such mischievous vermine is consumed, and so growe to be fewer in number. The same birds encounter whole companies of winged Snakes, which come out of the Arabian fennes, casting deadly poysons: and the same Serpents, before they goe out of their coasts (after these birds have by fighting in the ayre vanquished) they devour: and by report they bring forth their young at their bills. *Egypt* breedeth also an infinit number of serpents, to wit, the * Basilisks, or Cocatrices, of all other most mischievous and pernicious: also the * Amphibæne, and the * Scytale, the * Acotie, the * Dipades, and the * Vipers, beside many other: All which the * Aspis exceedeth by farre in bignesse and beautie; neither of his owne accord * goeth hee out of the river Nilus. Many things there bee in those tractes the reading whereof would verie well pay for the paynes, out of which it will bee fit and meet to declare some few. There be * *Therma Lutra* there, which the home-borne inhabitants call * *Cythruss*. Temples also built euerie where

*fluens egrediens Nilū.
*hote baines.
*haply for Chy-
thos, or χυθρος.
Græc, i. e. os, or
Pots, or Kicles:
such as Herodot
lib. 7. mentions
about Thermop.
ly.

*water and land.

• *Police.*

* *Fortuna morte:*
I suppose he meaneth that manner of death, which is not violent nor occasioned by any outward knowne cause: but coming of it selfe, which how it differeth from naturall or inward disease, I cannot see.

where of great height and bignesse: the seven Pyramides likewise, that are become wonders of the world; which, in how long a time, and with what difficultie they were brought up so high, *Herodorus* the writer sheweth: Towers they be, erected to such an height, as exceedeth the handyworke of man; of a huge breadth in the bottome, and rising to a most sharpe pointed top: which figure in Geometrie is tearmed Pyramis, for that to the forme of fire (*in usque*) as we say, it commeth to be small in the head, in fashion of a Cone or Pineapple: the greatnesse whereof, because in climbing up to an exceeding height, it groweth small by little and little, consumeth also the shaddowes, by mechanike reason. There be also Syringes, i. certaine fistulous noukes under the ground, and full of windings: which, by report, the skillfull professors of old rites having a fore-knowledge of a deluge; and fearing least the memorie of their ceremonies should be quite abolished, built in divers places within, digested orderly by curious and laborious delfes: and upon the wals, hewed out of the very rockes, engraved many kinds of fowles and wild beasts, yea, and infinite formes of other living creatures; which being not understood of the Latines, they called ^a Hieroglyphicke letters. Then have you ^b Syene, in which at the time of the æstivall ^c Solstice, when the Sunne Southward stretcheth to the uttermost his Summer race, his beames going round about all things that stand streight upright, suffer no shaddowes to passe from bodies. Hereupon it is, that if any man shall sticke a stake upright, or see a man or tree standing about the very edges of their lineaments, he shall perceive the shaddowes to be spent. Like as at *Neroë*, being that part of *Ethiopia* which is next unto the Equinoctiall circle, by report, it happeneth; where for ninetie dayes together the shaddowes fall contrarie to ours: and therefore the inhabitants thereof they tearme Antiscij. Which because they be many wonderfull things, exceeding the purpose of our small work, let us put them over to deepe and high wits, beeing minded onely to make some brieft narration as touching the provinces therein.

CHAP. XVI.

Lately, the provinces and cities of Egypt and Alexandria by name, are described: with addition of famous mens names, and Sciences flourishing in times past in Egypt.



Egypt, as men say in ancient times, had three provinces, to wit, Egypt it selfe, ^a Thebais, and ^b Lybia: unto which the posteritie following adjoynd twaine, namely, ^c Augustamnica, severed from the said province Egypt, and ^d Pentapolis, divided from the drier Lybia. Thebais therefore containeth in it, among many cities, these more famous than the rest, to wit, *Hermopolis* and ^e Coptos. *Antinoon* also, which *Hadrianus* built in the honour of *Antonius*, a young stripling [and darling of his.] As for *Thebes* ^f *Hecatompylos*, who knoweth it not? Within *Augustamnica* standeth ^g *Pelusium*, a noble towne, which *Peleus* the father of *Achilles* is said to have founded, being willed by the commandement of the gods to be purged in that lake, which runneth hard by the wals of the same citie, what time as after he had killed his brother *Phoebus*, he was haunted and harried with the horrible apparitions and speeres of *Furies*: also *Cassius*, where standeth the sepulchre of *Pompey* the Great. ^h *Ostracine* likewise and ⁱ *Rhinocoruræ*. In *Pentapolis* Lybia, ^j *Cyrene* is situate, a citie of good antiquitie, but not inhabited, which *Batus* the Spartan built: Also ^k *Ptole-*

^l *Ptolemais*, and ^m *Arfinoë*, the same that *Teuchira*: likewise *Darnis* and ⁿ *Berenice*, which also they call *Hesperides*: but in the drier *Lybia*, ^o *Paretonion*, ^p *Cherecla*, and *Neapolis*, among some few small free townes. Egypt it selfe, which ever since that it became annexed to the Romane Empire, is ruled by *Præfects*, over and beside many smaller cities, hath *Athribis*, *Oxyrynchus*, *Thmuis*, and ^q *Memphis*, right great cities to beautifie it. As for ^r *Alexandria*, it is the very head of all cities, ennobled in many respects, and namely by the magnificence of the founder, that most high prince, and the cunning of *Dinocrates* the master of the Workes, and chiefe builder thereof; who when he layed the foundation of the large and faire wals for want of lyme (at the same instant unneath found) bestrewd all the circuit thereof, drawne out by line, with meale, which by an accidental signe foreshewed, that the citie afterward was like to abound with plenteous store of victuals: there the hole-some winds doe blow; there is the aire calme and mild: and as experiments gathered in sundrie ages hath shewed, there is no day almost in the year, but the inhabitants of this citie see the Sunne shine cleere and bright. This ^s caust, that it should not as heretofore, annoy the saylers with many dangers, by reason of the deceitfull and perillous passages to the land, *Queene Cleopatra* devided to set up in the haven an high tower, called of the very place it selfe *Pharos*, yielding the meanes of giving light unto ships sayling in the night season: whereas in times past, such ships as came out of the *Parthenian* or *Lybian* sea, seeing along the flat shores, void of mountaines, no land-markes either of watch-towers or hills, ran on ground upon the soft and clammie sands, and so were split in sunder. This very same *Queene* built the ^t *Hepstadium*, no lesse wonderful for bignesse than incredible almost for the quick dispatch thereof, and that for a cause well knowne and necessarie, which is this. The Island *Pharos* (where *Homæ* in his swelling veine of fabulous Poetrie deviseth, That *Proteus* kept with his herds of sea-Calves or Seales, lying a myle from the frond, on which the said citie standeth) was bound to pay toll for portage unto the *Rhodians*: which, when ^u some from thence came and demanded excessively, this ladie, whose wits served her at all times to worke wyles, having under a colour of solemne and feastivall holy dayes trained forth the said fermors or toll-gatherers with her to the places under the citie side, caused by uncessant and restlesse labour a piece of worke to be finished: and in seven dayes, for so many stadia, by making huge dams and banks within the sea, there was woon land unto the maine neere adjoyning: and thither went she then in her waggon, and said, The *Rhodians* mistooke and were deceived, who were to demand tollage of Islands, and not of the Continent. Besides these, there are temples proudly standing with high lanternes and steeples; among which, ^v *Serapium* carrieth up the head aloft: which, although there be but few words and little speech goe of it, yet with most stately cours and porches supported upon pillars, with lively portraicts and images, and with a number of other artificiall workes so adorned it is, that excepting the Capitoll, whereby venerable Rome advaunceth it selfe in majestic for ever, the world cannot see a more sumptuous and glorious thing. Wherein were libraries of inestimable worth, and all the ancient records jointly doe testifie, That seven hundred thousand bookes bestowd there, (such was the vigilant care of *Ptolemæes* the kings) were in the *Alexandrine* warre, whiles the citie was sacked under *Cæsar* Dictator, burnt to ashes. Twelve miles from thence standeth ^w *Canopus*, to which, the Pilot of *Menelaus*, as ancient monuments beare witness, there buried, gave that name: a place even to this day built sumptuously with churches and goodly faire

^a *Aermon*, or *Acre*.
^b *Sues*, *Gylos*.
^c *Berich*, or *Be-
bich*: of some
Call it *Alecar*.
^d *Porto-rassa*, or
Berton.
^e *Cherecla*.
^f *Cairo*, or *Men-
chis*.
^g *Alexandron*.
^h *Coptos*.
ⁱ *Alexander* the
Great.

^j *Pharos* the Isle,
now *Faron*, or
Magrah.

^k or *Seawhens*.

^l A place contain-
ing 7, stadia or
great furlongs of
ground wound out
of the sea.

^m *Publicanes*, or
farmers of the
customs.

ⁿ The temple of
Serapus.

^o *Bochis*, or *Bibis*.
et.

^a *Aina*, or *Ortel*.

^b *Croton*, or *Rame-
sopolis*.
^c *Suez*.
^d *Porto-rassa*.
^e *Cairo*, or *Men-
chis*.

^f *Cairo*, or *Men-
chis*.
^g *Alexandron*.
^h *Coptos*.
ⁱ *Alexander* the
Great.

^j *Pharos* the Isle,
now *Faron*, or
Magrah.

faire innes, through which the winds blow that are of an holesome temperature, in-
somuch, that any man living in those tracts would thinke, that he maketh his abode
without our world, when oftentimes he shall heare the winds make a gentle noyse,
with a warme ayre and Sunne shine breath. But Alexandria it selfe not arising by
little & little, as other cities, but at the very first built large with a spacious compasse,
and a long time grievously wearied with domestical dissentions, at last, after many
yeares, whiles *Aurelianus* was Emperour, what time as civile brawles brake out to
mortall broyles, whereby the wals were ruinate, lost the greatest part of her* territo-
ries, named Bruchion, after it had bene for a long time the seat and dwelling place
of excellent and renowned men. Thence descended *Aristarchus*, that famous and
most learned Grammarian, *Herodian* also a diligent student and searcher into the
most curious arts; likewise *Saccas Ammonius* the master of *Plotinus*, and a number
of other writers in many noble professions of learning: among whom, *Chalcen-
sus Didymus*, memorable for his enterprize of manifold sciences, caried a great name:
who in those six* bookes, wherein sometime he findeth fault, though unperfectly,
with *Tully*, following herein the * Sillographi, foule tongued and rayling writers,
blameth the judgement of learned eares, saring herein, with his unfavoiar and affe-
ctate speech, like unto a foolish whelp, that asfear off keepeth a barking and baying
about a terrible roaring Lyon. And albeit there were many more together with
these, whom I have named, that flourished here in old time, yet in the same citie the
professions of fundrie sorts of knowledge are not even in these daies silent: for both
the maisters of Mathematickes, after a sort here breath and live still, and whatsoever
lyeth darke and hidden, is discovered and layed open by the Geometricians staffe:
neither as yet among them is Musicke altogether decayed and gone, nor harmonie
hust: and even yet among some, black though they be, the skill and observation
of the heavens motion and of the starres is hotely professed againe; and in one word
learned there be among them not a few. Over and besides, cunning they are in the
science of prophesie and divination, which openeth the courses of the Destinies.
And as for Physicke, whereof, in this life of ours (which can little skill of tempera-
ture and iobietic) the many helps and meanes are right requisite and needfull, the
studie and practise therof encreaseth daily so, that although it stand most upon pra-
ctise and experience, yet in lieu of al experiments, it sufficeth for a Physitian to com-
mend the authoritie of his skill, if he doe but say, That he was trained up therein, at
Alexandria. And thus much verily may serve as touching these matters. But if any
man wil with a quicke understanding revolve the manifold introductions into the
intelligence of Divinitie, and the originall of fore-knowing things to come, he shall
find that such kind of learning was from *Egypt* carryed and spread over the whole
world. Here first, men long before others, came to the fundrie rudiments and crad-
dles, as they say, of Religion: and the first principles of their sacred mysteries, they
warily keepe and save, bestowed in secret sanctuaries. In this knowledge *Pythago-
ras* being instructed and according to it secretly worshipping the gods, whatsoever
he said or held, he ordained the same to stand in stead of an approved authoritie:
and oftentimes he shewed at Olympia his golden thigh, and was from time to time
seene to talke with an Angell. And hence it was that *Anaxagoras* foretold, That
stones should fall from heaven; and by handling the mud that was in a pit or well,
gave a prediction of the earthquakes that ensued. *Solon* also by the helpe hee had
from the opinions of the *Egyptian* Priests, by making lawes according to the direc-
tion of justice, brought the greatest strength and validitie to the Roman law also.

From

From these fountaines glorious Wisedome, in imitation of *Jupiter*, marching on
high with brave and loftie words, having not seene *Egypt*, hath as it were in war-
fare displayed her banners. Now, for the *Egyptians* themselves, they be men for
the most part somewhat of a darke swart colour and blacke, and much enclining to
melancholie, leane and drie, upon everie motion wrathful and angry litigious, and
most eagre demaunders againe [for any arrerages and duties behind.] If any one
of them by his denial of tributes could not shew upon his body many blacke and
blew markes, he would be ashamed: And to this day there could not be found the
torment so violent, as to fetch out of any of their hearts obdurat and hardened in
robberie, so much, as to tell what his proper name was. And this one thing more-
over is well knowne, as appeareth by our ancient Annales, That all *Egypt* hereto-
fore was ruled by their kings, freinds unto the State of Rome: but after that *An-
tonie* and *Cleopatra*, were in the battaile at Sea before Actium vanquished, it became
possessed by *Octavianus Augustus*, and tooke the name of a province. As for Li-
bya the drie, we attained unto it by vertue of the last wil & testament of king *Apion*.
Cyrene with the residue of the cities in Libya Pentapolis, we received as a gift at
the bountifull hand of *Ptolemeus*. Having thus launched out a great way, I will re-
turne now to the order of my hystorie begun.



THE XXIII. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Iulianus taking unto him Sallustius as Colleague, whom he ordained to bee
Prefect for Gallia, goeth in hand with the reedification of the Temple at
Jerusalem, but in vaine. Being terrified with ominous signes,
and prodigious tokens, yet mindeth he to en-
terprize the Persian war.



Hese were the acts, to say nothing of smal matters and minutes
of affaires that passed this yeare in the Provinces: But *Iulian*
having bene thrice Consul alreadie, taking unto him *Salla-
stius* the Prefect in Gaule, to the fellowship of wearing the
Consulare robe, entred himselfe that most honourable magi-
stracie the fourth time: And a strange noveltie it was
thought, to have a privat person joyned to the Emperour in
that place of dignitie, a thing that no man could remember done since *Dioclesian*
and *Aristobulus* time. And although he with carefull mind conceiving aforehand

Ff

the

*For Consul not
ter Consul, For I
cannot find in the
Chronicles, what
Sallustius means be-
fore this yeare
Consul with him:
and the verie
words following
imply no lesse.

*or ground lying
within it.

*Sillographi Poets.

the varietie of accidents, hastened forward with ardent desire the manifold preparations for the expedition; yet distrustful mens diligence euerie where, and much desiring to propagat the memoriall of his Empire by some great workes, hee intended with excessive cost to reedifie that sumptuous and stately temple in times past at Ierusalem, which after many mortall skirmishes and assaults, during the siege that *Vespassian* first, and *Titus* afterwards layd unto it, was with much adoe hardly forced and beaten downe: And he gave the charge of dispatching the businesse with speed, to *Alypius* of Antioch, who sometime had bene deputed a governor of Britannie. When as therefore the sayd *Alypius* was earnestly bent upon this affaire, and the ruler of the province did set to his helping hand; behold certaine fearefull flaming balls of fire issuing forth neere unto the foundations, and making many terrible assaults, consumed sundrie times the workemen, and made the place unaccessable: and by reason that this element still gave the repulse, the enterprife was given over. At the same time were sent from Rome unto the Emperour, as embassadors, noble personages of high birth, and for their approved life and conversation knowne to be of good desert, whom he honoured with sundrie dignities. As for *Apronianus*, he decreed, that he should be Praefect of Rome; and *Ostianus* Proconsul of Affricke; to *Vennius* he committed the deputishipp of Spaine; and *Rufinus Arabius* he promoted to be Lieutenant generall of the East, in the place of his uncle *Iulianus* late deceased. Which affaires thus ordered, as meet it was, beheld he was terrified with a certaine ominous signe, that tooke effect, as the event shewed, most surely and with speed. For, by occasion that *Felix* the Treasurer sodainly dyed of a flux of bloud, and the said Lieutenant *Iulianus* followed straight after him, the common sort having an eye to the publick titles, and putting all together, pronounced *Iulianus Felix*, and *Augustus*. Now, there had gone before another fearefull and adverse signe also: For, upon the verie kalends of Ianuarie, as he went up to the temple of *Genius*, whereto men ascend by stairs, one of the colledge of priests more antient than the rest, fell downe sodainly without any bodie thrusting him, and with that casuall and unexpected fall, yeelded up his ghost: which the standers by, whether for want of skill, or upon a mind they had to flatter, said, did pretend some such accident unto the elder of the two Consuls, and namely to *Salustius*: but as it appeared, fore shewed it was thereby, That death approached not unto him: but that was more ancient in years, but precedent in power and authority. Besides these, there were other smaller fore-tokens likewise, which otherwhiles prefiged that which happened: For, at the verie beginning of making preparation for this Particke expedition, word was brought, That Constantinople was shaken with an earth-quake: which the skillfull Soothsayers in this kind, pronounced to be no fortunat signe unto the ruler; that was in hand with the over-running of another Princes Realmes; and therefore advised him to desist from this unhappie enterprife: affirming, That these and the like tokens, thus farre forth, and not otherwise, ought to be contemned, if there be invasion made by a forreine power: for then, this one rule abideth firme and perpetual, By all meanes to stand upon our safeguard and defence, all violence of death whatsoever notwithstanding. At the verie same time intelligence was given unto him by letters, That the propheticall bookes of *Sybil*, being by his commaundement perused and consulted with at Rome, as touching this warre, by a plaine answer forbad the Emperour that yeare to depart from his owne limits. And yet among these occurrents, the embassadours of many nations that promised their ayd, after liberrall entertainment had their dispatch,

and

and were sent home again, with this answer of the prince, proceeding from a brave confidence, *That it no wayes became the State of Rome to bee defended by helpe from strangers, whose meanes meet it was should maintaine their friends and allies, in case they were driven upon necessitie to call for and crave their succour*: Onely *Arfaces* king of Armenia, he warned to gather his puissant forces together, and attend his will and pleasure, as who should quickly know whereto he tended, and what hee ought to urge and set forwrd. Wherefore, upon the first opportunitie that might stand with his advised & considerat consultations, making halt with a fore-running rumor, to be seized of the enemies lands, having before the mid-spring sent by his militarie companies a token or watchword, giving notice of an expedition, hee commaunded them all to passe over Euphrates. Which being once knowne, they all hie away speedily out of their wintering harbours, and having crossed the river, as the hystorie ensuing shall declare, were dispersed into sundrie stations, and expected their Princes comming.

CHAP. II.

Being departed out of Antioch, he was troubled and haunted with strange signes and dreames: but afterwards comforted againe by sundrie presages, and the arrivall of a most puissant Armadoe, he proceeded in his intended voyage.

BVt he, being readie to depart from Antioch, made one *Alexander* of Heliopolis, a turbulent and cruell man, judge over Syria; and said withal, That the man had not indeede deserved the place, but such a Iustice as he was meet for the covetous and spightfull Antiocheans. And when the multitude of all sorts accompanied him to his departure, wishing an happie journey, and a glorious returne, beseeching him from thenceforth to be mild and gentle unto them, for that his anger which he had conceived of their scornfull reprooves and reproaches, was not as yet assuaged, hee gave them rough language, saying, He would thenceforth see them no more. For, he said, That he determined after the expedition ended, to returne a neerer way to Tarsus in Cilicia, there to winter; and that he had written to *Memorius* the President, That in the same town all things should be put in readinesse for him: and in truth this fell out indeed not long after. For his corps being brought backe thither with small pompe of funereal obsequies, was entered, as himselfe gave order, in a place neere the cities side. And now when the weather began to be warme and lightsome, the third day before the Nones of March he tooke his voyage, and with usuall journeyes came to Hierapolis: where, as he entred the gates of that most spacious and large citie, a gallerie on the left hand sodainly fell downe, and, besides a number that were wounded with the weightie fall of tymber peeces and tyles, crushed to death fiftie souldiers as they were going under it. From whence with all his forces assembled together, he advanced his ensignes into Mesopotamia so speedily, that before any rumor ran of his comming (for thereof he had taken verie carefull heed before) hee surprised the Assyrians at unawares. And in the end, having upon a bridge of ships passed over Euphrates with his armie, and the aids of Scythians, he came to Batne, a freetowne of Osdroena, and there found he a sorrowfull token presaging ill. For when a number of campe slaves stood neere unto an exceeding high stack of straw, for to take from thence according to their custome foder (for in this manner in those

Ff ij

countries

* For it seemeth that this title, *Felix*, was in his life, else it could not now be omitted.
* The 1 day of Ianuarie.

* The 5 day of March.

* Merodun, T'isell.

countries such kinds of farage are mowed up) whiles many were plucking thereat, the whole mow or flacke being shaken was borne downe, and with the huge heap of that which fell, overwhelmed in semblable manner fiftie men to death. Departing from thence with heaue cheere, he rode apace and came to Carræ, an auncient towne, remarkable for the defeature and overthrow of *Craspus* and the Roman armie; whence there be two distinct high roadways, leading into Persia: That on the left hand by **Adiabena* and *Tigris*, the other on the right hand by the *Assyrians* and *Euphrates*. And having staid there for certaine dayes to provide necessaries, and to offer sacrifice unto the Moon (which in those tracts after the rites of the place is devoutly worshipped) it is reported of him, that before the verie altar, without admission of any one thither to be witness or privie to what he did, he secretly delivered unto *Procopius*, his kinsman, his purple coat of armes, and charged him boldly to enter upon the Imperiall dignitie, if hee understood that himselfe was slain in *Parthia*. And here, as *Julian* tooke his rest and lay asleepe, his mind disquieted with dreames, presaged some unfortunate accident to follow. Wherefore, both himselfe and the expounders also of visions, considering the present occasions, pronounced, That the day following, which was the *fourteenth day before the Kalends of Aprill should be well observed. But, as it was knowne afterwards, the verie same night the temple of *Apollo Palatinus* in Rome, whiles *Apronianus* ruled as *Præfect*, was on fire and burned: where, if good helpe on everie side had not come in, the flames of fire were so great, that they had consumed also the propheticall verses of *Sybylla*. And after his forces thus ordered, and disposed made of victuals in everie kind, word was brought even then by the light horsemen discoverers, who came blowing in all hast, That the troups of the enemies horse having broken through a certaine limit neere adjoining, had forrayed and on a sodaine driven away booties: With the grievous occurrent of which adverse accident, being much troubled, he forthwith, as he had purposed before, committed unto the sayd *Procopius* the charge of thirtie thousand select souldiers, joyning with him in the like commission *Sebastiana* * Comes, late **Marquess* of *Ægypt*: And then hee commanded, That for the present they should make their abode within *Tigris*, and have a vigilant eye to all places, least from any side not surely guarded and observed, some sodaine and unexpected mischief might arise, as oftentimes many such chances, he sayd, had happened: And he gave them in charge withall, That, if conveniently it might be, they would joyne with king *Aspacus*, and together with him marching in a running campe by the way of *Corduena* and *Moxoena*, having wasted *Chiliocomus*, that fruitfull tract of Media and other quarters, make speed to meet with himselfe, whiles he yet abode in *Assyria*, and be readie at all assayes, and upon everie sodaine and urgent occasion to assist him. Having ordered these assayes in this wise, himselfe making semblance, that he would goe out by *Tigris*, which way hee commaunded also for the nonce to be layed with provision of sundrie sorts of furniture, turned on the right hand; and when hee had passed that night in rest and quietnesse, in the morning hee called, as his manner was, for his *beast to ride upon, and there was brought unto him an horse named *Babylonius*, which happening to be sore vexed with a suddaine gripe or wring in his belly, fell downe, and whiles hee was not able to endure the paine, walloweth along, and happeneth to besprent his caparison and ornaments richly garnished with gold and pretious stones. At which strange sight he tooke great joy, and cried out, with the applause of those next about him, That **Babylon* was fallen,

*Boud. C. x. all.

*the 18. day of March.

*or Lieutenant general. Comes.
*Duc: whereby it appeareth that Comes was an higher dignitie than *Thui*, contrary to the practise of our dayes.

*Incumbent.

*Baldach. *Cafeld*.
Baldach, *Cafeld*, and according to divers languages hath sundry names.

fallen, and lay along on the ground dispoyle of all her ornaments. And being staid there a while, untill by luckie and propitiatorie sacrifices hee had ratified this fortunate token of presage, hee came to *Devana*, a garrison fortresse, whence the river *Belias* springing, poureth it selfe into *Euphrates*. Here, after they had well refreshed their bodies with meat, they came the next day to **Callinifum*, a strong towne of defence, and for rich chevance and quicke traffique a most delectable place: where, upon the first day before the *Calends*, on which at Rome annuversarie * feasts are solemnized with great pompe in honour of the mother of the gods, and the chariot which carrieth her image, is by report washed in the streame of **Almon*, having after the auncient manner performed this sacred solemnitie, hee tooke his rest quietly and slept all night, whereupon hee conceived much joy and contentment. The morrow next ensuing he departed from thence by the very edge of the river bankes, where the streame was big by occasion of other brookes conflowing thither on every side, marching in warlike sort with his forces armed and weaponed; and there he tooke up his station, and abode under tents: where the potentates and princes of the *Saracenes* humbly upon their knees presenting unto him a crowne of gold, honoured him as the Lord of the world, and of their nations, who were gladly received, as men meet for warlike brigandize and robbrie. Now, whiles he was in communication with them, behold there arrived the fleet, comparable to the Armado of that most puissant king *Xerxes*, under the conduct of *Constantianus* the Tribune, and *Lucillianus* the * Comes: which tooke up the most spacious river *Euphrates* so, as that hardly it was able to receive it: as wherein were a thousand shippes of burthen, framed of divers peeces of timber, bringing with them abundance of victuals, with store of casting-weapons and engines of artillerie meet for siege and assault. Fiftie warre-shippes there were besides, and as many more, necessarie for joyning together, and making of bridges.

*Callinifum also Ortel.

*Dachia, now called to the way of Appia, and runneth into Tyber.

*or Lieutenant.

CHAP. III.

A curious and exact description of certaine warlike Engines meet for siege and assault.



Upon this very occasion I am put in mind briefly, so farre forth as my meane wit will serve, to shew the description of these kinds of instruments for their sake that be ignorant thereof: and first will I declare the forme and fashion of the *Ballista*. Betwene two planks there is set in frame and fast joyned a strong and big yron, reaching out in length after the manner of a good great rule or squire; from the round bodie whereof, which in the midst is finely and artificially made, there lyeth forth farther out a four-square beame or spire, made hollow with a direct and streight passage of a narrow riggall or trough, & fastened hard to it with many cords of wythen and twisted sinewes, and thereto are two wooden skrewes most fitly joyned; neere unto one of which standeth an *expert and artificiall workman, and cunningly bestoweth in the hollow passage of the beame or tiller, a shaft of wood, with a big head glewed fast to it: which done, two lustie and tall young men nimbly turne and wind about the wheeles on the one side & the other; and when the sharpe head of the shaft is come to the upmost end of the strings or sinewes aforesaid, our goeth the shaft with a forcible strength within and forth of the *Ballista* quickly stieeth out of sight, otherwhiles sparkling with the exceeding heat that it catcheth in swift flight, & oftentimes it happeneth, that before this dart is scene, the body feelth a painfull and mortall wound.

*the ballistier himselfe.
If this description concerns you not, see the figure of it and others in *Vergem* and *Nervus*.

As

As for the Scorpion, which now they call Onager, this is the forme thereof. There be two planks hewen of Oke or Helme, and those are somewhat curbed, so as they may seeme to beate up or stand out with backs; and these in manner of a *Saw-machine are tied fast together, as being bored through on both sides with good wide holes, between which through the holes are strong ropes tied, keeping in the whole frame together, that it flye and start not asunder. From the very midd of these ropes there riseth forth a beame of wood overthwart, and after the fashion of a yoke spire or tiller erected, which is tied with cords or strings at such measures and gages, that it may be set up or let downe lower: and to the top thereof are joyned yron hooks, from which there hangeth a sling-flocker of tow or yron: under which piece of wood there lyeth a huge great boutrisse or supporter, even hayre-cloth stuffed full of small straw and chaffe, fastened thereto with strong bindings, and planted upon turfes heaped up together, or else a banke raised with raw bricks: for such a mightie engine as this being set upon a wall of stone, forceth asunder and breaketh what ever it findeth under it; not for the weight, but the violent shake that it giveth. When as therefore it is come to the point of skirmish or fight, and that a round stone is put into the sling, foure lustie young men on the one side unfolding the barres whereto the ropes are incorporate, draw backe the style or stand up to the hooke: and so at length the master of the Engine standing aloft, giving a mightie stroke with an hammer, setteth open the rayles that containe the binding of the whole worke: whereupon the standard being now at libertie with that quicke stroke, and hitting against the soft haire cloth aforesaid, hurleth out the stone that will batter whatsoever is in the way. And verily it is called *Tormensum*, for that out of it all the unfolding is whirled and hurled out: but a Scorpion (because standing upright, it hath a sharpe pricke above, unto which also the moderne time hath imposed the name of Onager, i. a wild asse, in this regard, that wild asses when they are coursed by hunters) sling with their heeles stones as farre off behind their backs, so as they pierce through the breasts of them that follow in chase, or breake the skuls of their heads, and dash out their braines. Hence will we proceed to the Ram. There is choise made of an high Firre or wild Ash, the one end whereof is shod with an hard plate of yron and a long, shaped out in the front like unto a Ram, which forme gave the name to this engine or battering peece: and thus hanged up with overthwart planks on both sides, and yron hoops of another piece of timber, held up it is as it were in balance: and the same according as the measure or length thereof will permit, a number of men driving backe, thrust forward againe to breake whatsoever standeth against it, with mightie strokes & maine juries, in manner of an armed man that commeth upon one and giveth assault. By the manifold puihes whereof, as it were the violent force of a thunderbolt coming to and fro, buildings are rent, and made to cleave and chawne, yea, and the joynts of wals being shaken and loosened, fall downe. By this kind of worke, if it be driven backe by maine strength put thereto (and let goe againe) rampiers are laid naked of their defendants, and the strongest cities that be, are with the ease of siege layed open. In stead of these devices of Rams, despised now, because they were so common, there is an engine framed, well knowne to Historiographers, which the Greekes name Helepolis: by the means and long use whereof, *Deme-trius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, after he had given the assault unto Rhodes and other cities, was called Poliorcetes: and built it in this manner. There is a mightie Te-studo or frame made, strengthened with very long pieces of timber, and fitted to-gether

*Serratoria tri-
china.

gether with yron spikes, and the same covered with ox-hides and new rods or win-dings drawne one within another, the rooffe or upmost part whereof is bestrewn and layed over with mud, to the end it may checke the fall of fire or shot of cas-ting-weapons. Now, there are set fast in the front of it certaine sharpe-pointed yron pikes or heads, with three edges, very massie, much like in shape to those light-nings or thunderbolts, that painters or forgers exhibite unto it; to the end, that whatsoever it runneth against, it may with those sharpe heads that so beare out, batter and breake in peece. This so strong and huge a frame, the souldiors within ruling with wheelles and a number of ropes, drive with maine and speedie force a-against the weaker part of a wall: and unlesse the defendants from above bee the stronger, and quit themselves the better, it beateh downe the wals. and maketh wide breaches. As for the Malleoli, a kind of Darts, shaped they be on this fashi-on: There is an arrow made of a cane, betwixt the head and the steile, joined and couched close with an yron full of chamfers and teeth: which arrow, after the man-ner of a womans *distaffe, on which they spin linnen thred, is finely made hollow within the bellie, yet open in many places thereof, and in the bellie or hollownesse it receiveth fire with some *tuell to feed it; and thus being discharged softly out of a weak bow (for with violent shooting the fire goeth out) if it take fast hold on any place, it burneth the same: and having water cast or sprinkled upon it, the ho-ter fire it causeth, neither is there any remedie to allay or quench the rage thereof, but by sifting dust upon it. Thus much as touching peecees of Ordnance for wals, of which some few have beene shewed. Now returne we to the orderly course of our Hystorie.

*or rocks.

*as namely, Bitu-
men and Naphtha.

CHAP. IIII.

*Julianus setting nought by the letters of the Praefect of Gaule, passeth over into Persia, and then plucketh up the bridge, so take away all hope from the souldiors to re-
turne. And once againe wearied he is with aaverse prodigies, whiles
the Soothsayers and Naturalists disagree about the inter-
pretation of such strange tokens.*

THE Emperor having taken to him the Aids of the Saracenes, which they offered with most willing and readie minds, marching with quicke pace toward Cercusium, in the beginning of Aprill entered into that fenced towne, a place most safe, and as finely and workemany built, the wals whereof the rivers *Aboras and Euphrates compasse about, shaping out, as it were, the spacious plot of an Island. This fort, being but small aforesaid, and suspected, *Dioclesian* enclosed round with high wals and towers, what time as in the very confines of the Barbarians he did let out and ordaine the inward limits, least the Persians might raunge over Syria, as within few yeres before it chanced, to the great detriment and damage of the provinces. For it happened at Antioch, that when all was still and silent, at the solemn stage-plays a dauncing *Tregetour sent in to make sport together with his wife, was acting and counterfeiting certaine gestures that were commonly and usually taken up, with so pleasant and delight-
some a grace, that the people were astonished thereat, suddainly his wife, *Valerius* I dreame (quoth she) in my sleepe, see younder be the Persians. Whereas the whole mul-titude turning their heads backe for to decline and avoid the darts that came flying thicke about their eares, were dispersed every way. Thus the enemies, when they had

*Gadep.

*or Buffon.

had burnt the citie, and hewed a number in pieces, who as in time of peace were stragled abroad very loosely at their pleasures, when they had fired also and wasted the villages and places bordering upon it, laden with booties and pillage, returned home, without receiving any hurt at all, after they had burnt * *Mareades* quicke, who without good aduise ment had led them forth, to the death of his owne countrey men. And this fortun'd verily in the dayes of *Gallienus*. But *Julian*, whiles he stayeth at *Cercusium*, to the end, that by a bridge of ships over *Aboras*, the armie and all the traine following might passe over, received letters, That nothing pleased him from *Sallustius*, Prefect of *Gaule*, who prayed him that the expedition against the *Parthians* might be put off, and earnestly besought him, That hee would not thus hastily and unseasonably plunge himselfe into an irrevocable danger of destruction, having not as yet obtained the grace and fauour of the gods. Howbeit, rejecting the aduise ment of this most sage and wise counsellor, hee boldly aduanced forward still: for why, *Never was there any power or prowesse of man able to meris and preuaile so much, but that which the fatal order of Destinies had once prescribed, must needs take effect.* And forthwith, having passed over the river, hee caused the bridge to be plucked in sunder and had away, that the souldiers might have no confidence or hope remaining, to returne backe from their proper companies and regiments. In like sort here also was seene a fight praesaging heauie and unluckie fortune, to wit, the dead corpses lying along of a certaine officer or purveyor, executed by the hangmans hand, whom *Sallustius* the Prefect being present in place, had condemned to suffer death and loose his head, for that having given his promise, to deliver an encrease of victuals within a day prefixed, was by reason of a cause of impeachment disappointed, and did frustrate mens expectation. But when the poore man (a pitifull case) was done to death, the very next morrow, as he had made promise, arrived another fleet fraught with plentie of come and victuall. From thence we departed and came to *Zaita*, a place, which by interpretation is as much as the Olive tree. Here saw we the brave and admirable tombe of the Emperour * *Gordian*, whose acts from the very beginning of his childhood, and whose most fortunate conducts of armies, together with his death wrought by traitorous conspirators, we have in order put downe in due time. Where, when he had of his inbred pietie & devotion sacrificed to the Manes of that consecrated prince, and was going forward to *Dura* a dispeopled towne, hee espied a farre off a companie of souldiers; whereat he stood still and stirred not a foot: and as he was in doubt, what newes they brought, there was by them presented unto him a *Lyon* of a most huge and mightie bodie, wounded to death with many a dart, as hee made toward the armie. Vpon which sight, giving now, as it were, a more certaine praesage of some more fortunate spectacle, he bare himselfe aloft, and marched on with greater courage and jolitic. But such was the uncertaine will and equivocant decree of Fortune, that the event fell out otherwise. For indeed the death of a king was thereby portended, but of what king it rested doubtfull. For we read, that even Oracles also were doubtfully delivered, and such, as nothing but the accidents that happened in the end could distinctly determine: as for example, the truth and prooffe of the *Delphicke* prophesie, which foretold, That *Crasus* after he had passed over the river *Halys*, should be the overthrow of a most ^d mightie kingdom: as also another, which by crooked rearmes appointed the ^e sea for the *Athenians*, to trie battaile with the *Medes*: yea, and an answer by Oracle later than these before cited, which verily was true, but no lesse ambiguous and equivocant, *Aioie f. Eacides*

Romanos vincere posse, i. I say, thy selfe Eacides the Roimans vanquish may. Howbeit the *Tuscan* Soothsayers which were in his traine, and had skill in these prodigious and praesaging tokens; considering there was no credit given unto them, when they oftentimes prohibited and dissuaded this expedition, brought forth their booke of rites and ceremonies, shewed plainly the foresaid sight was a signe prohibitorie, and contrarie to a prince that invadeth (although justly) a forraigne princes kingdom. But downe went they, and were troden under foot, in comparison of *Philosophers* that gainesaid them, whose authoritie in those dayes was had in great esteeme and reverence, who otherwhiles shoot wide of the marke, and yet in matters whereof they have no perfect knowledge, stand stiffly a long time. For they pretended and alledged, as a probable argument to maintaine the truth and credit of their skill, in that unto *Maximian* also before time *Cesar*, being now at the point to joine battail with *Narfes* king of the *Persians*, there was in like manner a lion and a huge wild bore also tendered, slain both together: & he, say they, after he had vanquished that nation departed in safetie. But little considered these *Philosophers*, that thereby destruction was portended to him that invaded and fought for other mens lands: and well it is knowne, that *Narfes* began first to seize *Armenia* into his hands, which was subject to the *Roman* power and jurisdiction.

CHAP. V.

Other praesaging signes diversly expounded. A persuasive oration of Iulianus unto his souldiers, as touching his pursuitt of the warre against the Persians.



Emblably, the day following, which was the * seventh before the Ides of April, when the Sunne grew now toward setting, sodainely of a verie small cloud, the ayre so thickened, that all the light of the day was quite gone; and after terrible thunder claps & flashes of lightning that came thick one after another, a souldier named *Jovianus* was stricken from heaven, & fel downe dead, together with two horses, which hee was bringing backe from the river after they had drunke their fill. Which when he saw, he sendeth for the interpreters of these and such like signes, who being demanded, What they thought thereof? avouched confidently, That it also prohibited this expedition and intended war, shewing that lightning was a counsellor: (for so are those teamed which advise or dissuade any thing to be done.) And therefore especiall heed was to be taken hereof, because it killed a souldier that carried an * high and great name, together with horses, that are beasts for warre: and places smitten or blasted by this means, the bookes which treat of lightnings, pronounce, That they ought not to be looked or troden upon. On the contrarie side, That *Philosophers* argued, that the brightnesse of sacred fire sodainely seene, is not significative, but onely is the counse or shooting of a swift and vehement exhalation, thrust some way out of the skie downe to the lower parts: or if aught were fore-tokened thereby, it shewed before hand encrease of honour and renowne unto the Emperour in his glorious enterprise: considering that certaine it is, flames of their owne nature, if there be nothing to checke them, flie up on high. Well, when this bridge, as hath been said before, was finished, and all were passed over the river, the Emperours chiefe and principall care now, as he thought, was to make a speech unto his souldiers so forward and searelesse, presuming confidently upon their owne valour and their

* the day of April.

* For, it alluded to *Jovian*, and to him that succeeded next in the Empire.

nerals prowfe: By a fignall therefore of trumpets found, when all the centuries, cohorts, and bands were affembled, himfelfe ftanding upon a banke of earth clode, and guarded round about with a companie of great *Commanders and officers of the campe, with a gratiuous countenance difcourfed unto them in this wife, as one highly favoured with a joynt confent and affection of them all. *Rights valiant and redoubted fouldiers, beholding how vigorous ye are in regard of your exceeding puiſſance and luſtie courage, I am determined to make an oration unto you, and by many reasons to prove, That this is not the firſt time, as ſome evil tongued folkes ſecretly give out, that the Romans have invaded the king domes of Perſia. For ſo paſſe by Lucullus or Pompejus, who through the Albanes and Maſſagers, whom now wee rearme * Alani, having made way by force even through this nation have ſcene the Caſpian lakes, wee know, that Ventidius alſo the Lieutenant of Antonius, made an infinite number of ſlaughters and overthrowes in theſe ſcraits. But to leave theſe acts of ancient record, I will rehear[e] what exploits be freſh in memorie, and of late daue. Trajanus and Severus entred againe thus farre with victories and trophies, and with the like honour and fame had Gordian the younger returned, whoſe monuments and ſupulchre we have newly ſcene honourably erected, after he had diſcomfited and put to flight the Perſian king as Reſaina, but that by the faction of Philip, ſhe was Praefectus Praetorio, together with the helpe of ſome few wicked perſons, he was in this verie place, where he now lyeth buried, ungratiouſly wounded and killed: Neither wondered his * Manes long unrevenge[d] ; in that, as if Juſtice her ſelfe appeared evidently to take vengeance, all that conſpired againſt him were put to torture and dolorous death. And as for theſe brave captaines verily whom I have named, carried they were with a forward will and mind of achieving high matters, unto the enterpriſe of theſe memorable exploits: But, as for us, wee are moved to undertake theſe expeditions which we have intended, by occaſion of the woeful and miſerable caſe of cities newly forced, of the unrevenge[d] ghos[t]s of whole armies put to the ſword, of the great damages ſuſtained, and the loſe of our deere friends: to the end we may give comfort to our allies, redreſſe and remedie hurts paſt, and by procuring an honourable ſecuritie unto the Commonwealth on this coaſt of the world, leave unto poſteritie maſter ſufficient, for which they may give us a noble report and commendation another day. Preſents will I your Emperour be in all places with you, through the helpe of immortal God, both to lead before you in the front as a Captaine, and to fight with you as a fellow ſouldier, and that with fortunate ſignes of ſucceſſe, as I am perſuaded. But in caſe Fortune, mutable as ſhe is, ſhould defeat me any where in battaile, ſufficient is ſhal be for me, ſhe has I have devoted my ſelfe to the Roman Empire, like as in old time Curtius, Mutius, and the noble race of the Decij have done. Aboliſh we muſt and deſtroy this moſt troubleſome nation, upon whoſe ſwords the blood of our kinnred is not yet dried. Our ancients forefathers had many ages paſſe over their heads before theſe were rooted out, ſhe annoyed and troubled them. Doubtfull was the warre, and of long continuance, whereby * Carthage was overcome and ſubdued: but while the glorious conquerour feared that it ſhould ſtill ſtand and continue, he ſubverted and reſcued to the very foundation. Scipio after he had gone through many changes and chawnces that follow ſiege, overthrew * Numantia. Rome went downe with * Fidenae, leaſt it ſhould grow up in an emulation to aſpire unto ſoveraigntie Empire; yea and deſtroyed both * Faliſis and * Vejo, ſo, as that the record of ancients by ſtorie hath much to make us beleeve that theſe cities were ever of any ſtrength and puiſſance. It muſt much have layd open, as a man well ſeeme in antiquities: It remaineth now ſhe ſetting aſide all greedy deſire of ſpoyle and pillage, which oftentimes hath bene the bane of Roman ſouldiers, everie one march on ſtill with the armie, ready to follow his owne colours when it cometh to the point of ſlaying*

battaile

* *Celsum potestatem*, as Colonels, Sergeant majors &c.

*The people of
Lithuania, or
Littaw, as *Vulgaris*
chima thinketh.

*Ghost.

- * The ruins thereof
is at this day cal-
led Bactra, some-
what alluding to
the ancient name
Byria, *Marmolina*.
- * Garray, *Merrill*.
- * Castell Tubico,
Erythraus.
- * Monte Fiacone.
- * Marheniano, or
Civita Castellana.

battaile; knowing thus much, that if he stay any where beside, he shall be left shorter by the
 legs: For nothing feare I, but the deceitfull traies of our enemies in this kind so exceeding
 craftie. To conclude, I promise unto you all, That hereafter, when things are happily appea-
 sed & settled, without chaleneging any prerogative of princes, who in regard of their power-
 full autoritie, suppose what soever they speake or iudge, is rightfull and iust, I will give a reason
 and account, if any man require it, of what I have aduised, be it wel or otherwise.
 Therefore, now plucke up your hearts, I beseech you, bee resolute, I say, and presume of
 much, as those that shall together with us in the same sort and equall measure, undergoe
 what daungerous service soever shall occurre, and making this account, that victories is al-
 wayes wont to toyne in company with equitie. When he had finished his speech with
 this most grave conclusion, the martial & watlike souldiers rejoycing in so glorious
 a leader, and conceiving greater hope of prosperous successe, held up their targuets
 and shields aloft, & cried all with one voyce, That they would reckon of no daunger
 or difficultie, under such a Generall and Commander, as who had enjoyed him-
 selfe more painefull service than he did to common souldiers. But most of all, the
 companies of the Gaules, by a more joyfull and iocund noyse shewed the fame: as
 bearing well in mind, that sometimes whiles hether leader conducted them, and
 travelled to and fro among the rankes and fyles, they had seen some nations defea-
 ted, and others brought to humble supplication upon their knees.

CHAP. VI.

*The description of the kingdome of Persia to wit, the beginning of it, the first kings,
the rising and encrease, the situation and limits thereof.*

Forced I am by the course of the storie that is devolved now thus far, by way as it were, of a quick digression, to shew the site of Persia, which hath bin curiously described by Geographers, of whom verie few and those hardly have delivered a truth. Now, whereas this discourse shall fall out to be somewhat long, avails it will to the perfect knowledge of the thing. For whosoever hee be, that in the narration of unknowne matters affecteth too much brevitee, he seeketh not that so much which he should verie plainly declare, but what ought indeed to be overpast. This kingdome in times past small, and for such causes as I have oft related, called before time by many names, what time as *Alexander* the great, was taken away by untimely death in Babylon, became subject to *Artaxerxes* the Parthian, a man of obscure parentage, and no better in his youthfull dayes than a ring-leader of thieves : but by little and little turning over a lease, and changing his purpose to the better, by a continued course and traine of noble deedes, he advanced himselfe to an high estate : Who after he had atchieved many glorious and valiant exploits, vanquished *Seleucus Nicator* that succeeded the foresaid *Alexander* (who for his manifold victories obtained that surname) and driven out the garrisons of the Macedonians, himselfe leading a more peaceable life, proved a moderat ruler, and mild judge of such as yeelded obedience. And in the end, when he had subdued unto him all the borderers, either by force of armes, or by a due consideration of his equite, or else by feare, so that Persia now was replenished with fortified cities, strong castles and pyles, and became dread unto all the neighbour inhabitants, of whom afore time it was wont to stand in feare, himselfe in the middle race of his age departed this life in peace. And by the uniforme accord and consent as well of the noble Peeres, as the common people, striving a vie who

might be most forward, became the first, that according to the due rites of consecration was inscribed (as they be persuaded) and ranged among the flares. Whereupon in those dayes the high minded and proud kings of the same nation can well abide to be styled the brethren of Sunne and Moone. And like as our Emperours love well and with the title of *Augustus*, even so to the Parthian kings (who before time were abject, ignoble, and base) through the happie auspices and government of *Arfaces*, there accrewed even the greatest titles of dignities that might be: and therefore they worship and adore him no lesse than a god, and so farre forth are his honours spread and enlarged, that even to our very dayes, there is not a prince preferred before all other to the rule of that kingdome, unless hee bee of the line and race of *Arfaces*: yea, and in every civile brawle and contention, which dayly happen among them, there is not one but avoideth, no lesse than sacrilege, to lay violent hands upon any, descended from *Arfaces*, beare hearmes, or be he otherwise a private person. And well knowne it is, that this nation having vanquished and subdued many States, dilated the bounds of their dominion as farre as Propontis and Thracia; how ever, through the pride of their haughty minded leaders, who licentiously encroched upon faire countries, and committed outrages there, by receiving very great foyles and overthrowes, it became much impaired. First, through *Cyrus*, whome, after hee passed over the * Frith of Bosphorus with a fabulous and incredible multitude, *Tomyris* Queene of the Scythians, in a most eage revenge of her * sonnes, discomfited, and put his host to the sword. Then, what time as *Darius*, and afterwards *Xerxes*, by altering the use of the very elements, invaded Greece, all their forces in manner, as well on land as at sea, were quite defeated, and themselves could hardly find meanes to escape with safetie: to say nothing of the * Alexandrine warres, and how by will and testament the whole nation was transferred under the government of one successor. Which affaires thus achieved, and long times passed under the Consuls government, and then afterward, our State being reduced under the power of the *Cæsars*, those nations now and then waged warre with us; sometimes they went their wayes on even hand, otherwhiles with losse, and sometimes againe with victorie. Now will I set downe the situation of the places therein as summarily and briefly as reason will permit. These countries lying out largely spread in length and breadth, environ about on every side the Persian gulf, so full of Islands, so famous, and so much frequented: the mouthes of which sea are by report so narrow, that from * Harmozonta, a cape or promontorie of * Carmania, unto another that standeth overagainst it, and which the inhabitants call *Maces*, a man may kenne without any impeachment at all. After which straits one passed through, and that the open sea spreadeth it selfe exceeding wide, men use to sayle directly as farre as to the citie * Teredon; where, after many downefalls, *Euphrates* is drowned in the sea: and the whole gulf, if a man measure along the shore, as if the whole space were wrought round by a Turners brake, taketh up in circuit twentie thousand stadia; upon all the coasts and sides wherof, stand towns and villages thicke, yea, and there is frequent passage to and fro of shipping. When as therefore yee have sayled through the foresaid straits, yee come to the gulf of Armenia, lying into the East: and after a certaine distance betweene, occasioned by a necke or isthm of land, there openeth a Bay or Gulfe in the South, named *Canticus*; not farre from whence there is another, which they teame *Chalites*, under the Sunnesetting. Then, after a number of Isles passed by, of which but

* Lo stretto di
Costanzanopoli.

* With *Alexander*
Magna.

* Cabo Laquenes
* Cherman.

* Baltero, Ortel.

few are knowne, they joyne upon the Indians Ocean sea, which is first of all others that entertaineth the fervent heat of the Sunne rising, beeing of it selfe also exceeding hote. And according as the Geographers penne hath in their Cards made the draught, in this manner is the whole circuit aforesaid by parcels divided. From the North pole to the Caspian straits it consisteth upon the *Cadusij*, with many nations of the *Scythians*, and the *Arimaspi*, men with one eye, and savage: on the South side it meeteth with the *Armenians* and * *Niphates*, as also the *Albanes*, seated in Asia; with the red sea, and the *Arabians Scenitæ*, whom the posteritie ensuing named *Saracenes*: under the South point it over-looketh *Mesopotamia*: and where it lyeth afront opposite into the East, it stretcheth to the river * *Ganges*, which cutting through the midst of the Indian lands, is discharged into the South sea.

* A mouzaine.

* Ganges, *Caspia*,
Carran, *Alfrican*,
Gualga, *Tiberio*.

CHAP. VII.

The regions whereof: the Præfects or Rulers in it: the wonders of Nature and Cities that is sheweth.



Ow there are contained within the whole compasse of Persia these countries that be of greatest name, and those ruled under *Vitaxæ* (that is, captaines of hostemen) kings and princes termed *Saurapæ* (for those of the lesser sort, they be so many in number, it were a difficult and needlesse piece of worke, to recount) namely, * *Assyria*, * *Susiana*, * *Media*, * *Perfis*, * *Parthia*, * *Carmania* the greater, * *Hyrkania*, * *Margiana*, * *Bactriani*, * *Sogdiani*, * *Sacæ*, * *Scythia* lying beyond the mountaine * *Emodes*, * *Serica*, * *Aria*, * *Paropamisadæ*, * *Drangiana*, * *Arachosia*, and * *Gedrosia*. The next unto us and on this side all the rest, is noble *Assyria*, for being well peopled, and much frequented, for greatnesse also in compasse and fruitfulnessse many wayes, most weaklie: which having lyen in times past, spread into large countries and territories, and being full of them, and plenteous withall, grew into one name, and all of it now is called *Assyria*. Where, among abundance of Berries and other vulgar fruits, groweth ^b *Bitumen*, neere unto a lake named *Sofingites*, by whose belly or channell *Tigris* being swallowed, and running under ground, after he hath gone a great way, ariseth and appeareth againe. Here is engendered ^c *Naphtha*, clammye and glutinous like unto pitch, and it also resembleth *Bitumen*: upon which, if a little bird settle, shee loofeth her flight, sinketh downe, and is drowned quite out of sight. And when this kind of liquor becometh one to catch fire, mans wit is not able to devise any meanes, save onely dust to quench and put it out. In these territories there is likewise to be seene a gapping hole within the ground, from whence exaleth a deadly breath or vapour, which with the strong smell or sent wherof killeth what living creatures soever standeth neere unto it. Which noysome and pestilent vapor arising forth of a certaine deepe pit, when it once passed the wide mouth thereof, before that it warmed up higher, caused (through the contagiousnesse thereof) the grounds lying round about it to be inhabitable. The like hole unto this, was (as some report) seene heretofore at *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*: from which in semblable sort an hurtfull spirit or aire issuing, by the continuall smell that it yielded, killed whatsoever came neere, unless they were guilded: what the cause might be of this accident, I referre to the reasons that

* *Adriana*, *Niger*,
and diversly named
by sundry
Geographers.
* *Cus*, *Niger*
* *Cordus*, *Hyndan*
* *Seyvan*, *Caspia*.
* *Parth*, *Mercator*.
* *Pharic*, *Tiberio*.
* *Arach*, *Mercator*.
* *Chetman*, *Niger*,
* *Turquedian*, *Ginav*.
* *Diargumene*.
* *Mercator*.
* *Hydrach*, *Euphras*.
* *Scythias*, *Caspia*.
* *Carasian*, *Caspia*.
* *Bactrian*, *Romifian*.
* *Saurum*, *Mac*.
* *Mercator*.
* *Sas*, *Niger*, These
three countries last
named, *Marsus*
Niger compendit
under *Tanaria*
Zigis.
* *Part* of *Cathala*.
* *Emodes*, *Margi*.
* *Caspia*, *Caspia*.
* *Cambala*, *Ginav*.
* *Sermer*, *Mercator*.
* *Turkas*, *Ginav*.
* *reponeth* out of
* *Corpus*, *Phrygia*.
* *Sogdian*, *Niger*.
* *Pharic*, *Mercator*.
* *Chetman*, *Mercator*.
* *Ginav*, *Mercator*.

*Almasia, Callatide,
Gerech, Theoceta.
Toccato Alala-
lin, Pocrre.

*Botan, Capatide.

*Euphratesia.
*Azar, Nigra
*Ebro,
*Gualdaguivis,
*Andalusia.
*Nauve, ocher-
vie called stuf-
le, Mofic and Mo-
lal, Nigra, & Levis.
*Tauris, Capatide.

*Tartar, Revelion,
*Baltica, Orrelis.

*Baklach, Capatide.

*Dakia, Breviana,
Tudelf.

*Others name him
Nicator.
*At Choma, a citie
in Lycia, where he
was honoured.
*So called on the
hill Palatium in
Rome.

that may be made out of naturall Philosophie. Also, at the temple of *Jupiter As-
bamens* in *Cappadocia, where that great and most renowned Philosopher *Apol-
lonius* is reported to have been borne in the towne Tyana, there is to be seen a
fountain running forth of a poole, which swelling big with abundance of water,
and drinking up himselfe againe, yet never furrroundeth his banks. Neere unto
this circuit is that part of Assyria, called in auncient time *Adiabena, which by long
use turned to this name, for that being situate betwene Oena and Tigris, two navi-
gable rivers, there was no fount that ever gave access into it. For we in Greece ex-
presse a passage over to a place by the word *transitus*. And this verily is the conceit
of those in old time. But we have learned, that in these countries there be two ever-
running rivers, which my selfe also hath passed over, namely, Diavas and Adivas,
having bridges upon them of ships set together. And hence we are to understand
it took that denomination, even as of very great rivers, Egypt (as *Homer* sayth)
India, and *Euphratenfis, before time *Comagena; likewise Iberia, now Spaine, of
*Iberus, and of the river *Bætis that famous province *Bætica. In this Adiabena
standeth the citie *Ninus, which in times past was possessed of the kingdomes of
Persis, and sheweth the name of *Ninus*, that most mightie king, sometime the hus-
band of *Semiramis*; also *Ecbatana, Arbela, and Gaugamela, where *Alexander* af-
ter many adventurous and dangerous battails, in heat of martiall blood gave *Darius*
an overthrow. Now, within the compasse of Assyria there be a number of cities,
among which, the principall is *Apamia, surnamed Mefene; also *Teredon, *Apolo-
nia*, and *Vologesia*, together with many other like unto them: but for shew and
name, these three onely be most glorious and of greatest note, to wit, *Babylon, the
wals whereof *Semiramis* layd with Bitumen (for the tower or citadell thereof that
most auncient king *Belus* built:) *Ctesiphon, which *Vardanes* in old time founded,
and afterwards king *Pacorus*, when he had bettered it with strength of inhabitants
and strong wals, gave it a Greeke name, and made it the very chiefe seat and mir-
roir of all Persis: and then *Seleucia*, the sumptuous and stately worke of *Seleucus*
*Nicator; which being by the captaines of *Venus Caesar* sore shaken and brought to
ruine (as before I have related) the image of *Apollo Chomens* being displaced, un-
shrined, and brought to Rome, the Prelats bestowed in the temple of *Apollo Palati-
nus*. And the voice goeth, That after this very same image was thus carried away,
and the citie burnt, the souldiors in rising and ransacking the temple, met with a
narrow hole; which when they had layed open, therein to find some precious trea-
sure, out of a certaine sanctuarie, shur up sometimes by the privie counsellors of the
Chaldeans, sprung forth that originall disease and corruption, which having once
conceived the force of an incurable maladic in the daies of the same *Venus* and *Marcus
Antoninus*, from the very bounds of Persia unto Rhene and Gaule, infected all
places with contagion, and bred much mortalitie. Here hard by lyeth the Chal-
deans country, nourice of the auncient Philosophie, as themselves report, among
whom the truth of divination and credit of prophecies first shone forth and gave
light.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The rivers of Persia which are of greater note: The many tracts therein. The
Magi: and a wonderous medicinable oyle.

Moreover, there run through these same lands, as the nobler rivers above o-
thers, these which before I have named, also *Marlyas*, and the *kings river,
together with *Euphrates*, that passeth all: which carrying three channels,
is in all his streames navigable; and as he runneth round about Islands, and above
all the industrie of husbandmen watereth the corne grounds, maketh the same
both pliable to the plough, and meet also for breeding up of woods and groves.
Upon these tracts joine the *Sufiani*, who have not many townes; but among other
*Susa holdeth up her head, as having beene many times the seat and habitation of
the kings: likewise *Arfiana*, *Sela*, and *Arecha*: the rest are but small, and obscure
beside. But many rivers there be, that run here and there in these places: among
which, more excellent than their fellows, are *Oates*, *Harax*, and *Mesus*, by the fan-
die straits that keepe the red sea and the *Caspian* sea asunder, flowing into the sea.
But on the left side, *Media confineth and openeth upon the *Hyrcane sea: which
country before the reigne of *Cyrus* the elder, and the growth of *Persis*, wee read
was the Queene of all Asia, namely, when it had subdued the *Assyrians*, a number
of whose territories, changed into the name of *Atropatena, it possessed in right of
warre: a martiall nation, and next to the *Parthians*, who onely are their conquerors,
right dreadfull, inhabiting certaine regions, shaped in manner of a fouresquare fi-
gure. All the inhabitants of these lands spread very farre, and take up an exce-
ding breadth, and over them there peake up passing high mountaines, which they
call *Zagrus*, *Orontes*, and *Iafonium*. Also they that dwell in the West part of *Co-
ronus, a very high hill, have a number of fields yeelding abundance of corne and
wine, for their fatnesse and fertile right pleasant and in rivers and cleare veins of
Springs as rich. With them a man shall see the fresh greene meddowes: there shall
yee find a race and breed of generous horses, on which (as auncient writers shew,
and our selves have seene) brave men are wont to be mounted, when in great jolli-
tie they goe to battaile, and give the charge with all their force; and such they call
Nisæi. It hath abundance of cities also, such as *Media* is stored with; of villages
likewise built in manner of townes; and is as well peopled. And that I may speake
fully at a word, it is the most plentifull habitation and seat of kings. In these tracts
lye the fertile fields of the Magi: as touching whose sect, studie, and profession, for
that we are hither come, convenient it is that some brieft discourse were made.
Plato a most substantiall author of notable opinions, sheweth us, That *Magia* is by
a mysticall word no other than *Machagistia*, which significth the most uncorrupt
and sincere religion and observance of divine mysteries: to which knowledge in
auncient times *Zoroastres* the *Bactrian* added many things out of the Chaldeans
secrets, and after him the most wise prince *Hyspastes*, father of *Darius*: who when he
adventured farre into the inward parts of the higher India, came unto a certain wil-
dernes full of woods, the silent and quiet seat wherein, the *Bracmans, men of
high reach and deepe conceit, enjoy: and by their instruction being taught so farre
forth as he was able to conceive and apprehend, the manner and order of the hea-
vens motion and of the starres, together with the pure rites of religion; of such
principles as he learned, he infused some into the minds of the Magi, for their better
know-

*Nazar, malcha,
which he means,
nech afterward,
figuratieth as much.

*Sultra, Capatide.

*Cordini, Hairtem
*Seyvan, Callatide.
*Icarrieth diwas
names according
to the countries
that coast upon it.
*Sirvan, Leucic.

*Bastri, Capatide.

knowledge : which, they together with the skill and prescience of things to come, deliver euery man successively by his owne children and progenie into the posteritie ensuing. From that time for many ages together, even to this present, a number proceeding out of one and the same line and race, be dedicated to the worship and service of the gods. And it is said also (if we may beleewe so much) that there is kept burning among them perpetually upon hartes, the fire that fell from heaven: and men say, That some small parcell thereof, in token of good lucke, went in times past before the kings of Asia. The number of them at their first beginning was of old but verie small, and the mysteries of their profession the Persian Rulers and potentates solemnly used in their sacrifices and diuine service. And a most haynous offence it was to goe unto thealtars, or to handle an oile or sacrifice, before that a *Magus* had by a set forme of prayer powred forth certaine præcurserie libations. But being by little and little encreased in multitude, they grew at length to the greatesse and name of an entire nation : and inhabiting villages not fenced nor fortified with walls, and permitted to use their owne lawes, in regard of religion they were held honourable. Of the race of these *Magi*, as aunient bookes record, there were seven, that after the death of *Cambyses*, tooke upon them the royall government of Persia : which records also testifie, That they being over-weighted and borne downe by the faction of *Darius*, at the beginning had the said government allotted unto them by the neighing of an horse. In this region there is a medicinable oyle made, where with an arrow or dart being annoynted, if it bee gently shot out of a weake bow (for with swift flight the vertue thereof is quenched) and sticke in any place, it catcheth fire, and continueth still burning : and if a man wold wash it away with water, he maketh the same to burne more violently. Neither by any other meanes goeth it out, than by casting dust upon it. Now, the making of it is in this manner : They that are skillfull confectioners, take common oyle infected with a certaine hearbe, and this being condited preserve it a long time, and as it gathereth to a thicker consistence, harden it by meanes of a substance issuing out of a naturall veine, like unto grosse oyle : and this kind of drugges, is engendered among the Persians, which, as I have said already, they used to call by a tearme of that countrey, *Naphtha*.

CHAP. IX.

The more famous and better frequented townes of Persia. A narration as touching the Parthians, Arabians, Carmanis, and Hyrcanes their neighbours, as also of their townes, maners, and commodities



IN these countries there stand a number of cities dispersed, and the principall of them all, be *Zombis*, *Patigra*, and *Gazaca* : among which also for wealth and large walls, these be conspicuous, *Heraclia*, *Asfascia*, *Eutropos*, *Cycopolis*, and *Ecbatana*, seated all under the mountaine *Ialounium* in the lands of the *Syro-Medians*. Many rivers there be that passe along these regions, of which the greatest are *Chaoaspes*, *Gyndes*, *Amardus*, *Charinda*, *Cambyses*, and *Cyrus* : which carrying a great and spacious streame, *Cyrus* the elder, that noble and amiable king, so named, when he had abolished the old name thereof, what time as he made a voyage for the conquest of the kingdome of *Scythia* : both, for that it was so strong, as himselfe also was reported puissant : and also because

cause, with mightie force making it selfe way, as he also did, it runneth into the *Caaspian* sea. Beyond these confines, next unto the sea coasts is aunient *Persis* inhabited, stretched forth along the South tracts; a countrey rich in the smaller sorts of graine and fruits, as also in vines, and for plenie of water most delectable. For, many rivers have their course through it into the gulfes afore said, the biggest whereof are these, *Vatrachites*, *Rogomanis*, *Brisoana*, and *Bagrada*. And the inland townes are verie great and large. For, in what regard they built nothing of any note along the maritime coasts, it is not certainly knowne. Among which cities **Persepolis* beareth a great name, like as *Ardea*, *Orobatis*, and *Tragonica*. But there are no more than three islands there seene, to wit, *Tibiana*, *Phara*, and *Alexandria*. Neere bordering upon these are the *Parthians* situate under the **North-east*, inhabiting lands full of snow, and frozen all over : whose countreies the river *Chaoaspes* bigger than the rest, divideth in the mids. And for townes, these bee of more account than the other all, namely, *Genonia*, *Charax*, *Apamia*, *Artacana*, and **Hecatompilos* : From the bounds whereof, along the *Caaspian* sea shore, unto the verie straits thereof, are reckoned a thousand and fortie *stadia*. The inhabitants of all the territories there, be fierce, and given to fight; and such delight take they in skirmishes and warres, that he is deemed among all other right happie, who spendeth his life in battaile : For, such as depart otherwise by casual or naturall death, they rayle at and revile, as base persons and meere cowards. Upon these, on the East and South side, bound the happie *Arabians*, so tearmed, for that they be so rich in come as well as in plenteous increase of cattell, in vines, and odoriferous spices of many kinds : and a great part of them reach unto the red sea, & namely on the right side: for on the left hand they border hard upon the *Persian* sea, and so are acquainted with all the blessings and commodities that both elements can afford : Where also there be both rodes and quiet harbours verie many, also townes of marchandise standing thicke, and retiring houses for the kings, passing sumptuous and beautiful : besides most holesome and medicinable fountaines of waters naturally hot, together with a number of brookes and rivers running cleere, and a temperature of the ayre verie healthy, so that whosoever considereth all things aright, may well thinke there is nothing wanting for the accomplishment of felicity in the highest degree. And although it hath store of cities as well **Mediterranean* as maritime, and abound in plenteous fields and vales, yet these it hath of greatest state above the rest, to wit, *Geapolis*, *Nafcus*, and *Baraba* ; likewise *Nagara*, *Mephra*, *Taphron*, and *Diocurias*. Moreover, furnished it is with many islands hard at hand along both seas, which to reckon up it skilleth not. But of more note and name than all other is *Turgana*, wherein standeth, by report, the greatest temple of *Serapis*. Beyond the marches hereof, which containe a mightie ground, *Carmania* the greater mounteth up with loftie hills, and reacheth even to the *Indian* sea, decked with the encrease that commeth of fruits and trees : but much more obscure, and farre lesse than the land of the *Arabians*, howbeit as wel replenished with rivers, and for fruitfulness of soyle nothing inferiour to it. But these be the rivers in it of greater name than the rest, *Sagareus*, *Saganis*, and *Hydracus*. There are in it cities also, although in number few, yet for fare and apparell passing full and rich. Among which, *Carmania*, mother of them all, carryeth a brave shew, so doth *OrtoSpana*; also *Alexandria* and *Hermupolis*. But as you travaile further within the countrey, you meet with the *Hyrcani*, by whom a sea of their name flowes, and among whom there be verie big clods of earth glittering againe with gold. Little set they by tillage and

**Sina, & of some
Siaphis.*

**Sub equinoxe
North, if you ex-
posed it at large.*

**Tex, Thersa.*

**Indus.*

Hh

huf

husbandrie, but they feed upon venison in varietie, whereof a wonder it is how they abound. Where also are seene many thousands of Tigris, and a number of wild beasts, which by what sleights and devices they are wont to bee taken, I remember well that a good while since I have related. And yet for all that, are not they unskillfull of holding the plough taile: but some parts of these countries are sowed with seeds, namely, where the soyle is rich and fat: neither bee hortyards, vineyards, and groves wanting in places meet to be planted: and a number of the inhabitants be sustained with merchandise and commodities of the sea. Here also be two verie notorious rivers, Oxus and Maxera, which the Tigris when they bee hunger-bitten swim over sometimes, and at unwaies do much mischief in the parts bordering upon them.

CHAP. X.

Divers nations of Persia, the Abij, Margiani, Bactriani, Saca, Scythians, Laxartæ, and Galactophagi, together with the chiefe cities, are described.

Moreover, among smaller townes they have also strong cities: two verily upon the sea coast, namely, Socunda, and Saramanna: other also within the land, to wit, Azmoia, Sole, and Hyrcana more noble and famous than they. Over against this nation, under the *North-east are the Abij said to converse: a people most godly and devout, as who use to contemne and tread under foot all worldly things, whom (as Homer verie fabulously poetizeth) ¹ Jupiter beholdeth from the Idaean mountaines. Beyond the Hyrcans, in the next places are seated the Margiani, enclosed in manner all on everie side with high hills, and therefore disjoynted from the sea. And albeit most parts lye there desert, and uninhabited for scarcitie of water, yet have they certain townes; but Iasonion, Antiochia, and Nisea, be better knowne than the rest. The next limits to these, are possessed by the Bactrians, a nation before time warlike and most puissant, evermore infecting the Persians, before that they drew all the people seated round about them to their devotion, and the *alliance of their name: governed in ancient times by kings dreadfull even to *Asaces*. The most parts of this country, like as Margiana, be far remote from the sea coasts, but plenteous of such things as breed & grow upon the ground: the cattell also in the champian places and the mountaines, is big limmed, compact and strong made, as the Camels well shew, brought from thence by *Mithridates*, and which the Romans saw the first time at the siege of *Cyzicum. To these Bactrians many nations yeeld obedience, which tyt the plaines and levell fields, and the same after the manner of Italie are overflowed with many rivers, of which Artamis and Zariaepes, that meet in one confluence before, likewise Ochus and Orgomanes, with their streames concurring together, and joyning in one channell, wonderfully encrease the river *Oxus. There bee cities also here (which divers rivers run just by) giving place to these as their betters, namely, Cathra, Charte, Alicodra, Astacia, Menapila, and Baetra it selfe; of which the kingdome and nation tooke the name first, scituate at the verie bottome and foot of the mountaines which they call Sogdij. Among which rivers there passe two verie capable of ships and Navigable, Araxates and Dymas, which by hills and valleys running headlong with a great downe-fall into the champian plaines, make the marsh named Oxia spread farre in length and bredth. And here among other townes, Alexandria, Tribarra, and Drepia the mother citie are famous. Upon these joyneth the Saca,

*Sub aquilone, taking it strictly.

*For Societe.

*Chinico, Scythians.

*Gedrene, Ramissa, Dofsan, Nigra.

Saca, a savage nation, inhabiting foule and over growne places, commodious onely for cattell, and therefore not planted with cities: over whom stand aloft the mountaines Ascanimia and Comedus: neere to the foot whereof, and a towne which they call *Lithinos-Pyrgos, there lyeth a verie long and open way passable for marchants that otherwhiles go to trade and traffique with the Seres. About the breaches and edges of the mountaines, which they teame Immavi and Tapurij, are the Scythians within the bounds of Persia, confining with the Sarmatæ of Asia, and reaching to the utmost side of the Alani. Who living as it were in some nooke and by-place, and bred up in a solitarie life, are dispersed a great way a sunder, used to live upon homely and poore food. And verily there bee sundrie nations that inhabit these tracts, which now to reckon up, making haist as I doe to other matters, I thinke superfluous. Yet, thus much would be knowne, that among these nations, unaccessable in manner by reason of the exceeding rigour and roughnesse of the country, there be some men mild and kind, as are namely the Laxartæ and Galactophagi, of whom the Poet Homer maketh mention in this verse:

Δακτοφάγους Ἀλκίονες διακτοφάγους ἑσθίοντες.

That is to say,

Of the Galactophagi (people that live by eating milke) and the Abij, (among whom no violence beareth sway, or who have no regard of their food or life) most righteous men. Moreover, among many rivers, which in these lands nature either joyneth to greater, or by their course afterward draweth into the Sea, much talke there is of Roemnus, Iaxartes and Talicus: But these nations are not knowne to have above three cities, Alfabota, Cauriana, and Saga.

CHAP. XI.

Likewise the Seres, Ariani, Paropamisada, Drangiani, Arachosij, and Gedrosij.

Beyond these places of Scythia the one and the other, full upon the East climar, the tops of high hills linked as it were in a chaine, compasse within a round circle, as one would say, the Seres for plentifull & large countries much esteemed; who on the West side joyneth upon the Scythians: North and East they bound upon the snowie wilderness, and Southward they lye out as farre as India and Ganges. Now the same mountaines before said, are called Aria, Nazavitium, Asmira, Emodus, and Opuocarra. This playne therefore environed on everie side with a steepe downefall, and these lands stretched so spaciouly in breadth two famous and renowned rivers, Oechardes and Bantifis, with a still and slow streame run through; and of the divers tracts herein the nature also is different: in one place large and open, in another lying flat and low with an easie fall and descent: in which regards they have abundance of corne, store of cattell, and plentie of hortyards, and such like. Now, this soile so fertill and fruitfull as it is, sundrie nations do inhabit; of which *Alitrophagi, Carambusi, Syzyges, and Chardi ly open, and full upon the Northerne winds and frosts. But the Rabannæ, Asmiræ, and Essedones, the noblest and most famous of them all, face the Sunne rising, unto whom, from the West part joyneth the Atharæ and Alparatæ: but the Betæ bending toward the high mountaines in the South, are much renowned

*as one would say. Stone-towers.

*Here Prelimes placeth the An-throphophagi. Flocks of men eat.

renowned for their cities, which though they be not many, yet great they are and wealthie; whereof, Almira, Eshedon, Asparata, and Phera are most beautifull and best knowne. Now, the people themselves, I meane the Seres, live very quietly, without use of armes at all times, without triall of battailes, and (as rest is to stayed and peaceable men delectable) they are to none of their neighbours troublesome. The temperature of the weather among them is pleasant and wholesome, the constitution of the aire cleere and pure, the blowing of gentle winds most commodious, and the woods have pretie store of light within and under them: from whence, the people with much sprinkling of water, softening that which the trees yeeld and bring forth like unto certaine fleeces, kembe a most fine and tender matter, mixed of a kind of downe and liquid substance, and spinning thred hereof, make silke, serving for the use of nobilitie and gentrie before time, but now for the basest sort also, without any difference and respect. They themselves are above others most frugal, lovers of a still and quiet life, shunning the companies of other mortall men. And when as strangers are passed over the river, to buy their thred, or some other commodities, without any speech to or fro the prices of wares set forth to sale, are esteemed onely by the eye. And so void are they of covetousnesse, that delivering forth what things grow and are bred among them, they themselves buy nothing brought in from other countries. Beyond the Seres live the Ariani, subject to the cold *Northren wind, through whose lands there runneth a river named Arias, sufficient to beare ships, and maketh a huge lake, carrying likewise the same name. Moreover, this selfesame *Aria hath a number of townes in it: among which, these be much resorted unto and of great name, Bitaxa, Orbitana, Sotera, Nisibis, and Alexandria, from whence it is a thousand and five hundred stadia sayling to the Caspian sea. Next unto these places are seated the Paropamisadae, who on the East side look toward the Indians, and to Caucasus on the West, they themselves also inclining to the breaches and ends of the hills, through whose countrey runneth the river Ortogordomaris (bigger than all the rest) which ariseth from the Bactriani. And these people have also some cities among them, of which more famous than the other, are Gazaca, Naulibis, and Ortospana: from whence if a man sayle along the shore unto the bounds of Media next lying to the Caspian port, he shall find two thousand and two hundred stadia. Vnto this nation aforesaid joyned the Drangiani, linked together by hills. They goe under the denomination of Arabians, because from them they descended; and among other townes of theirs they vaunt much of twaine, Prophthasia and Arianpe, which are rich indeed, and highly renowned. Next over against them Arachosia sheweth it selfe, bending toward the right side, and lying just upon the Indians: which, a river much lesse though it be, arising out of *Indus the greatest of all others; whence those countries tooke their name, watereth plentifully, and maketh the marsh named Arachotresene. Here also among other base cities, are Alexandria, Arbaca, and Chosapa. In the most inland part of Persis lyeth Gedrosia, on the right hand reaching to the borders of the Indians, made more fruitfull by the river Arabius, beside other of smaller streame: and there have the Barbitane mountaines an end, out of the foot and bottome whereof spring other rivers that intermingle their waters with Indus, loosing their owne names, in regard of that which is the greater. And here also there be cities: among these cities, beside the Islands, Sedrasira and *Guzabab, that is, The womens Haven, are esteemed better than the rest. Least therefore whiles shewing in particular the Bayes along the maritime coast that flow hard

*Boreas, precisely
the Northwest
wind
*The Region.
Serene, Menator,
Turquestan, Tur,
nere.

*Indus, *Gafalis,
Hind, Sira.

*Guzabab, Lian.

upon

upon the borders of Persis, we should wander oversfarre from our purpose, sufficient it shall bee thus much to say, that the sea passing along from the Caspian mountaines by the North side, unto the straits aforesaid, is reckoned to containe nine thousand stadia: but the South side, from the mouthes of the river Nylus unto the frontiers and entrance of Carmania, is by measure fourteene thousand stadia.

CHAP. XII.

The bodies of the Persians: their manners, lawes, and arts as well of peace as of warre: their decking and trimming especially with pearle: as touching the breeding and nature whereof, a briefe discourse.

AMong these so many and dissimant nations, the people also and the places be of diverse and sundrie sorts. But to describe in generall their bodies and manners, they be in manner all slender and lank, somewhat blacke, or of a swart palish colour, their eyes looking grim, as those of Goats doe, their browes bending like unto halfe circles, doe meet, wearing their beards not unseemely, and the shag haire of their heads long: but all of them one with another indifferently, even at their meat, and upon festiwall holydayes, are seene with swords by their sides. Which ancient manner of the Greeks the Athenians first layed away, as *Thucydides*, a most sufficient author, recordeth. Most of them were wont excessively to bee given unto fleshly lust; and hardly contenting themselves with a number of concubines, they cannot skill of the unnaturall abuse of boyes: and every man according to his wealth contracteth marriages more or fewer; whereupon among them their love and affection, distracted and dispersed by so sundrie lusts, is to their children cold or dull. They eschew no lesse than a very bane and plague all exquisite fare and lavish expence at the table, but especially the greedie desire of drinking: neither is amongst them (setting aside the kings boord) any set dinner time: but every mans bellie is his dyall or clocke, which when it strikes, they fall to whatsoever comes next hand: neither doth any man, after he hath once satisfied hunger, engorge superfluous meats. And wonderful it is to see, how strait laced, careful, and warie they are, that whiles they passe now and then among their enemies hottyards and vineyards they neyther desire nor touch ought, for feare of poyson and *secret arts. More than this, there is hardly seene a Persian, either when he stands making of his water, or when he goeth aside to ease his bellie, so precisely declineth he these and other businesse of the like kind, for feare of shame. But so dissolute they be, and with the loosenesse of their joynts and wandering pace they keepe such a flinging of themselves, and jetting in their gate, that a man would take them to be mere effeminate, whereas indeed they be most fierce warriors, but rather wylie in cunning slight, than hardie in manly fight; and as farre off they are very terrible: full of vaine words, speaking after a brainesicke and wild manner, big boasters, shrewd and mischievous, given to threats alike in aduersitie and prosperitie, craftie, proud, cruel, challenging and taking upon them power of life and death, both over their servants and the meaner sort also of the common people. They flay off the skins from men alive either by peecemeale, or all whole: neither is it lawfull for a servant among them that waiteth and standeth at the table, to open his mouth, to speake or to spit, so

muzzie.

*witchcraft and
sorceries.

muzzled and bound up are all their lips with prickly and sharpe pointed skinned. The lawes with them are mightily feared, among which for severitie and rigour those exceed, that are enacted against unthankfull persons and traitorous revolts: and others there are as detestable and to be abhorred, by vertue whereof, for the offence of one man all the kinred must die. To sit in judgement and decide controversies, are such appointed, as are for worldly experience tried, and of approved integritie, who also little or nothing at all need the counsell of others: whereupon they laugh at our custome, which otherwhiles setteth eloquent Orators and most learned in the common lawes, at the backe of unlearned Iudges, to prompt them. For, that another Judge was forced to sit upon the skin of that Judge, who was condemned for unjustice and doing wrong, it was eyther a fained tale devised by those in old time; or if it were an auncient received custome, it hath had an end, and is no more put in practise. For militarie furniture and discipline, for continuall flourish of encamping and using their armour and weapons, which I have oftentimes described, dreadfull they were even to the greatest armies, boldly and confidently presuming upon the prowesse of their Cavallerie, in which service all their nobilitie, gentrie, and gallants labour, that they sweate againe. For the footmen, covered all over in manner of these Sword-fencers, tearmed ^{as} Mermillones, doe their commandements like base campe-slaves: and all the sort of these follow evermore, as awarded to perpetuall slavery, neither relieved at any time with wages, nor rewarded with gifts: and this nation hath put under the yoke of subjection much people otherwise, besides those whom they have fully subdued; so bold and so thoroughly trained up and exercised in martiall feats, that continually they were held occupied and troubled with warres either civile or forraine. The most part of them are so clad in garments, and the same glittering with sundrie lightesome and bright colours, that although they leave the laps and sides of them unfowne and loose, to be shaken with puffs of wind, yet is there nothing seene uncovered from the crowne of their heads to their very shooes. After they had subdued India, and vanquished Croesus, they used to weare bracelets, ouches, and jewels of gold, precious stones also, but pearle especially. And now occasioned I am, by the matter so requiring, to deliver some few words succinly, as touching the generation of this gem or stone. Among the Indians and Persians both are found these pearles, within strong and bright shels of the sea-fishes, conceived at a certaine time of the yeare by a commixtion of dew. For these shell-fishes being desirous to engender, as it were, with a certaine humor, by often yawning and gaping catch it from an influence and sprinckling of the Moone. And hereupon being conceived and great with young, they bring forth two or three little ones, or pearles called V-ni-ones, for that the little shels of that land otherwhiles are delivered of one a-peece, but the same are of a bigger size. And this is a good prooffe and argument, that this young frie (as I may so tearme them) of pearles are both bred and fed rather with some influence from the skie or ayre above, than by any food that sea doth yeeld, because the drops of morning dew, infused or distilling upon the same, maketh them bright and round stones; but the evening dewes cause them to be contrariwise soft and fluxible, yellow and reddish, yea, and otherwhiles full of spots. Now fashioned they are, as it falleth out, diversly, either verie small, or great, according to the qualitie of the draughts they take of dew.

But

But oftentimes to shaken be these shell-fishes with the feare of flashie lightnings, that they become empiric, casting forth feeble young ones, or at leastwise by some abortive defects they slip and run out. The fishing for them is hard, and the catching dangerous; their price also high for this reason, that they shunning, as some thinke, the shoers which are wont to be much haunted, by reason that fishesmen lay wait for them, they lurke close about by rocks and holes where Sea-dogges do keepe. To conclude, we are not ignorant, that this kind of gem is both engendered and gotten in the noukes and creeks of the Brittain sea also, although they be not of like worth to those of India.



THE XXIII. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Iulianus invadeth Persia with a most puissant armie. Anatha is surrendred unto him. The Romane armie is sore troubled with tempestuous whirlewinds, and the sinking of certaine ships laden with corne.



Iulianus after he was assured of his armies cheerefull readinesse, which in one uniforme heat, with an usuall cry affirmed, That their invincible prince could not be vanquished; thinking verily to make an end betimes of this whole enterprise and exploit, when he had taken out his rest and sleepe in the night, commaundeth the trumpets to sound the march: and so having provided beforehand all furniture and means that the painefull difficulties of warre required, by that time it was now faire day light entered the marches of Assyria, and in a brave spirit above all others riding gallantly before the bands and squadrons, incited them all with an emulation of him to performe the parts of valour and fortitude. And as a noble leader thoroughly grounded by experience and instructions both, fearing least through the strangeness of the places he should be intercepted by secret traines and ambushments, he began to march in fouresquare battailons. And verily, a thousand and five hundred light horsemen he appointed as out-riders to goe softly before, who pacing the way warily, had an eye on both sides, and likewise afront, that no enemy might at unwarres breake in and rush upon them. As for himselfe, he had the conduct in the middest of the Infanterie, which was the very strength of his whole power, and gave commaundement, That on his right hand certaine legions under the leading of *Nemius* should

should passe along the banks of the river Euphrates: But the left wing, together with the cavallarie, he committed unto *Arimbeu* and *Ormisda*, to be led more thick and close together, over the plaine fields and easie wayes. And *Dugalaiphus*, together with *Victor* and *Secundinus* hindmost of all, Marques of Osdruena, conducted the rereguard. After this, to the end that he might strike a terror and feare of a greater multitude than he had unto the enemies, if haply they should fall forth in any place, or espie them a farre off, he so enlarged the ranks, and displayed forth in length both horses and men, that the taile of the armie was almost ten myles distant from the front and foremost ensigne-bearers: a stratagem that with marvellous policie and skill was oftentimes, by report, practised by *Pyrhus* that noble king of the Epirots, a captain most skilfull in encamping where places yielded best advantage, and spreading also of purpose, or making lesse the shew of his armie, that wheresoever he came, they might be esteemed many or few. The packs and campe-slaves, the followers and attendant servants to the campe, unfit for fight, together with all kinds of carriages, he bestowed betwixt both sides of the companies as they marched forward, least if they wanted the protection of such a convoy, they might by some sodaine violence be carried forcibly away, as oftentimes it chanceth. Now the fleet, although it passed along the river which with many winding and crooked reaches continually turned in and out, was not suffered either to lag behind, or make speed before. Thus therefore having gone two dayes journey, wee came to *Dora*, a citie forsorne and unpeopled, situate upon the verie side of the river: In which place we happened upon many herds of staggess, whereof some shot into the bodie with casting weapons, others knocked downe and brained with weightie ores, fed us all, and gave us our fill: But the most of them being used to swimme, after they had passed over the swift streame, ran away, and could not be stayed, but escaped unto their knowne woods and wilderness. From thence, after wee had gone forthie easie dayes journey forward, when the evening came on, *Lucillianus* the Lieutenant, for want of the Princes skill, was sent with a thousand light appointed souldiers embarked, to win the fort *Anatha*, which (as all others for the most part) is watered round about with the river of Euphrates: & having, according to a commandement and direction given, dispersed the ships in places convenient, he beset the said island, considering that the mistie and darke night shadowed this secret enterprise and assault intended: but after that the day brake indeed & became light, one that was gone out for to fetch water, discovering sodainly the enemies, set up a lowd and howling crie, whereby he rayled the defendants of the peece, and caused them with tumultuous noise to arme. And anon the Emperour himselfe having from a verie high Tote-hill, or Barban, viewed the situation of the sayd Pyle, and the fortifications about it, right speedily by the helpe of two ships passeth over the river, and many other vessels followed behind, which carryed engines and peeces of ordnance for banterie. And now by this time approaching the walls, when he considered that there could be no assault or skirmish there without many dangers, partly with gentle words, and in part with rough speeches and threatening language, he moved the defendants to yeeld: who calling for *Ormisda* to a parley, and induced by his faire promise, and othes that he tooke, were much persuaded of the Romans clemencie. At length, driving before them an oxe decked with a coronet (which with them is a token of embracing peace) they came downe in humble manner: and forthwith, when the fortesse was wholly burnt, *Pusens* the captain thereof, Marquesse after of *Egypt*, was advanced to the honourable place of a Tribune:

all

all the rest with their wives, children, and household goods, were sent over in poore and simple array, to *Chalcis* a citie in Syria. Among these a certaine souldior, who had beene left sicke in these parts, when *Maximianus* intimes past forcibly, invaded the frontiers of Persia, a man then in the verie prime and flower of his youth, having, as he said himselfe, wedded many wives, according to the guise of that nation, being now farre stepped in yeares, and stooping for age, with a numerous progenie much rejoicing, and the principall counsellor that persuaded the betraying and surrender of the fort, was brought into our province, affirming constantly, and that by witnesses, That long since hee both foreknew and foretold, that when he came to the poynt of being an hundred yeres old, he should be entered in Roman ground. This done, the Saracene fore-riders presented unto the most joyfull prince, certain of the enemies side, & were sent back againe to performe the like service. But the morrow after there fell out a shrewd mischaunce: for, there rose a certaine tempestuous wind, which raising many whirle puffs, had shuffled together and made such confusion among their places of harbour and shelter, that many pavilions fell downe, and a number of souldiors were layd along eyther on their backs, or groveling, for that the wind would not suffer them to hold their footing sure. And the verie same day, there happened another accident no lesse perillous: for, by occasion that sodainly the river overflowed his banks, certain ships that used to bring in corne were drowned, by reason that the sluices or floudgates made of stone worke, to let out or restrain the waters, that used to water the fields, were plucked away: which whether it chanced by some treacherous practise, or through the violence of the streame, it could never be knowne.

CHAP. II.

After that *Anatha* was burnt, and she standing corne together with the country sheeds and bevels consumed: after also the garrisons of certain castles were in vaine assailed, she armie setteth on fire *Diacra* & *Ozogardana*, after they were ransacked and left empty. A skirmish betwene the Persians and Romans.



After this citie, the first of all other, rased and burnt, and the captives sent away, the army carried now with a more assured hope to confidence, with lowd voyces shewed the favour and good will they bare to their Prince, supposing verily that from thenceforth the heavenly providence would be assitant unto them. And for that in countries unknowne there was to be had a more suspicious care of secret and hidden practises, they much feared the wily sleights of the nation, and their sundrie devises to delude and deceive them. Wherefore, the Emperour one while marching in the vantage before the ensignes, another while busie in leading the rereguard, with a company of nymble skirmishers, lightly appointed, searched and scoured the rough places full of shrubs, and the valleys, least some secret ambush should lye hidden within: restraining withal either by way of affabilitie and faire language (which was naturally in him) or by threats, those souldiors who even licentious and rashly would straggle to and fro a farre off: yet permitted he the enemies fields rich in all kind of fruits, together with the standing corne and their cottages to be set on fire, but not before everie man had gathered necessarie provision for himselfe in great abundance: and by this means was the life and health of the enemies wounded, ere they knew

Ii

of

*haply in sea service.

*wherein *Anatha* stood.

of it. For, our fighting men tooke much pleasure to make use of what they had gotten with their owne right hands, supposing they had now found other garners of their vertue and valour; and rejoycing, that they having plentiful store of the means also to maintain life, they saved the victuals that were shipped and conveyed by water. And here a certaine fool-hardie fouldior, when his head was full of wine, without any urgent need driving him thereto, would needs passe over to the bank on the further side of the river, & there within our sight was taken by the enemies, and killed. These designs, with such an accident between, performed, we came to a strong fortress or castle, named Thilutha, situate in the mids of the river, a place mounting up with a certaine mightie high top, and by naturall strength fenced round about, as it were by the worke of mans hand. The inhabitants whereof being by gentle means solicited to surrender it, as meet it was, for that the rough and craggie height thereof was by force of armes imprenable, said plainly, That it was unreasonable then and overtly to revolt: But thus farre forth they gaged their answer, That when the Romans marching on forward should become masters of the more inland parts, they also as the followers and tayle of a kingdome, would joine with the conquerors. And after this, as our ships passed along close to the verie wals, with a modest kind of quietnesse, without any stir at all, they viewed them. After we had passed this fort, and were come to another strong hold, named Achaialca, and the same entrenched, as it were, about with the course of the river, difficult both for passage over, and access also unto it, repelled wee were with the like answer, and so departed. The morrow after, other castles and pyles abandoned of the inhabitants, by reason of the weake walls, we set on fire, and passe beyond them. But the next two dayes following, when we had marched two hundred stadia, wee came to a place called Barax-malcha: from whence, after wee had crossed over the river, we enter Diacira, standing seven miles off, where was a citie voyd of inhabitants, full of corne and fine white flax, wherein we saw a temple seated upon a citadell, and bearing a loftie head: Which citie, after wee had burned, and put some few women to the sword, whom we there found, as also passed over a certain fountain, out of which issued plentie of Bitumen, we seized the towne Ozogardana, which likewise the inhabitants forsooke, for feare of our armie comming toward it: in this towne was shewed for a sight, the Tribunal of *Triam* the Emperour. When we had consumed this towne also with fire, and allowed our selves two dayes for the refreshing of our bodies, toward the latter end of the night that followed two dayes after, *Surena* a potentat among the Persians of high place and dignitie for his deserts, next under the king, and one named *Malechus Podofaces*, a chiefe Tribune of the Saracenes Aslanitz, a notorious Brigand, who with all manner of crueltie had a long time committed outrage in our marches, having laid wait for to intercept *Ormisda* of whom they had an inkling & intelligence given them, by what meanes I wot not, that he would go forth in especial to discover the country were disappointed of this their attempted enterprise, for that the narrow passage of the river running betweene (such was the depth thereof) could not be waded over. And at the first appearing of day-light, when as now the enemies were within view (as who before time had not bene in sight) all glittering with their bright helmets, and terribly clad in stiffe and stubborne jacks, our souldiors eagle of fight, and sharply set to give battaile, charged upon them right valiantly. And albeit they bent their bowes with mightie strength, and the brightnesse of their swords and weapons glittering againe, had beene ynough to encrease the Romans feare,

*Phylarchus.

yet anger gave such an edge unto their valour, that being covered with a fence of targets and shields couched thicke and close together, they empeached them so, as that they could not discharge or shoot an arrow from them.

CHAP. III.

Our armie passeth over Naar-Malcha, i. the Kings river; and then both besiegeth and also assaulteth Pyrisabora, a large and populous towne.



Vr souldiors encouraged and emboldened with so good beginnings, came to a small towne named Macepraeta, wherein were seene the remaines of a ruinat wall: which in old time stretching out in a great length, was reported to be a fence for Assyria from inrodes and invasions: From hence one arme of the river is divided with a large streame, leading to the more inward tracts of Babylonia, to serve the fields, country villages, and cities, lying round about: and another named Naar-Malcha, which is by way of interpretation, The Kings river, runneth along by Ctesiphon: In the verie first entrance whereof, there riseth up a passing high tower in manner of a Pharos; and this branch of the river all our footmen passed over upon bridges wisely and warily placed: But the horsemen in armes, together with their beasts under them, swam over the frame of the river, which was so much the milder, because it runneth a crooked course: others were charged sodainly with a volley of the enemies shot, whom our auxiliaries being gone forth, and most lightly appointed for speedie footmanship, followed hard upon their necks in chase as they ran away, laid along on the ground, and felled on them, tearing them in peeces as they had beene fowles. Which exploit being likewise gloriously atchieved, we came before Pyrisabora, a large and populous citie, fenced round about with a trench and rampier like an island: Under the walls and plot whereof, on which it was seated, the Emperour riding about, with all warinesse and circumspection began the siege, as if with the feare onely of him, he would drive the townesmen from all mind of making defence; who having bene oft dealt withal by way of parle, when there could not a man of them be brought to yeeld either by promises or threatenings, he began to give an assault. And lo environing the walls with a threefold circle, or course of armed men, for the first day until the night began, he maintained skirmish with shot and discharging of peeces against them. Then the defendants, whose courage and strength was not behind, spreading wide on everie side about their bulwarks, large haire-clothes, to keep off the violent force of darts and casting weapons, fenced also with shields before them, wrought of most tough and strong oysters, and the same covered also with thicke raw hides, most valiantly resisted, as who themselves made a shew all over of yron and Steele, for that the plates fitted aptly close one to another to serve the liniaments and proportion of everie lim and part of the bodie, with a sure armour of prooffe covered the whole man. And howsoever sundrie times they craved earnestly to have conference with *Ormisda*, as being borne and bred among them, and a prince beside of the bloud royall, yet no sooner came he toward them, but they reviled and railed at him, with opprobrious teames, as a disloyall traitor and revolter. And thus after the most part of the day was spent, with trifling cavillations, in the verie beginning of the still and darke night, advanced forward there were engines of many fashions, and then, the deepe trenches began to be filled up and laied even. Which the defendants wisely beholding,

ding, before it was any thing full daylight, as also that the forcible and violent push of the Ram, had thirled a hole through a corner-tower, they leaving the duple wall of the citie, put themselves within the citadell joining hard thereto, situate upon the broken plaine of a rough and craggie hill; the middle part whereof rayled up to a great height, with a round compass resembled an Argive buckler, save that from the North side, what was wanting of roundnesse, the cliffes and raggie rocks lying forth aloft over the river Euphrates running beneath, surely fenced the same: in which citadell the battlements of the wals excelled, as being made of small bricks layed with Bitumen, which is knowne to be the surest building that can be. And now our souldiors being more fierce than before, after they had gone through the citie, which they saw void of people, fought sharply against the townesmen, that from the citadell let flye shot and casting weapons of many sorts. For when the same defendants were troubled sore with the brakes, crosse-bowes and balists of our men, they themselves also from aloft set up their bowes strongly bent, the crooked hornes whereof arising at both ends, were so stiffly bowed, that the strings driven with the violent stroke of fingers, sent away shafts headed with yron, which striking upon the bodies that were against them, stuck fast in them, and gave a deadly wound. Nevertheless, the skirmish held still on both sides, with stormes as it were of stones flung by hand: and thus in doubtfull ballance inclining to neither side, the conflict continued with great resolution from the breake of day to the shutting in of night, and then gave over on even hand. And therefore the morrow following, when as the fight was hot, and many were overthrowne on either side, so that equal forces counterpoised their acts even, the Emperour, hastening among these mutuall and reciprocall foyles to hazard all the chances of the dice, environed with a Squadron strongly couched together, and fenced from the stroke of arrowes with a thicke course of targuets, advanced forward apace with those of his companie, as readie and resolute as himselfe, and approached the enemies gate, layed all over with thicke plates and barres of yron: and although to the perill of his life he was so assailed with stones, bullets, and other casting weapons, yet crying out continually unto them that were about to pierce and worke into the sides of the double-leaved gate, that they should lay open an entrie into the place, he departed not thence, untill with the multitude of darts and shot that by heape-meale were flung and cast upon him, he saw that he was readie now to be overwhelmed therewith. Howbeit, he escaped with all his companie, whereof some few were lightly wounded, himselfe receiving no harme, but somewhat abashed and modestly blushing for shame: for he had read, that *Scipio Emilianus*, together with *Polybius* a Megalopolitane and Arcadian (I meane the Historiographer) and 30000 more with like violent attempt digged under the gate of Carthage. But the received testimonie and truth of ancient writers justifieth sufficiently this late & fresh deed of his. For *Emilianus* came under a gate that was covered over head with a rooffe or vault of stone, under which standing safe and hidden, whiles the enemies were opening the maine stone-work above, he brake into the naked citie. But *Iulian* being entred in an open place, when the face of the ayre over head was overshadowed againe with fragments of huge stones & other shot, hardly and with much ado was repelled, and departed thence.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The besieged when they saw once the warlike engine called Helepolis yeeld themselves unto Iulianus: who having driven backe the avant-couriers of the Persians, reneweth the auncient discipline of warre against certaine Tribunes and souldiors, and by making an Oration, laboureth to keepe his armie in order and durifull allegiance.



Hese devices being thus in hast and in tumultuarie manner practised, when he perceived well, that the working about the Frames called ^b Vinca, and the raising of mounts (considering other urgent occasions) was most laborious, painefull and comberfome, he willed with all speed the commanding engine named ^c Helepolis to be built: by means whereof (as I have before shewed) king *Demetrius* woon many townes, and was therefore surnamed *Polioretes*. To this huge frame, like to overtop the battlements of the high towers, the defendants casting their eye advicely, and thoroughly considering it, besides the firme resolution of the assailants, all on a suddaine fell to prayer and entreatie, standing as they did, spread all over the towers and battlements of the wals, and with stretched out armes protesting openly the Romanes protection, they requested life and pardon. And when as they saw the works were given over, and the pioners attempting no farther matter, which was a sure signe of quietnesse and rest, they required to have libertie of conference with *Ormisda*. Which obtained, *Mamersides* captaine of their Garrison souldiors, being let down by a rope, and sent unto the Emperour, so soone as he requested life and impunitie for himselfe and his consorts, and the same upon an assured covenant, was permitted to returne unto them. And when he had reported what he had done, the whole multitude of both sexes one with another, now that he had wrought them all according to his mind, upon a peace concluded by religious oathes, after the gates were set open, went forth, crying with one voice, *That a saving Genius and tutelare Angell, even Cæsar, a mightie and mercifull prince, shone from heaven upon them*. Now these that thus yeelded, amounted to the number of 2500. For the rest of the multitude suspecting the siege aforehand, had embarked themselves in small vessels, and passing along the river, departed. Within this citadell was found very great store of armour and victuals: out of which, when the winners had taken sufficient to serve their owne turnes, the remains they burnt, together with the place. The next morrow after these exploits atchieved, heavie news came unto the Emperour, as he was leisurely and in peace taking his repast, namely, That *Surrena* the Persian ^dCommander, was come unawares, had set upon three troupes, a part of our fore-riders, but slaine very few of them, and among those a ^eTribune, whom when he had laid along dead, he tooke away one banner: and forthwith, being moved in a great fit of anger, he sped himselfe apace with a companie in armes, and with weapon in hand, and the very hast he made was it that wrought him the most safetie. Now, after he had discomfited the said Brigands, and put them to a shamefull foyle, the other two Tribunes that were left alive, he cuffed & discharged from their militarie oath, as slouthfull and lazie cowards: but ten of those souldiors that ran away he condemned to suffer death, following herein the lawes of auncient discipline. To conclude, after the citie, as hath beene sayd, was burnt downe, flan.

standing upon a Tribunall raised of purpose, hee called together the armie, and when hee had given them thanks, hee exhorted them all to exploit the like acts from thenceforth: and after he had promised to them an hundred silver^a deniers apiece, perceiving them chafed and readie to mutinie, for so small and niggardly a promise, himselfe growing also to indignation, yet full of gravitie: Behold (quoth he) here be the Persians flowing in abundance and plentie of all things. The wealth of this nation is able to enrich us all, in case with one heart and accord we beare our selves manfully. The Romane Commonwealth, trust me truly, is from infinite riches become exceeding poore, and even by those, who to fill their owne purses, have perswaded Emperours to returne home with peace, that the savages and barbarous have bought for gold. The treasure of the State is hereby sore layed upon, Cities are drawne drie, and Provinces be wasted. And for my selfe, I have neither wealth so uphold me, nor kinned to backe me, descended though I am of noble parentage; onely my heart is fearelesse: neither shall it be a shame for an Emperour, who reposeth all goods in the furniture of the mind, to professe honest povertie. For Fabricius also, poore in household goods, rich in honour and glorie, managed most dangerous warres. And all these things we may have abundantly, if yee, devoid of feare, will demean your selves more mildly, following the wise guidance and direction of God and my selfe, so farre forth as humane reason doth require. But if yee goe out and resist authoritie, turning againe to the dishonourable prefidents of seditions in old time, goe on hardly, and doe so still: I for my part, as becommeth an Emperour and noble Commander, after I have run my race, and performed so many brave courses, will alone die standing on my feet, readie to condemne this life of mine, which some little sever or other, will bereave me of: or at leastwise I will go my wayes and leave the field: for I have not lived so, but that I may one day become a private person. Howbeit, I glorie in this, and reioyce, that there be with us most approved capitaines and tried leaders, such as in all kinds of marshall skill be accomplished.

CHAP. V.

The Persians practise meanes of let and hinderance: which when Iulian had with much adoe overcome, he found countries more commodious, and therein Date trees, of which there be some strange reports. Iulian after his armie was refreshed cometh to Euphrates, where he is divided into many branches, and were unto Majozamalcha was privily assailed by ten Persians, but notwithstanding this great danger of his life, escaped in safetie.



Y this modest speech of the Emperours, carrying a current betweene countesse and severitie, the souldiours for the time were appeased, and putting on a greater confidence, with expectation of better matters, promising to be tractable and obedient, extolled up to heaven his authoritie and highnesse of spirit: which, when it is said truly and from the heart, love is wont by a small noyse to be shewed and declared. After this, when he returned againe to the tents, according to that store which the present would afford, hee refreshed himselfe with food and rest at night. Now, the manner was of Iulian to animate his ainie, swearing evermore, not by such things as were decre unto him, but by the great exploits and affaires that were begun; as for example, So might hee subdue the

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Persians: So might hee repaire the shaken estate of the Roman Empire. Like as it is reported of Traian, That otherwhiles hee was wont to bind his words and promises with such oathes as these, So may I see Dacia reduced into the forme of provinces: So may I passe over Ister or Euphrates upon bridges, and many such like words. After this, I say, when we had passed foureteeen myles forward, wee came to a certaine place that with abundant overflow of waters enricheth the fields and maketh them plentifull: which way the Persians being informed that we would goe, plucked up the flood-gates, and suffered the waters to flow and spread all abroad. By reason therefore that the ground stood all as it were on a standing poole, the second day the Emperour giving his souldiours rest, went forth himselfe, and on many floored bridges made of^f leather bougets and ships supported with pyles, as also of hewen logs and planks of Date tree, with much difficultie he transported his armie. In these countries there be many fields planted with Vines and sundrie sorts of fruitfull trees, where Date trees are wont to grow, and take up a great deale of ground, reaching in manner of mightie forestts as farre as to^{*} Mesene and the great^{*} Sea: and which way soever a man goeth, he seeth continually branches of Palme-trees, and the Dates hanging thereupon; of the fruit of which trees abovesaid is made plentie of honey and wine: and as touching the very Date trees themselves, it is said, they be married and wedded as it were one to another: also, that the sexes may easily be discerned. It is reported moreover, That the females annoiued with the seed of the male, doe conceive and beare, yea, and by report, they delight in mutual love: which appeareth hereby, in that they doe bend in the head and lean one against another, so as that they are not with the very puffing blasts of wind turned another way. And in case the female according to the usual manner, be not so besmeared with the seed of the male, she looseth by an abortive defect her unrimed fruit: and if it be not well knowne what tree it is that the female is in love with, the stocke or stem of it is besmeared with the ointment thereof, and then the other tree naturally conceiveth the sweet odour, and so by these tokens is bewrayed the certaintie, as it were, of their generation. With this food the armie replenished plentifully, passed by many Islands, and where they were afraid before of want and scarcitie, there they feared fulnesse and surfeit. Well, the Emperour in the end being assailed covertly by the enemies archers, and yet not without revenge againe, drew neere to a place, where the greater part of Euphrates divideth it selfe into many rivers with their divers and sundrie streames. In this tract there was a citie, for the low wals thereof abandoned by the Jewes, which the souldiours in an anger set on fire. This done, the Emperour marched on further still with greater courage and confidence, as thinking hee was assisted by the gracious helpe of the divine power. And when he was come to^{*} Majozamalcha, a great citie and encircled with strong walls, he pitched downe his tents, and carefully provided, that his campe might not be troubled with any suddain rode of the Persians horsemens, the valour and puissance whereof in champion and open grounds is wonderously dread of all nations. And having taken this order, guarded with some few light appointed skirmishers, being himselfe also on foot, minding diligently to search and view the situation of the citie, he happened to plunge himselfe headlong into a mischievous ambuscado, and escaped in the end the utmost danger of his life. For at a blind and secret gate of the towne there went out ten Persians armed, who passing close-ly on their knees under the bottome of the cliffs, suddainly with great violence charged upon our men: and two of them espying the Emperour himselfe (as he

^{*}or Adiabene,
Babylon Castles.
^{*}The mediterraneanica, Ortel. The
Levant sea, according to the Spaniards.

^{*}otherwise called
Babylon in Zodiaca.

was

was evident to be seen and knowne by his rich apparell) with their drawne swords layd at him, but by lifting up his broad shield, he warded the blowes, and under the sure fence thereof, himselfe in a brave and bold resolution ran one of them with his sword into the side: and the other after many a stroke and wound given, was slaine by his guard aforesaid; the rest (whereof some were hurt) ran away: and so after he had disarmed and devested those twaine, he brought backe his companions in safetie, returned with their spoyles unto the campe, and was with great joy of them all received. * *Torquatus* tooke from an enemy whom he laid along, a collar of gold: * *Valerius*, surnamed afterwards *Corvinus*, by the help and defence of a * foule, overcame a most bold and bragging Gaule: and for these brave exploits were commended unto posteritie. We envie not their glorie, but yet I would have this noble and worthy act registred also in auncient records.

CHAP. VI.

The siege of Maior. amachta entered and begun by Julianus.

THe day next following after he had floored over his bridges, transported the armie, and in a more holefome place pitched his campe, compassed about with a double trench and rampier (because, as I said before, he feared the plaine and open deserts) he began to lay siege to the said towne, supposing it would be verie dangerous unto him, if marching still forward, he should leave those at his backe whom hee was to feare. Whiles with great endeavour he made this preparation, * *Surena* the great Commander of the enemies, having set upon our beasts which grazed in the date tree groves, was by our cohorts appointed to drive him backe, welcomed with the slaughter of some few, and so went his wayes without effect: and the inhabitants of two cities, which stand as islands environed round about with rivers, some upon a confidence of their owne strength, hastily betooke themselves to Ctesiphon a walled towne; others running through the thickets, and some againe conveying themselves over the washes and marishes in flotes and troughes of hollowed trees, betooke themselves to the onely and chiefe helpe that remained, namely, to get away far ynough off, meaning to goe into the more remote parts of the land. Of whom, some that made resistance, our souldiors slew, who also themselves skoured the coasts up and downe in flotes and boats: and others now and then they tooke prisoners and brought in. For, with deliberat and advised consideration this order was taken, That whiles the regiments of footmen were besieging and assailing the wals of the towne, the troops of the horsemen, divided into certaine cornets & companies, should be employed busily in rayfing and driving away booties, out of the fields: and by this provident forecast, without any losse and hinderance at all of the provincial people, our souldiors preyed and fed upon the enemies bowels. And now by this time our Emperour having encircled with a threefold course of shields, the towne, aforesaid, which had a double wall about it, in hope to achieve his enterprise, with maine force gave the assault. But as the attempt was necessarie, so the effecting thereof was most difficult: for, the avenue unto it, being on everie side for the danger thereof doubtfull, by reason that the cliffes aloft in their turning were cloven and rent, as also for that their ascents and tops were full of crooked windings, denied them all meanes of access; especially, for that the towers standing so thicke and high, made a terrible shew, and were equall in height to the craggie mount naturaly

ly rising aloft, on which the citadell stood, and the plaine descent falling to the river side, was fortified with strong bulwarkes. To all these difficulties, there was another mischief no lesse troublesome than the rest, namely, that the besieged, who were a picked number of valiant men, & furnished with store everie way, could by no allurements be induced to yeeld, but as making full account either to win the victorie, or devow and betake themselves to be consumed with the ashes of their country, withstood their enemies. Now, by this time were our souldiors hardly and with much ado held backe, advancing themselves foolishly and proudly forward, calling also for fight even in plaine field, and set battaille: yea and when the retrait was sounded, still pricked on they were with couragious stomacke and hot endeavour to preasse upon the enemy. Howbeit the counsell of our capitaines overcame at length that exceeding forwardnesse and violence of theirs: and so when the service and worke was divided, everie man most speedily taketh him to his severall charge appointed unto him. For, of the one side were rayfed high mounts and terraces, on the other side some filled up the deepe ditches, and made them level with the ground, whiles others were busie elsewhere in making hollow trenches with passages along within the earth. There were cunning Mechanicks also, that planted engines & peeces of ordnance, to batter the wals, such as wold as they were discharged make a horrible and deadly noyle. And verily of undermining and the fabrickes fore-covert and defence, *Neruis* and *Dagalaiphus* had the charge: but the Emperour himselfe gave direction for skirmish, as also for saving the frames and engines as wel from fire as sallies. And when as all the preparation for the overthrow & rasing of the city, with much painful labor was finished, and nothing now but fight called for, *Marquesse Victor* returned, who having sounded and discovered all the wayes as farr as to Ctesiphon, brought word, That hee found no stops or lets in his journey: For joy of which newes, all the souldiors were so set a gog, and bare so confident and resolute minds to fight, that they armed presently, and waited for the signall to proceed unto the assault.

CHAP. VII.

The most strong assault of the said citie. The painefull toyle, industrie, and fortitude, as well of the besiegers as besieged. At length by undermining the walls are overthrowne.



AND now whiles the trumpets sounded out alowd the battaile, the souldiors on both parts shouted amaine: and first, the Romans with many a run, and with a minatorie noyle charged upon the enemies all covered on everie side with plates of yron in manner of thin and slender feathers, and bearing themselves bold, for that the darts and casting weapons hitting upon the slipperie hard yron of their armours, rebounded backe: and otherwhiles the knitting together of the Romans shields, under which, as under a rooffe of arch worke, that cannot well bee described, they were most fitly protected, with continuall stirring and motion, opened somewhat wide a sunder. On the contrarie side the Persians sticking close to their wals, so far forth as they could do or strive againe, assayed to checke and make voyd our deadly violence. But when as now the assailants carrying before them hurdles of tough oyster windings, were upon the point to scale the wals, the slingers and archers together, with others also tumbling downe the huge stones, with firebrands and fireballs,

balls, set them further off. Then also the Balists bent and fitted with shafts of wood were wrested up and discharged with a great noyse, sending forth headed arrowes exceeding thicke: the Scorpions likewise whither soever by skilfull hand they were directed, discharged from them round stones. Thus, after redoubled conflicts one upon another, the heat of the weather still encreasing untill noone (by reason that the Sunne did cast scorching hot vapours from him) called them all away, as busie as they were in preparation of their workes, and desirous of fight, being tyred out, and running all to sweat. With the same purpose and setled resolution, the day also following both parts bickering one with another in sundrie sorts of fight, depart on even hand neither winners nor losers. But at everie hard pinch and daungerous service, the prince in person joyning close to the fighting men, called instantly upon them, to have the citie forced and destroyed, because hee would not lye long about the walls, and overslip greater designs that he projected. But as it falleth out in cases of urgent extremitie, there is nothing so slight and small, but otherwhiles, even contrarie to all hope and expectation, it yeeldeth occasion and advantage of greater matters. For, when as both sides fought so faintly, as if oftentimes they had bene at the point to depart asunder, behold, by the stroke of a Ram long time disused, and which a little before was brought against the wall, downe came a tower higher than all the rest, and built most strongly of bricke; the fall whereof brought after it with a mightie crash, that side of the wall that joined unto it. Then and there by occasion of sundrie accidents and occurrences, the painfull labour of the besiegers, and the diligent industrie of the besieged, was notably shewed by brave and worthy exploits. For our fighting souldiers were so enkindled with anger and dolour, that they thought no service hard, and the defendants running as they did, and bestirring themselves for life, nothing was dread and terrible. Now, when the fight had continued hot a long time in even ballance, and doubtfull tearmes, after much bloudshed, and many a man slaine on both parts, it determined with the end of the day, and so at length respect and consideration was had of their wearinesse. And whiles these things were a doing in open day light, word was brought unto the Emperour, full of watchfull care, That the legionarie souldiers, who had the charge of digging trenches and undermining, after they had wrought under ground hollow wayes, and upheld them with props, had pierced through the verie foundations beneath, readie now to rise above the ground, if hee did so direct them. When as therefore the most part of the night was past, upon signall given by sound of trumpets, to go forth, running there was on all hands to arme and to fight: and on purpose the assault was given on both sides affront the walls, that whiles the defendants are skudding to and fro about the walls, to put by and repell dangers, so that neither the tinging sound of the yron tooles digging hard by could bee heard, nor any man remained within forth to make resistance, a companie of myners all on a foddaine shew their heads. Which being so ordered, as agreed it was before, and the defendants busily occupied, and the lurking caves layed open, up starteth first a souldior, one of the number that before was overcome, after whom *Magnus* a Tribune, and *Iovianus* a Notarie, whom a bold and hardie multitude following, after they had stabbed those whom they found in the house, through which they came forth to light, marching on softly with a silent pace, they killed all the watchmen, as they were with lowd and shrill voyces extolling, as the manner is and custome of that nation, the justice and felicity of their king. Though it was sometime, that *Mars* himselfe in person (if the lawes of divine majestie permit that gods

gods may be entermingled with men) was assistant to *Lucinus* when hee invaded the campe of the Lucanes. And men verily beleived so much, because in the verie middle and heat of skirmish, there was one scene of a huge and terrible bignesse, all armed, carrying ladders: and the next day, when a review was taken of the armie, such an one could not be found, though he were with a speciall care searched for: whereas, if he had bin a souldior, he would willingly of his own accord have shewed himselfe, knowing as he did what a memorable act he had done: But as it was altogether unknowne then, what was he that performed so brave a deed: so now they that did most valiantly shew themselves, and were scene above the rest, rewarded with obsidionall coronets, and praised in open place before the whole armie assembled, according to the custome of our ancients.

CHAP. VIII.

The citie thus forcibly won, is wasted with fire and sword. A dumbe boy and a tumbler or player of feass faller in the pillage to Iulianus his share: the singular cominence of the said Emperour. The hunting of the Romans; their coming to Seleucia. And then was Nabdates captain or governor of Maior amalcha executed accordingly.



T length, the citie laid thus naked, and by reason of many breaches and wayes made into it, readie to fall, was forcibly entered into, and without regard either of sex or age, whatsoever violence found, the power of angrie souldiers made havocke of, and put to the sword. Others, for feare of imminent destruction, seeing fire threatning of one side, and drawne swords presented on another, weeping their last, flung themselves downe from the walls with their heads forward, and so being disabled in all their limmes disjoynted, led for the time a life more wofull and miserable than death it selfe, whiles they were killed by little and little. Now, there was fetched forth alive, *Nabdates* capitaine of the garrison, with fourescore of his guard about him, whom the gracious and mercifull Emperour, when he was brought before him with others, commaunded to bee kept unhurt and untouched. When the sackage therefore was divided and dealt, with consideration of everie mans desert and paines taken, himselfe (as hee was one that stood content with a little) tooke for his share a dumbe boy, brought unto him, one of these tumbler and dauncers kind, who also could expresse by most lovely and daintie jestures, what he had skill of, and valued at three peeces of gold, him (I say) he tooke for a pleasant and acceptable reward (as he esteemed it) of victorie obtained. But of the virgines that were taken prisoners, and beautifull with all (as in Persia where the women be passing faire) he would neither touch nor see one: Following herin the example of *Alexander* and *Africanus*, who declined these temptations, for feare they might be overcome of lust, who everie where shewed themselves of labour and travaile invincible. In the time of these conflicts the Architect and master Carpenter of our side, whose name cometh not to my remembrance, as he chanced to stand behind the engine of a Scorpion, by the reverberation or recoyling backe of a stone, which the engineer had bestowed loose and tottering in the sling socket, was stricken downe therewith on his backe, and his breast so quized,

zed, that presently he lost his life withall: and the knitting of his joynts was so disjoyined and torne in sunder, as that the tokens verily of his whole bodie could not be knowne. As the Emperour went forward on his journey from thence, there was one enformed him for certaine, That about the wals of the towne thus subverted, there was a companie lay close in ambush within certaine deceitfull and blind caves, (such as there be many in those tracts: to the end, that from thence at unawares, they might set upon the backe part of our armie, and have the killing of the hindmost. And straight wayes for the fetching them out of their holes, were sent footmen of approved valour. Who, when they could neither make entrance into the said caves, nor drive them forth that were bestowed within, to fight, gathered a deale of stubble, straw, and vine cuttings, which they laid upon heapes at the very mouth of the holes. Whereupon, the smoke being gotten into the narrow & strait passages within, & by that means the thicker, stopped the vital breath of some and killed them: others, the hot breath of the fire mingled therewith met withall, and forced to come forth upon their owne present death. And so, when they were all dispatched out of the way, what with fire, and what with sword, the souldiers quickly returned backe to their colours. Thus a large and populous citie rased by the prowesse of Roman forces, fell to dust and utter ruine. After which so glorious exploits, when we had passed over divers bridges joyning one to another by reason of the concourse of many rivers, we came unto two forts, built with hollow and vaulted houses: where the kings sonne advauncing forward from Ctesiphon, with many nobles, and a multitude in armes, went about to debarre *Nisus* the Comes, as he went before the armie, from passage over the river: but hee having once spied the companies of our souldiers following, he went his way. And so we marched on untill we came to certaine groves, and fields all fresh and Greene with the blade of young corne there sown: where also we found an house of the kings, built after the Roman fashion; and for that it pleased us well, it stood untouched. For, there was in this verie quarter a large peece of ground lying round, and enclosed all about with a mound, like the fenced circuit of some hold, containing within it wild beasts appoynted for the kings game and delight, to wit, Lyons with shagge-maned neckes; wild Boars with bristly shoulders, and Beares likewise (for such they be in Persia) beyond all measure savage and raging, beside other beasts chosen for the nonce with mightie maine bodies: all which, after wee had broken the boulds and barres of the gates, our horsemen with their hunting lances, and a number of shot and casting weapons, sticked and slue. These places are seated in a fat soyle, and well husbanded, not farre from which standeth Coche, which they call *Seleucia: where the prince after he had cast a trench and rampier about his campe in tumultuarie hast, and for two dayes space refreshed the whole armie by the opportunitie they found of water and food, marched before with the avant-curiers, and as hee viewed the citie forsaken and left desolat (as which in times past had been destroyed and rased by *Venus Caesar* of sacred memorie) wherein also an ever running fountaine sendeth forth a mightie great poole, running downe into the river Tigris, he beheld hanging upon gibbets many bodies of his neere friends and kinsfolke, who (as I said before) betrayed the citie *Pyrisabara*. Here was *Nabonides* also burnt quicke, who (as I shewed erewhile) was with fourescore besides drawne out of the lurking holes of the citie lately forced. For why, having at the beginning of the siege secretly promised to surrender the citie, he fought notwithstanding

Bachad, Nigr.

standing most stoutly: and yet when beyond all hope hee had obtained pardon, brake out to that height of infolencie, that he reviled *Ormisda*, and gave him all the opprobrious termes that could be.

CHAP. IX.

Iulianus upon the intercepting of certaine Roman forragers, and avoyding of a great danger, passeth amidst strong fenced pyle, which he winneth and burneth, after hee had thrust certaine horsemen to the service on foot, who cowardly recovered the brims of certaine Persian Brigands: And then by joyning of bridges together, the armie passeth over Tigris.



Hus after we had marched a prettie way further, stricken we were into our dumps with a crosse and adverse accident. For whiles three bands of our out-riders skirmished lightly with a regiment or companie of Persians, which the citie by setting open the gates, had suddainely put out, others that brake forth from the contrarie banke of the river, intercept and kill the horses and beasts that followed us together, with some few forragers that straggled loosely at their pleasure. Whereat the Emperour being wroth, and for anger gnashing his teeth, tooke his journey forward, and approaching now the territorie about Ctesiphon, he met with an high castle and passing well fortified, to the view whereof he adventured to goe neere, being unknowne and unseene, as himselfe thought, and with a few in his companie rode about the walls: but when hee was found once to engage himselfe over-farre, even within the reach of dart-shot, he could no longer be unknowne: and presently, being coursed and assailed with a voley and cloud, as it were, of sundrie casting-weapons, slaine he had beene with an engine from the walls, but that after his Esquire or armour-bearer that stucke close to his side was wounded, himselfe covered with a rouse of shields couched close together, escaped this great danger and departed. For this cause, being mooved much, and in an exceeding chafe, he determined to besiege the said fort, notwithstanding the defendants were hotely bent to resist, for that they presumed upon the place, in manner unaccessable, and because the king in person marching apace with a royall armie, was verily thought would be shortly there: and now, when the Fence-fabrickes and all devices elfe requisite for a siege, were in readinesse, toward the end of the *second watch, when the night happening to be very light with the Moone shine, shewed all things evidently to those that stood upon the bulwarkes, suddainely a multitude gathered together in one plume, opened the gates at once, and sallied forth: and charging a cohort of our horsemen at unawares, slew many of them; among whome a Tribune also chaunced to loose his life, as he went about to repell the danger. While these things are thus in doing, the Persians in like manner as before, from the opposite river banke setting upon a part of our men, killed some, and tooke others alive: and withall, for very feare, because the enemies were thought to have come with a greater number, our souldiers as then bestirred themselves but slowly. But when they had taken heart againe, and were growne more bold, so that in the verie

*neere midnight.

very tumult they hastily aimed, and caught weapons in hand, whereby the armie also was rayled with the sound of trumpets, and made more haſt with muttering in minatorie wiſe, the ſeſaid enemies that brake thus ſooth upon them, were affrighted, and returned before they were fought withall: And the Emperour himſelfe in a great paſſion of anger, thruſt all the reſt of that cohort (who baſely and with faint courage had abidden the brunt of the ſaid Brigands) downe to ſerve as footmen, a place of more paines and of leſſe reputation. After this, in heat of revenge he converted all his diligence and carer to the ſubverſion of that caſtle where he was in ſuch jeopardie, himſelfe in perſon ſtirring nota foot any way from the vanguard, that fighting ſo among the formoſt, he might give the ſouldiors good example to behave themſelves valiantly, as being a beholder and approver of their acts. And after hee had bene a long time much conſervant in the very higheſt extremities of danger, at length, ſuch was the varietie of munitions and weapons, ſuch was the joint reſolution alſo of his fighting men, that the ſame caſtle was woon, ſacked and burnt. And after this, conſidering the dangerous ſervice and occurrences both paſt, and alſo readie to enſue, the armie out-toyled and tyred with exceſſive paines, reſted, and had plentie of many things meet for the ſuſtentation of this life, dealt among them. Howbeit, from thenceforth the rampier and fence of the campe was more ſurely fortified with a palliſado of ſtokes ſtanding thicke, and with deepe trenches, ſeeing that now they feared from Cteſiphon to neere at hand, ſuddaine outrodes and other privie practiſes. Hence we came to the river digged by mans hand, named Naamalcha, which by interpretation is as much as the Kings river, the channell whereof was then drie. This river *Traiane* beforetime, & afterwards *Severus*, had with paſſing great care cauſed to be digged, and the earth to be caſt up in manner of a mightie large gutter or chanell, to the end that by a water-courſe derived thither from Euphrates, ſhipping might paſſe to Tygris. And in all reſpects it was thought the ſafeſt policie to have the ſame place cleaned, which in times paſt the Perſians fearing the like accidents, had ſtopped up with a dam of many big ſtones layed together. And after this Botone was ſkoured, with a mightie deale of water let in upon the plucking away of the ſlucce, the fleet which had bene driven backe for the ſpace of thirtie ſtadia, was caſt with ſecuritie into the chanell of Tygris: and forthwith the armie upon bridges made of ſhips couched together being ſet over, tooke their journey toward Coche. And to the end that convenient reſt might follow upon ſuch wearifome travaile, wee ſat us downe in a rich territorie, moſt pleaſantly garniſhed with Hortyards, Vines, and greene Cypreſſe trees: in the middeſt whereof ſtandeth a ſhadie and delectable retiring place of pleaſure, ſhewing in every rowme of the houſe, after that countrey faſhion, pictures representing the king in many ſorts of hunting, killing Deere and wild beaſts: for there is nothing elſe among them either drawne in picture, or caſt in counterſeit, but ſundrie kinds of ſlaughter, and warres.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

After the ſhips were delivered out of extreame danger, the armies on both ſides were put in ordinance of battaile, whereupon enſued a ſharpe conflict here deſcribed, whereby the Perſians were chaſed as farre as the walls of Cteſiphon, when they had loſt 2500 of their men.

THe Emperour therefore, after ſo good ſpeed in all affaires achieved to his hearts deſire, holding now a more loſtie and ſtately pace againſt all difficulties whatſoever, and grounding ſo great hopes now upon his fortune, which yet was never ſoyled, that oftentimes he did ſet in hand with many adventures which favoured ſtrong of rainneſſe, cauſed the tallieſt veſſels of thoſe that caried victuals and engines to be diſcharged of their freight, and manned them with * 80 armed ſouldiors: and keeping ſtill with himſelfe the better ſtrength of his navie, which he had divided into three parts, the one of them he appointed to be ſent out with *Vitor* the Comes in the beginning of night to the end that having croſſed the river haſtily, he might poſſeſſe himſelfe of the banks on the enemies ground. Which when the captaines, as ſore afraid, joyned altogether by prayer and entreatie to aſſay if they might hinder, and yet could not alter the reſolute purpoſe of the prince, behold all on a ſuddaine five ſhips with flag ſet up aloft, as commandement was given, launched forth, and ſoone went out of fight: and when they approached once the banke, they were ſo aſſailed with firebrands and all kind of ſewell apt to catch fire continually ſlung among them, that they and the ſouldiors within had preſently bene burnt, but that the Emperour ſtarted with a cold ſwawme of feare that quickly came over his heart, and crying with a lowd voice, that our men, as they were commaunded, had erected the ſignall given unto them, and were upon the point to land, cauſed all the Armada to make haſt and row apace after them: whereby both the ſeſaid ſhipps were recovered ſafe and found, and the reſt of the ſouldiors alſo (pelted though they were with ſtones and caſting weapons of divers ſorts from above) after a moſt ſharpe ſkimmiſh gained the paſſing high and difficult bankes, and firmly kept their ſtanding. And now do Hiſtories (or ſooth) make a wonder of *Serſorius*, who keeping about him his weapons and corſelet, ſwam over the river * Rhodanus; when as at this very inſtant certaine ſouldiors much troubled, and fearing to ſtay behind after the marke or ſignall was ſet up, bearing cloſe and faſt with their breſts groveling upon their ſhields, which were broad and bending, welding alſo the ſame, though unſkilfully, made ſhift through that river, ſo full of whirlepis, to make way and keepe ſwift pace in companie with the ſhips. Againſt theſe forces the Perſians oppoſed the troupes embattailed of their horſemen, armed at all peeces, and thoſe ranged ſo thicke and cloſe together, that their bodies which way ſoever they turned ſited with plates, dazzeled with the brightneſſe thereof all that looked full againſt them, whoſe horſes alſo (whereof they had a number) were defended all over with leather, armour, and furniture: behind whome, the companies of footmen placed in ſupplie, and fenced with long and crooked ſhields, which they carie before them made of platted oyers and raw leather, advanced forward in thicke ranks. After theſe, the Elephants

* *O Rhodanus* This place, no doubt, is corrupt: read therefore, *O Rhodanus* that is, Rhod or else expellid: *all Rhodanus* diſtributis velis, i. 80 apiece.

* Rhodanus.

Elephants making a shew like so many hies marching together, and mooving their monstrous bodies, threatened death to those that came neere unto them, as which, by prooffe and experiment made in former times, were very dreadfull. Hereupon the Emperour appointed the middle ward betwene the two * battailes for the strong bands of footmen, according to the ordinance of embattailing that *Homer* describeth; least if they being placed afront in the vaward, and happening to recule, should shamefully turne all the rest backe with them: or againe, if they were cast behind all in the rereward, might have more libertie to run away, whiles none were to stay them; and himselfe with the light armed auxiliaries traversed to and fro betwene the foremost and hindmost. When as then the Romanes saw on the one side and the other the armies in battaile-ray neere adjoyning, they glittering in their crested helmets, and shaking their shields, advanced gently forward, as if they footed the measures of the metricall foot * *Anapæstus*, and with the launching of sharpe-headed darts & other casting-weapons, wherewith the skirmishers running forth, gave the first essay of battaile, the dust was raised on every side, and caried with the swift whirling of the wind. Now, when there was a shout and ourcrie made on every hand, as the usuall manner is, and the trumpets founding battaile, gave an edge to the courage of the souldiors, they joynd the medley with javelins and drawne swords on both parts, and fought close and neere at hand: and verily our souldiors, the more haft they made to get within, the better were they secured from the danger of arrow-shot. Meane while *Iulianus* doing the part, as it were, of a common souldior and commaunder both, made haft to uphold those that were fore layed at with flesh supplies, yea, and to stirre up and incite such as made flow haft. The vanguard therefore of the Persians brake their array, and giving backe with a gentle and soft pace, in their hote armour went toward the citie that was hard by: after whom followed our souldiors, wearied likewise in fighting from the morning betimes to the evening in the scorching hot fields, and preassing hard upon their hind-parts and neckes, drave them all headlong, together with *Tigranes*, *Surenas*, and *Narse*, the principall chieftaines, as farre as to the wals of Ctesiphon, laying upon the hams of their legs and on their backs as they ran before them. And intermingled in the very companies of them that thus slipped away and fled, they had broken through within the entrie of the citie, but that *Marquesse Victor* with lifting up as well his hands as voice, forbad them, being himselfe slightly shot into the arme with an arrow, and fearing least these hattie souldiors, found inconsiderately within the circuit of the wall, and not meeting with any way out again, might be enclosed with maine multitudes. Let the old Poets found out the battails that *Hector* fought, and extoll withall the fortitude of that Thessalian captaine *Achilles*: Let the posteritie long time after, talke of *Sophanes*, *Aminias*, *Callimachus*, and * *Cynegirus*, those famous thunderbolts that shooke the Medes warre in Greece; evident it is by all mens confession, that some of our men behaved themselves as valiantly that day as ever those did.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Iulianus preparing a number of sacrifices unto Mars, was terrified with an ominous signe. Leaving therefore the siege of Ctesiphon, he forsooketh and wasteth the countreies round about: and not well advised, setteth on fire and consumeth all his ships, save only twelve of a lesser sort.



After the feare was past, and the enemies bodies troden, on heaps as they lay, underfoot, the souldiors, embured as they were with the bloud that they had justly shed, being assembled before the Emperours pavilion, gave him his due prayse and rendred hartie thanks, for that unknowne in everie place, whether he were a leader or a souldior, hee had achieved then so fortunat a victory, as that with the killing of two thousand and five hundred Persians more or lesse, there were but threescore and ten of our men lost their lives: who also for his part, calling most of them by their names, whom himselfe as an eie witnesse and judge saw to have performed with resolute heart any brave service, rewarded them with Naval, * Civik, and Campe-Coronets. And being now fully persuaded, that the like prosperous successes would shortly hereafter follow, hee made preparation of many sacrifices to *Mars* the Revenger: and whereas ten most beautifull bulls were to this purpose brought in place, nine of them, before they were presented to the altars, of themselves fell downe dead in most heavie and fearful manner; and the tenth, who brake his bonds and got away, was hardly brought backe againe, and being slaine, shewed ominous signes of ill lucke. At the sight whereof *Iulianus* falling into a grievous fit of indignation, cryed out, and swore by *Jupiter*, That he would now offer no more sacrifice unto *Mars*, neither did hee ever sacrifice againe, as being surprisid soone after by speedie death. And so, after hee had debated in counsell with the principall captaines and officers of the armie, as touching the besieging of Ctesiphon, concluded it was according to the advice and mind of some, who knew it was an adventurous and unreasonable peece of service to take that enterprize in hand; for that both the citie by the verie situation thereof inexpugnable, was defended, and also thought verily it was, that the king would be there out of hand with a dreadfull power: So the better opinion tooke place, the utilitie whereof, when he a most prudent prince had approved, hee sent *Arimheus* with a power of light appointed footmen to forray and spoyle the countreies lying round about, which were rich in cattell and corne, who with like industrie was to pursue the enemies also, that being lately put to rout and dispersed, lay hidden in thicke over-growne wayes and holes, wherewith they were so well acquainted. But * hee againe of a greedie humor at all times to bee encroaching and gaining more, little weighing their words that willed the contrarie, and rebuking the chiefe leaders and officers, because for sloth and desire of ease, they gave counsell to forgo the kingdomes of Persia which were in maner already conquered, leaving the river on his left hand, by the direction of unluckie guides that led the way, determined with speedie pace to take the * *Mediterranean* wayes, and, as it were, with the deadly and cursed firebrand of Bellona, commaunded fire to be put under the ships, and to burne them all, save twelve of the lesse sort, which he gave order to be caried in carts, as meet for the joyning of bridges. And hee thought herein, that he had taken a profitable course, for feare (forsooth) that a navie being left be-

hind, should serve the enemies in good stead, or at least wise, that twentie thousand welneere of fighting men (as from the verie beginning of the expedition they had done) should be employed in haling, rowing, and governing the said ships. After this, when everie man fearing in his owne behalfe, secretly mumbled, and the plain truth evidently spake, that if haply the souldiers were put back by reason of drouth or high hills, they could not returne unto the waters: when also the fugitives openly confessed upon the rack, that he had erred and done amisse, in a great hurly burly commaundement was given, That the flaming fires should bee quenched. And for as much as the fire caught so mightie an head, as that it had consumed the most part of them alreadie, twelve ships onely could be saved without hurt, which were let apart, that they might be kept still.

CHAP. XII.

The Persians having burnt the growne grasse and standing corne, drive the Romans destitute of shipping, and distressed with the distemperature of weather and seyle, both into many straits, yea and forceth them to alter their journey.

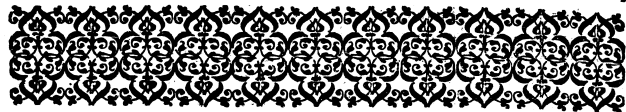
BY this chauce the fleet being lost, at such a time when it behaved not, Iulianus trusting in his united armie, now that none of the armed souldiers were employed in divers places and affaires, and standing upon his great numbers, marched (I say) to the inland parts, having the wealthy countries yielding plentie of victuals unto him: which beeing knowne, the enemies to pinch us with hunger, set on fire the grasse on the ground, and the standing corne full growne: and by reason that with this generall fire, we were stopped of our passage forward, we trusted upon our standing campe, untill the flames began to flake. And the Persians a great way off, insulting over us with their bravadoes, one while for the nonce displayed their forces all abroad, otherwhile made head more thicke and close together: that it might be thought of those that looked farre off, the kings aids were alreadie come, and that we should thinke they brake out therefore to such audacious outrodes and unwonted attempts. But all this while the Emperours souldiers both sorrowed hereat, for that they neither had meanes to frame bridges, having so rashly lost their ships, nor could encounter the forces of strange enemies, new come in, who were alreadie in place, as it appeared by the glittering brightnesse of their armor, artificially wrought to bend with everie limme. And to helpe the matter well, there happened another no small infortune, namely, that the succors which we waited for to come with *Arfaces*, and our owne captaines, seemed for the causes aforesaid letted and stayd. In regard of these occurrents, the Prince to comfort the distressed & disquieted souldiers, commanded the prisoners, tanke & slender of themselves (as all the Persians in maner be) and by this time also growne carrion leane, to be brought forth before them; and casting his eye againe upon our men, *Le* (quoth he) *who they are that these marshall hearts repaire men even deformed, foule, and stinking goats: and as many events by experience have taught us, readie to sling their weapons from them, and to run away before they come to joyne battaile.* Which said, and the captives voyde, they sat in counsell about the maine businesse in hand: and after much arguing *pro & contra*, when the unskilfull multitude said with open mouth, *We must returne the same way we came,* the Prince earnestly gainesaid that opinion, and many together with him shewed by plaine

plaine demonstration, That it could not be, considering that throughout the spacious and open plaines both forage and corne was consumed, and the remains of townes and villages late burnt, were in extreame want and povertie: because also, that all the ground was befobbed and drenched with the mid-Winter frosts that now thawed, and the waters being up and swolne, had carried away the bounds of their banks, and were become verie rough: for that also, to encrease the difficultie of this affaire, in those countries which grew hot by the sultrie heat of the Sunne, all places be haunted with a multitude of flies and gnats, which as they flie shadow both the day-light, and the bodies of starres that shine by night: when as now the wit of man could not prevaile to meet with these mischiefs, after long wavering to and fro, and standing in doubtfull tearmes what to do, we reared altars, killed beasts for sacrifice, and consulted with the gods, to know their will, whether we should turne by the way of Assyria, or marching softly beside the foot of the mountaines, sodainly over-run and wast Chilicomus, scituate neere unto Corduena: but neither of these two wayes was by inspection of the beast bowels warranted unto us. Howbeit, we resolved upon this in the end, That seeing all hope of better was cut off and gone, we should take the way of Corduena. And so upon the sixteenth *day before the Kalends of Iuly, when our ensignes were set forward, and the day-light now begun wel entered, there appeared a smoke, or a certaine round and sharp topped cloud of dust, occasions, as a man might thinke, by herds of wild Asses, whereof in those tracts there are infinir numbers, going all together for this purpose, that by so thicke a troupe of them thrust together, they might be able to check and frustrat the fierce assaults of Lyons: Some were of opinion, That the captains of Sacena were coming, raised alreadie by our rumors spred, That the Emperour would with maine force assault Ctesiphon: others affirmed, That the Persians were up in armes, readie to stirre new troubles. And therefore, considering how doubtfull the case stood, for feare least some disastrous accident should light upon us, by sound of trumpet our battalions in their march were called backe, and so in a faire greene vale full of grasse, neere unto a river side, having pitched our tents round in the forme of a circle, with a manifold rank and course of shields to protect us, we rested with more safetie. For, by reason that the ayre continued thicke and mistie until evening, we could not discern what it was that seemed so foule and ill favoured.

*16. day of Iune.

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THE



THE XXV. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The Romane armie encountreth and joineth in fight by many a skirmish with the Persian host. The armour of the Persian men at armes on bard horses. The terrible shew of Elephants. A battaile fought with a mightie overthrow and slaughter of the Persians.



And this night verily, wherein no bright starres shone to give light (as commonly it falleth out in doubtfull cases and distresses) we passed so, as not one of us durst either sit downe or sleepe one winke for very feare. But so soone as it was faire daylight, the glittering habergeons trimmed all about with white guards, the bright cures made of yron plates, discovered a faire off, shewed the kings power to beat hand. At the sight whereof, when the souldiors enkindled with courage, made hast to encounter them, by reason of a little river that severed them asunder, the Emperour forbad them: and not farre from the very rampier there was a cruell fight betwene our fore-riders and those of the Persians, wherein *Machameus*, a leader of one regiment of ours, was slaine; in whose quarrell and defence his brother *Maurus*, Marquesse afterward of Phænice, killed him who wounded his brother to death, terrifying every one that came in his way; him selfe also fore hurt in the shoulder with a dart, was yet able with maine force to rescue and draw forth of the battaile *Machameus*, looking wan and pale at the point of death. And when on both sides they waxed faint with intollerable heat of the weather, and so many conflicts that they had sustained, in the end the troupes of the enemies were with a foule repulse broken and scattered. As we retrayed somewhat farre from hence, the Saracenes for feare of our footmen constrained to returne backe, within a while after, intermingled with a multitude of the Persians, suddainly charged, with a full mind to carrie away the Romane carriages: but so soone as they espied the Emperour, they returned to the wings that lay in supplie. After wee were gone out of this region, we came to a village named *Hucumbra*; where for two dayes space being refreshed beside our hope with all things meet for our use, and having gotten corne ynough, we departed: and presently all the rest, save only that which the time would give us leave to convey away, was consumed with fire. The next day after, as our armie marched easily forward, the Persians having at unwarres set upon those that were hindmost, who by chaunce that day had the charge of the

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rereward, had with little adoe killed them every one, but that our Cavallerie that was neere at hand having intelligence hereof, being spred over the open and wide valeyes, repelled this great danger, by wounding those that thus surprised them. In this skirmish was slaine *Adaces*, a noble peerce of the kingdome, who had bene sometime sent in embassage to the Emperour *Constantine*, and courteously entertained; the killer of whom offering unto *Julianus* his spoyle, was rewarded, as it well becomed. The same day a corner of the *Terciari* horsemen was much blamed and accused by the legions, for that when these brake into the enemies battaile, raunged full against them, they by little and little slipping away, had like to have discouraged the whole armie. Whereupon the Emperour growing to indignation, as good reason he had, tooke from them their guidons, brake their lances, and as many of them as were by just pfoofe knowne to have fled, he enjoyed to march among the carriages, packes, trusses, and captives: but their leader, who onely had fought manfully, was made capitaine over another troupe, whole Tribune was convicted to have shamefully forsaken the field and fled. Moreover, there were cased also and discharged of their militarie oath other Tribunes of certaine companies of horsemen, for the like foule and cowardly part: For, with this mild and moderate allay and temper of correction, considering the difficulties and dangers toward, was the Emperour contented. When as therefore they had journeyed forward *seventie* ^b *stadia*, by occasion that there grew scarcitie of all things, for that both grasse and corne was burnt, every man was faine to catch out of the very flaming fire, and keepe for him selfe what corne and forage hee was able to carrie. Leaving therefore this place also behind them, when the whole armie was come to a certaine tract named *Maranga*, in the twilight, somewhat before day, there appeared an infinite number of Persians, together with *Aeranes* Generall of the horsemen, two of the kings sonnes, and many potentates and lords of the cuntry. Now were all their bands and regiments harnised in armor of yron, having every part of their bodie covered so close and thick with plates, that the stiffe joints thereof were meet for the knitting of their lims: and vizards of mens faces were so curiously fitted to their heads, that whereas their bodies all over were plated, the shor lighting upon them, could there onely take hold and sticke, where were little holes full against the eyes to admit a small light, or whereat the very tips of their noses the narrow passages served for their wind and breath: of these, some readie to serve with pikes, stood firme & kept their ground so, as a man would have thought they had bin fixed fast, and held with chaines and ropes of brasle: hard by them were marshalled the archers, in which feat the whole nation from their very cradle hath bin passing confident of their skill, and mightie in the practise thereof: and these drew their bent bowes with their armes so wide asunder, that the strings came close to their right breast heads, and the arrow heads lay just upon their left hands, and with exceeding skill in the stroke of their fingers, the *stasis* flew out with a whistling and singing sound, carrying with them mischievous and deadly wounds. After them were placed the Elephants, the terrible sight of which beasts all glittering together, with their grim and cruell yawning of their mouthes, fearefull minded men could hardly endure: upon whom fat their masters, carrying fast tied unto their right armes knives with hatts, as bearing in remembrance still the defeature and losse they received at *Nisibis*: and if the unruly beast could not be restrained by the strength of his master, for feare lest

ture-

turning backe upon their owne men (as it fell out then) hee might overthrow the common fouldiors, with a mightie stroke they made a gash into that turning joint that parteth the head and necke asunder. For the experiment was once made by *Asdruball* the brother of *Anniball*, that this was the readie way to dispatch such beasts, and bereave them of their life. Which being seene not without great terror, the most confident and resolute Emperour, guarded round about with armed Cohors, and the principall captaines, according as this extraordinarie puiffance and cruell forces required, arraunged those bands which were to affront and encounter the enemy, in forme of a *Crescent, with bowing and winding sides. And least Archers running forth might disray the ranks and companies of our men, he advanced forward the banners more speedily, and thereby brake the violent force of their shot: and after the usuall manner, after he had given the signall of battaile, the Romane footmen standing thicke together, with preassing hard, thrust backe the thronged fronts of the enemies vaward: and as the medley grew hote, such a sound there was of shields, such a clattering noyse also, as well of the men themselves as their weapons, making a dolefull din, as among whome there was now no hoe nor stay at all of their hands, that all the fields were covered over with bloud and flaine bodies lying along: But the Persians were they that fell faster to the ground: who being oftentimes faint in conflict, found a great hindrance and inconvenience in this close fight foot to foot, as wonted otherwise to beare themselves valiantly as farre off; and if they perceive at any time their battalions to give ground and recule, by retrying toward the backe of them, in manner of showers and stormes to shoot their arrowes straight, and so to fight their enemies from any bold and confident pursuit. The Parthians therefore being driven backe and borne downe by maine force, our fouldiors out-toyled a long time, and sweltered with the flaming heat of the Sun, after the found given of retreat, returne againe to their tents, emboldened by this good hand, thenceforth to attempt greater exploits. In this battaile it was evident (as I sayd before) that the slaughter of the Persians was very great, and of our men as small. But among the variable chaunces that fell out in these conflicts, remarkable above the rest was the death of *Veterania*, a brave warrior, who commaunded the legion of the *Zianni.

CHAP. II.

The Romane armie afflicted with famine. The frugalitie of Iulian. His owne Genius and a Starre appeareth in menacing manner unto him.

After this, during the truce appointed for three daies, whiles every man was busied in curing his owne wounds or his fellowes, destitute were we of victuals, and pinched with hunger, by this time intollerable. And for as much as by the burning as well of forage as come, men and horses both were driven to extremities; out of that provision of food which the beasts of the Tribunes and *Comites carried, a great part was dealt among the meanest common fouldiors who were in extreame want. And verily the Emperour, for whom there were provided no daintie cates as kings use to have, but for his light supper, which hee was to take under the little pillars of a tent, or hole, a small pittance of thicke* gruell (which a very common and *base drudging fouldior would dis-

daine

daine to eat) looke whatsoever was made readie for his service, carelesse of himselfe, distributed and sent it away among the poore and needie fouldiors. And himselfe being drawne for a litle while to take a pensive repose betwene sleeping and waking, when being quite broken (an usuall matter with him) of his sleep, in imitation of *Iulius Caesar*, who was wont to write somewhat whiles he lay in campe, he passed the dead time of the night musing and meditating upon the sentences of a certaine Philosopher, he saw (as himselfe confessed to his inmost friends) in very simple and poore plight the resemblance of that publicke Genius, which when he was mounting to the imperiall diademe he beheld in Gaule, and the same in sad and heavey wise, with Cornu Copia covered over, departing by the tapistrie hangings of his pavilion. And albeit for the present he was amazed and stricken therewithalstornied, yet as one not stooping at all to any feare, he committed the future events unto the will and decree of god in heaven: and forsaking his couch or pallet that lay upon the very ground (as being risen when it was now midnight) in making supplication and prayer unto the gods by the meanes of certaine depulsoe sacrifices, he thought that he saw a very light burning flame, like as if it fell, to shoot along in the ayre, and to vanish quite out of sight: and hereupon he trembled all over and quaked for feare, least it had been the planet *Mars* that appeared so evidently menacing. Now this fierie bright *impression, which we tearme *Stainoyra*, did neyther fall at any time, nor touch the ground: For he that thinketh celestiall bodies can fall, is justly deemed a prophane and foolish person. Now this Meteor or apparition above commeth many wayes, of which it shall suffice to shew a few. Some thinke they be spaike set afire, and glowing by the vigorous heat of the skie; but not able to goe farre, doe goe out: or at leastwise, that certaine flaming raies hitting against thicke clouds, by a quicke touch doe sparkle: or else when some light meeteth close and joyneth with a cloud: For that being shaped like a starre, runneth a course verily, so long as it is held up with the strength of fire; but the bodie thereof being in so long a way and spacious passage emptied and spent, turneth into an exhalation, going to that substance, by the forcible rubbing and fretting whereof, it caught heat. Streightwaies therefore, ere the day began, were the Tuscan wizards and Soothsayers sent for, and being asked their judgement, What strange accident this kind or apparition of a starre portended? answered, That most wisely hee must beware and forbear to attempt any thing at that time; shewing out of *Tarquinus* his bookes, how in the title *De rebus Divinis*, this Aphorisme was set downe, *That if such a fire-light were seene in the skie, there ought no battaile be fought, nor any such matter attempted.* Now, when as he despised this warning also, as he had done many other, the Soothsayers besought him, That he would yet put off his journey, if it were but some few houres; but they could not obtaine so much as this; so crosse was the Emperour, and readie to withstand all the skill of divination and prophesie: but so soone as it was full day light he dislodged and removed his campe forward.

CHAP.

* or half moone.

* or Meteor.

* or Souldiours, or captaines.

* grubbe, or such like meanes as on battie building &c. *Vetum munusculum fidei* *grugaria*.

CHAP. III.

The next day Julianus raised and stirred with the foile and overthrow of his owne men, whiles forgetting his Brigandine, and catching up his shield he hasteneth to the battaile, chaunced by a horsemans blaffe or speare to be run into the ribs; but whiles he astraich to pluckeforth the head, hee fell from his horse, and out of the battaile, which was to both parts lamentable, was brought backe into the campe.



Sooner were we departed hence, but the Persians, who greatly feared the speedie fight of footmen, as having bene oftentimes beaten therewith, laid their ambushes, and closely accompanied us, avoyding our battalions on either side, and lying in espiall to view our march from the tops of the high hills, so, that our men suspecting so much, all the live-long day might neither cast up a rampier, nor fortifie themselves with a pallaisadoc. Thus verily whiles we firmly guard our sides, and the armie according to the site and position of the ground, marcheth in six square battalions displayed at large with thin ranks, word was brought unto the prince, being as yet unarmed, and gone forth forward to discover the quarters before, That sodainly those who behind were gathering up their armour and weapons together, had a charge given them at their backs. At which accident he was much troubled, and catching up hastily in this tumult his shield, but forgetting his corslet, and making haft to helpe those in the reeward, was called backe againe with another new alarme, whereby advertised he was, that the avant-guard also, from whence he was lately departed, felt the like distresse. Which, whiles without any regard at all of his owne perill, hee hasteneth to recover and set upright in order againe: from another part a companie of Parthyans in couplet harneis setteth upon the centuries in the *mids, and spreading themselves fiercely all over the left wing, which began already to shrinke (whiles our men could not with patience abide the strong strength and braying noyse of the Elephants) fought with pikes and casting weapons, which they discharged thicke. But as the Prince setting spurs to his horse, rode with full carrier among the most dangerous skirmishes, out went our light armed companies, and charging them behind, layd at the houx and backe parts as well of the beasts as the Persians themselves, and all to cut and hacked them. Whom, when *Julianus* (forgetting to look to himselfe) by lifting up his hands aloft, and crying alowd, made evident demonstration to be dismayed, and fearefully scattered, and withall stirring up the anger of those that followed in chase, engaged himselfe boldly farre into the battaile. *The Gallants his followers, whom feare had diperckled, cryed out unto him on both sides, That he should decline the huge multitude of those that fled, no lesse than the fall of some ill framed and disjoynted loover of an high building: and therewith all on a sodaine an horsemans javelin, whence it came God he knoweth, having slightly rippled the skinn of his [left] arme, pierced within his short ribs, and stucke fast in the neather lappet or fillet of his liver: which whiles he laboureth to plucke forth with his right hand, he perceived, that with the sharpe edge thereof on both sides the finewes of his fingers were cut through: and thus falling forward over his horse head, and conveyed backe into the campe by those that were present, who speedily came running about, by the meanes of Physicke and Chyrurgerie, he

*The maine battaile.

*Cavaliers.

he was dressed and cherished accordingly. And soone after, when the paine was a little assuaged, he gave over to feare, and with a great spirit striving against death, called for his horse and armour, to the end, that by reviving the battaile againe, hee might repaire the confident hope of his owne men, and seeme in a rechelesse neglect of himselfe, wonderfully possessed with a care for the life and preservation of others. Shewing herein the same vigorous courage, though in a case unlike, that *Epaminondas* that renowned captaine did: who being wounded to death at **Manitinea*, and returned out of the battaile, fought carefully for his shield, and when hee saw it neere unto him, died of his wound more joyfully: and he that without feare forwent his life, was afraid to loose his shield. But when *Julianus* his strength was not answerable to his will, and that the flux of bloud fore followed him, hee stood still and stirred not: and hereupon grew he afterward past all hope of life, because by inquirie made, he understood, that the place where hee fell was called *Phrygia*: for he had intelligence given him aforetime by a written answer from the Oracle, that even there he must dye. When the Prince was brought againe into his pavilion, a man would not beleve in what heat the fouldiors enchaufed with anger and griefe hastened to revenge, rapping their shields with their speares, fully bent even to dye for it, if the case so required. And although the dust flew upon their eyes, and the weather growing hot hindered the agilite and bestirring of their limmes, yet as if with the losse of their leader they had bene discharged of their othe, and freed from all militarie discipline, they ran desperatly without any respect or spare of themselves, upon the pike and words points. On the other side, the Persians more courageously shot their arrowes so thicke, that the volley and sight thereof took away the Sunnes light: opposing their Elephants withall, who going but slowly with their big bodies and terrible crests, affrighted both horse and man. The buckling together therefore of men in their armour, the groning of those that fell to the ground, the blowing and snuffing of the horses, and the ringing noyse of weapons, was heard a great way off; so long untill both sides were wearied with wounds load store, and the night now darke parted the fight. Fikie Potentares and great Lords of the Persians, together with the most part of the common fouldior were that day left dead in the field: and in this confused medley *Merena* and *Nobodares*, two principall commanders were slaine. Now let antiquitie in her high and losite words, stand amazed at the twentie battailes which **Marcellus* fought in divers places: Tell they besides, with brave speech, how **Siccus Dentatus* was adorned with a number of militarie crownes: wonder they moreover, at **Sergius*, who, by report, was three and twentie times wounded inundry foughten fields, whose noble and glorious praises *Caeline*, the last of that race, blurred with the blors of everlasting dishonour. Howbeit, there were some heave occurrents that defaced these joyfull events. For, whiles these brave feats were everie where performed after the decease of the Generall, together with the foyle of the right wing of the armie, and the killing of *Anasolius*, for the time master of the offices, *Sallustius* the Praefect was driven headlong into present mischief, and by the meanes of an officer of his, rescued out of danger; and when he had lost *Phosphorius* a counsellor, who then assisted him, the armie chanced to escape by flight: certaine fouldiors also, through many dangers having put themselves for refuge into a fortresse hard by, could not before three dayes after joyne with the armie.

**Manitinea*, or *Mandi*, *Lewel*.

CHAP. III.

The Oracion of Iulianus to those that stood round about him in his pavilion; which being ended, he distributed his privas house goods among his neereſt favourites: And then diſcourſing exactly as touching the ſublimitie of mens ſoules, having drunk a draught of cold water, he departed this life in the three and thirtieth yeare of his age.

IN this meane while Iulianus lying in his tent, ſpake unto thoſe that ſtood about him, all caſt done and heaue, after this wiſe: *The time is now come* (quoth he) *my friends and companions, and the ſameright ſeaſonable, for me ſo depart this life, which (as a debtor of truſt) ſo render unto nature, calling for it againe, I reioyce with all my heart: Neither do I grieve and ſorrow therefore, how much happier the ſoule is than the bodie: And conſidering beſide, that ſo often as the better ſtate and condition is ſeuered from the worſe, wee are ſo ioy rather than to grieve: obſerving thus much alſo, That even the gods in heaven have unto ſome moſt godly and devout perſons given death as the chiefe and beſt reward. And that this office is layd upon me, I know paſſing well, namely, neither ſo yeeld unto painefull perils, nor deſperately at any time to overthrow and caſt my ſelfe away: as having by experience found, that all dolorous griefs as they inſult and triumph over baſe coward, ſo they give way unto thoſe that conſtantly perſiſt. Neither repents I of my deeds paſt, nor wounded am I with the remembrance of any ſoule and hainous act committed, either when I was a ſcholler and ſtudent within doores and privas corners, or after I had emred upon the government of the Empire, deſcending upon me, as it were, from the kindred of heavenly wights: but have, as I ſuppoſe, preſerved my ſelfe unſtained, both in manning civile affaires with moderation, and alſo in raiſing and repelling warres upon adviſed and conſiderat reaſons: Albeit proſperous iſſues, and good conſultations do not alwayes and in everie place concur together, becauſe the ſuperiour powers in heaven, challenge unto themſelves the events and ſucceſſe of all enterpriſes and deſignes. And conſidering thus with my ſelfe, That the end of a lawfull and righteous government, is the profit and welfare of obedient ſubiects, I have beene evermore, as ye know, inclined to peace and quietneſſe, baniſhing from mine acts and proceedings, all licentious libertie, the corruptrice of States and manners both: Right iuſtly alſo, and wiſely much more, have I ſtood firmly grounded and reſolute, whereſoever the Commonweale as an imperious mother hath expoſed me to apparent and evident dangers, as one uſed to contemne the whirling ſtormes of all casualties. Neither will I be aſhamed to confeſſe, That long ſince I underſtood by the foretelling of a true and unfallible Oracle, that I ſhould die by the violent force of a weapon. And in this regard I worſhip the everliving God, that I depart this world, not by way of any privie traines of treaſon, nor by reaſon of long and grievous ſickeſſe, nor nor by the ordinarie end of detrac folke; but in the mid-cure of flouriſhing and glorious acts, I have deſerved this honourable deceaſe. For, if a man indge equally, Both he that deſireth to dye when he ought nor, and hee that reſuſeth to dye when it is beſeeverfull, are fearefull and cowards alike. Thus much it may ſuffice, that I have ſpoken conſidering my vigour and ſtrength becommeth to ſayle. And now as touching the creation of another Emperour, I doe of purpoſe warily hold my peace, leaſt by ignorance I ſhould unawares paſſe by a worthy perſon, or if I name one whom I deeme juſticiant, and another haply be preferred before him, I ſhould thruſt him into daunger in the higheſt degree: But as a doubtfull child, and proſperable member of the Commonwealth, with there*

may

may be found a good Ruler after me. Theſe words mildly delivered, diſtributing (as it were) by his laſt will, among his inward favourites, his houſhold goods, he asked for *Anatolius*, Maſter of the offices: and when *Salluſtius* the Prefect answered, *That he was bleſſed and happie*, he knew thereby he was ſlaine: and bitterly bewailed hee the caſe of his friend, who with an high ſpirit before contemned his owne. And as they all that were preſent hereat wept bitterly, he carrying ſtill an authoritie and maieſtie with him undaunted, rebuked them; ſaying, It was a baſe and abject part to bewaile a Prince arraigned among the ſtars in heaven. Now when hereupon they kept ſilence, he together with *Maximus* and *Priscus*, two Philoſophers, diſputing profoundly, as touching the **ſublimitie* of the ſoule, by occaſion that the wound he had in his hurt ſide opened verie wide, and the tumor of his veines and arteries ſtopped his ſpirits, as alſo with drinking a draught of cold water which he craved at the verie cold time of midnight, he was thereby now eaſily diſpatched of his life in the **two* and *^bthirtieth* yeare of his age.

*or immortalitie.

*alive at triuſſing

CHAP. V.

The vertues of Iulianus are at large by Ammianus Marcellinus deſcribed.



BORNE he was at Conſtantinople, left a deſtitute orphan from his verie childhood, by the death of his father *Conſtantine*, who after the death of his brother *Conſtantine*, whom hee was to ſucceed in the Empire, happened among many others to be killed by the *multitude*, and his mothers name was *Baſilina*, a Ladie of noble deſcent from her verie auncestors: a man, I aſſure you, to be put in the ranke of heroicke Princes, as well for his famous and brave achievements, as alſo for a naturall maieſtie that he bare, glorious & remarkable. For where-as there be, as the learned do define, theſe foure principall vertues, Temperance, Prudence, Juſtice, and Fortitude, and others from without forth appendant unto them, to wit, Militarie knowledge, **Authoritie*, Felicitie, and Liberalitie; with earneſt affection he ſtudied and embraced them all, as if they had beene but one. And firſt of all, for unſtained chaſtitie he ſo excelled, that after he had buried his wife, he never meddled with any act of *Venus*; having a good eye to that which wee read in *Plato*, namely, That *Sophocles* a writer of Tragedies, now farre ſtepped in yeres, being asked, Whether as yet he had any dealing with women? answered, No; and ſaid moreover, That he was now glad he had avoyded and eſcaped the love of ſuch things, no leſſe than a certaine raging and cruell maſter. Likewise, more ſtrongly to confirme this purpoſe of his, he revolved and repeated oftentimes this ſentence of the Lyricke Poet *Bacchylides*, whom he tooke delight to read, ſaying, That as an excellent Painter draweth and ſhapeth to the life a beautifull viſage, ſo chaſtitie adorneth a **mind* that mounteth and aimeth at great matters. The deſect and blemiſh of which vertue, in the verie full ſtrength of his youth he ſo warily ewchewed, that he could not be charged, no not by the inward fervors of his privie chamber, ſo much as with the ſuſpition of any luſt and wantonneſſe; a fault incident many times to other. And his temperance in this kind, was much helped and furthered by this exceeding ſpare dyet, and ſhort ſleepe, which he tooke unto, and uſed both at home and abroad. For, in time of peace his ſlender fare at the table, to as many as can judge aright, was admirable; as if he had meant ſhortly to returne a

*or greedily.

*Uſum, For ſo doth Joy, & other, whiles ſignifie in Greeke.

M m ij

gaine

which he shewed himselfe in this one unmercifull, for that he prohibited ^k professors in Rhetoricke and Grammer to teach Christians, for feare ^{*} they should forsake their religion, which was idolatrie. And this also was an intollerable act of his, that he suffered some unjustly to be tied and incorporated to the companies of municipall ^{*} locities even meere strangers, or such as either by vertue of priviledges or birth were farre removed from these fellowshipes. And verily, for feature and shape of bodie, this it was: meane of stature, the haire of his head lying smooth and soft, as if he had kemberd it, wearing his beard, which was shagged and rough, with a sharpe peeke devant; his eyes had an amiable cast, with a quick and shining aspect bewraying pusillanimity, his eyebrows comely, his nose passing streight, his mouth somewhat with the greatest, and his nether lip parted; a fat necke, and bending forward; his ^{*} shoulders big and broad, from the crowne of his head unto the very toe nayle ends carrying a just proportion and uniforme knitting of his lineaments, whereby he was both strong and swift of foot. And for as much as backbiters laid to his charge, That he raised new troubles and warres, to the great damage and hurt of the Commonwealth; let them know, & that by evident instruction of the truth, That it was not *Julianus* but *Constantius* that kindled the Parthian broiles: whiles he gave care over to one to the lyce that *Metrodorus* brought unto him (as erewhile I have at large related) & in a thirstie desire of revenge grew to indignation; as where divers times our militarie bands had bin taken captive, our cities rased to the ground, our forts either rancked or pulled downe, our provinces impoverished by great expences, and where the Parthians (as appeared by their threats tending to effect) sought to have all even from Persia to Bithynia, and the coasts of Propontis. And in Gaule, whiles the warres by a continued traine grew every day more than other, when the Germanes were spread over our provinces, and now that the Alpes were at the point to be broken through for the wasting of Italie, and the people had suffered many and those horrible outrages, there was nothing left but teares and frights: where both the remembrance of calamities past was grievous, and the expectation of those at hand more wofull. All which enormities this young gentleman being sent into the West parts in shew and title of *Cesar*, and courting the kings he there found like base slaves, reformed in manner every one with such celeritie, as is wonderful to be spoken. And therefore to the end he might with like endeavour and diligence repaire the East, he gave the attempt upon the Persians, like no doubt from thence to bring away both a triumph & ^{*} surname, if the heavenly decrees of God above had accorded with his worthe policies and noble acts. And since we know by experience, that some run on stil so unadvisedly, that otherwhiles after they have beene once defeated they returne to new warres, and having suffered shipwracke, goe againe to sea, and betake themselves to undergoe those difficulties, which oftentimes they have shrunke and sunke under: some there be that find fault with this prince, for that winning in all places victorie, still he put himselfe upon the like exploits.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Consulations and variances among the principall captaines and the chiefe officers of the armie as touching the creation of a new Emperour. At length Iovianus is chosen, who was received with different affection by the armie.



Either was there after this any leisure for solemn mourning and weeping. For when the corps was once ordered & prepared according as their present store and the time would give leave, that it might be entered where himselfe before time had appointed, the very next morning early, which fell out to be the ^{*} fifth before the Calends of ^{*} 27 day of Iune, Iuly, even whiles the enemies lay spread on every side, the captaines of the armie calling to them the principall officers of the ^{*} legions and ^{*} troupes, fell to consultation about the creating of a new prince. And for that they were divided into turbulent factions, *Arimineus*, *Victor*, and those that remained of *Constantius* his court, sought for a meet person out of their side: contrawise *Nervus*, *Dagalaiphus*, and the nobles of the Gauls cast about for such an one out of their copanies. But whiles this choice stood in doubtfull tearmes, so that they could not agree, at length in one accord, and with the good will of all they inclined unto *Sallustius*. But as he alledged for his excuse his sicknesse and honorable old age, a certaine souldior marking how stiffely he stood against it, stood up and said: *And what would ye have done my masters, if the Emperour had in his absence, as oftentimes it hath bin scene, committed the charge of that war unto you? Would ye not (quoth he) setting all other busineses apart, deliver the souldiers out of these instant and imminent distresses? Les shab be your deed now, and if we may but have a sight once of Mesopotamia, both the armies will loyne in giving their voices, and declare a lawfull Emperour.* During the small time they had to bring about so important a matter, by the instigation and setting on of some few (as oftentimes it hath happened in the point of extremitie) before their opinions were thoroughly weighed and considered, elected there was for Emperour *Iovianus*, the chiefe of the companie or ranke of the ^{*} Domestici ^{*}, a man in regard of his fathers deserts indifferently commended. For the sonne he was of *Varronianus*, a Comes of right good note; who not long before, after he had laid downe the charge he had of warfare, departed to a more quiet course of life. And incontinently, being clad in princely robes, and suddenly brought forth of his pavilion, he presently rode among the regiments and companies, as they were providing to take their journey. And for as much as the armie set in array reached out in length four miles, those in the vaward hearing some crying out aloud, *Iovianus Augustus*, repeated the same note much more: For being stricken almost amazed with the affinitie or neerenesse of a name, that differed but in one letter, they thought that *Julian* being come againe to himselfe and refreshed, was accompanied with favorable applauses, as he had wont to be. But when *Iovianus* was scene comming toward them, stooping forward and taller than the other, suspecting that which fell out indeed, they fell all to weepe abundantly, and to lament. Now, if some ^{*} severe Censor and precise Iusticer blame this act or election of theirs in this extremitie of the State, lying thus a bleeding, as one would say, and at point of death, as done unwisely, he will more justly find fault with those seamen, who letting a skillfull pilot go by in blustering winds and rough sea, have committed the helme that should steere and direct the shippe, to any companion or partaker, it skilled not who, of their danger.

CHAP.

^{*}the Gentile professors; he transferred a minimum cultus.

^{*}to be Deservous or Christlike, and zealous in their civilities.

^{*}How is it then, that in the 22. booke, the Amichian scoffed at him as one, *sumus, per aerem non arguitur, sed per unum efficitur* the figure Amphiboly, i. tripeake by the contrarie.

^{*}Turbidus.

^{*}footmen and householders.

^{*}i. Pensioners of the guard in ordinat.

^{*}Gravus quidem a quatuor provocatoribus. I suppose here is a manifest Catachresis, no thing thing in this our Anchor.

CHAP. VIII.

The Persians hearing of Iulians death, by a certaine Ensigne-bearer that was a fugitive, set upon the Romans, who after certaine skirmishes, when they had discomfired and driven away the Saracen spoyle-takers, approach the citie Dura.

THese matters thus wrought by a certaine blind judgement of Fortune, the ensigne-bearer of the Ioviani, whom *Varronianus* had conducted; being at variance of late with this new elected Emperour, then a privat person, as who was an intemperat traducer and backbiter of his father, fearing danger toward from an enemy stepped now above the degree of the common sort, revolted to the Persians, and having audience granted unto him to speake what he knew, advertiseth *Sapor*, who now approached, That upon the death of him whom he feared, *Iovianus* no better than a ° Proteſtor, an unskillfull person and an effeminar, was in a tumultuous stir of drudges and campe slaves, taken to beare the name and shadow of an Emperour. When he heard this (which alwayes in his timorous prayers he wished for and desired) being set aloft with this unlooked for prosperitie, joining a number out of the roial cavallery, unto those who had fought with us, he determined with a speedie marching pace to have the taile of our armie charged. And in the end, whiles beasts for sacrifice were ordained to and fro in the behalfe of *Iovianus*, upon inspection of their bowels pronounced it was, That if he staied within the campe (as he thought to do) he should loofe all, but if hee went forth he should have the upper hand. And therefore as wee began to go forth, the Persians with their Elephants leading the way, gave the onset upon us. At the terrible braying and fearefull approach of which beasts, after that both horse and man at the first were much troubled and disordered, the Ioviani and ° Herculani, when they had killed some few of the said Elephants, manfully resisted the horsemen armed at all peeces. Then the legions of the Iovij and ° Victores, in helping their fellows that were distressed, slew two Elephants, with no small number of their enemies. And in the left wing of the battaile, three right valiant warriors lost their lives, namely, *Iulianus*, *Macrobius*, and *Maximus*, Tribunes or Colonels of those legions which then were the principall of the whole armie. After whose funerals solemnized, as the present necessitie would permit, neere unto the shutting in of the evening, whiles we were marching apace to a fortresse named Sumere, the bodie of *Anatolius* there lying, was knowne, which in hastie and tumultuarie wife was committed to the earth. Here also we recovered threecore of our souldiors, together with the ° Palatines, who, as we related before, were fled into a fort named Vaccatum. Then the day following, according as the place wold permit, we encamped in an even valley, enclosed round about, within the circuit, as it were, of a wall (all save one place to goe forth at, and the famelying open) with sharpe stakes pitched on every side, and standing out in manner of so many sword points. And when the enemies saw this, out of the woods and forests, they let flie at us sundrie sorts of darts and casting weapons, reviling us also in reproachfull tearmes, as perfidious traitors, and murderers of a most valorous and excellent Prince : for they had heard (as the very fugitives reported) by occasion of an headlesse rumor that ran abroad, how *Iulianus* was slain by the hand and weapon of a Roman. In the end also certaine cornets of horsemen having broken through the ° gate Prætoria, were so bold herewith,

as to come neere unto the verie Princes pavilion : but after many of their own side slaine, were repulled with maine force. Being gone from thence, the next night after we entred upon Charcha, a place in this regard safe, for that by reason of the high banks of the rivage being by mans hand raised, to the end, that the Saracens might not from thenceforth over-runne Assyria, there was not one as before time that troubled our Squadrons in their march. And when as on these verie ° Kalends of Iulie we had marched ° thirtie stadia, and drew neere to a citie named Dura, by reason that our horses were wearie, their riders in the hindmost taile going on foot, had forthwith beene environed by a multitude of Saracens, and slaine everie man, but that the more vigorous and lighter appointed troupes of our horsemen refused them in daunger. Now the reason why wee were thus infested and troubled with the Saracens, was, for that being debarred by *Iulianus* to receive as in times past, many salaries and gifts, and making thereof complaint unto him, they could get no other answer but this, *I has a warlike and vigilans Commander used to have yron and nor gold.*

° the 6. day.

° 4 miles for 7 stadia and an halfe make a mile.

CHAP. IX.

The Roman souldiors wearied with so often assaults of the Persians, in flamy crave leave, notwithstanding Iovianus stood against it, to passe over Tigris : whom, for all that they wrestled with hunger, Sapor feared.



IN this place (so obstinately persisted the Persians in molesting us) we spent and lost foure dayes. For, marched we forward at any time, they followed us hard at heeles, and with their many provocations drew us backe : made we a stand as prest to fight, they woud by litle and litle retyre, and thus vexed us with long dayes. And now by this time (as usually meere forged rumors are wont to give content unto those that feare the worst) by occasion of a flying report, That the frontiers of our limits were not larre off, the armie with open mouth called importunately to have leave graunted, for to passe over Tigris. Against whom the Emperour and the great capitaines opposing themselves, and shewing how the river swelled now at the rising ° of the Dog-stare, praying them not to hazard their lives in the daungerous streame and whirlepooles thereof : affirming, that a number of them were unskillfull in swimming ; and adding moreover, that the enemies forces had gained already on both sides the skirts of the river overflowne. But when as he redoubled these reasons oftentimes, and gainsaid them, but all in vaine, so that the souldiors crying out aloud, in maine hear and big words, threatened to doe their worst, the Emperour made proclamation to stay the march, and that the Gauls, practised swimmers, should first before all others take the river ; to the end that when they had been swallowed up, or carried away with the mightie freame, the wilfull stubbornesse of the rest might be daunted : or if they had performed the deed safely, the passage might on all hands be attempted more boldly. And to this businesse were fit men chosen such as from their childhood had beene enured to swim over the greatest rivers of all others in their own native countries : who taking advantage of the still & darke night, being let forth at once (as it were) out at a caskment sooner than a man would have thought raught the banke on the further side, and having troden under foot and cut in peeces many of the Persians, who bring then

then bestowed to keepe the coasts, were in quiet securitie fast asleepe, with holding up their hands, and shooting of darts, they gave signal how their adventure had taken effect and sped. This being elpyed a farre off, our souldiors hot set upon their passage, stayed onely for this, that the masters of the works promised to frame bridges of budgets or hottels made of the beasts hides that were slaine. Which, while these projects are gone in hand with, and enterprised in vaine, king *Sapor*, both absent a far off, and also when he was come neerer, was advertised by the true reports of his discoverers sent out, & fugitives coming in, what valiant acts our men had done, what shameful foyles and overthrowes his owne had taken; and that of Elephants there were more killed than the king could ever remember had bin before time: also that the Roman armie hardened with uncessant travailes and paines, after the death of their glorious Prince, fought not (as he gave it out) to save their selves, but to be revenged, and were minded to end these instant dangers and painfull troubles, either by an absolute victorie, or by a memorable death. In these regards he cast in his mind many and those fearefull consequences, namely, how our forces spread all over the provinciall nations, might, as he had experience thereof, be assembled with a small watchword: knowing also, that his owne people after the losse of the greatest part of the common souldiors, was fore dismayed and affrighted; and finding withall, that in Mesopotamia there was left an armie of the enemies behind, not much lesser. And above all these things, that which daunted his perplexed and carefull mind, was this, That five hundred of their men swimming together at one time, had passed in safetie over the river when it was silent high, and having killed the Warders of the coasts, stirred up the rest of their comforts to the like bold and hardie exploit. Meane while, when the surging and swelling waves would not suffer the said bridges to be framed, and all things meet for meat were consumed, our souldiors having spent two daies in a miserable case, pinched with hunger, and chafed with anger, grew into a rage, making hast to loose their lives like men by the edge of the sword, rather than by famine, the basest and most cowardly kind of death that is.

CHAP. X.

The embassage of Sapor, for the concluding and confirmation of a peace: Iovianus for want of skilfull policie, provokes badly for the Roman armie, and whatsoever the embassadors of Sapor asked, without any strife he yielded unto. Upon pledges on both sides taken that peace dishonourable to the Roman Empire and name, by a new and fraudulent practise of the Persians turned to the overthrow and undoing of many. The Roman souldiors in wicker floats and boats made in hast, passe over the river Tigris, and not without their great losse and disadvantage escape with life.



OWbeit the eternall power of the heavenly God was on our side: and the Persians, beyond all hope (send first (as touching the treatie and conclusion of a peace) their Orators, to wit, the **Surenas*, and another noble Peere of the realme: for they also were out of conceit with themselves, as whom the Romans in all battailes welneere having the upper hand, afflicted sore everie day more than ether. Now, the conditions that they tendered were verie hard, precise, and inti-

intricat. For, they pretended, That in regard of mortalitie and mens estate, their king a most mercifull Prince, was content, that the remains of our armie should returne, namely, if **Casar* together with his principall counsellors, and great men about him performed such poynts as hee commaunded. To countermatch these, was *Arintheus* together with *Salustius* the Prefect sent: but whiles there was sitting in consultation with sage advisement, what was to be done, foure dayes went over our heads, the which tormented and plagued us with hunger, and were unto us more grievous than any punishment whatsoever. Which respite of time, before these were sent, if the Prince had made his use of, and by little and little departed out of the enemies ground, certes he had reached to the strong garrison townes of Corduena, a countrey both plentifull and our owne, and besides, not above one hundred miles distant from the place wherein these affaires were treated of. Now, the king claimed hard and required to have his owne (as himselfe said) which long since *Maximian* had taken from him: but as it appeared in the handling, hee required for our ransom (as it were) and redemption, five countries beyond Tigris, to wit, Arzanena, Moxoena, and Zabdiena; likewise Rhehimena and Corduena, with fittene castles: also Nisibis, Singara, and Castra Maurorum, a strong hold of verie good importance. And whereas it had bene better to have fought ten fields, than that any one of these should be surrendered, yet the crew of flatterers came about the timorous Prince, buzzing and whispering in his eares the dread name of *Procopius*, who unlesse he made the more speedie returne, taking knowledge of *Julian's* death, would easily with the power of those unfoyled souldiors whom he had in his regiment, worke an alteration in the State, and proclaime himselfe Emperour, whiles there was none to make head against him. With these pernicious words iterated continually unto him, he grew enkindled, and without any farther hastening or holding off, delivered up all that was demanded: after that with great ado he obtained thus much, That Nisibis and Singara, without the inhabitants therein, should passe under the dominion of the Persians: also, that from the forts or holds which were to be alienated, the garrisons that were verie Romans should be suffered to revert into our hands. To these capitulations was added another article also most mischievous & impious, namely, That after this composition passed, *Araces*, a friend unto us at all times, and a trustie confederat, we might not aid, if he craved it against the Persians. Which was devised for a twofold reason; partly, that the man might be punished, who at the Princes commaundement had wasted Chilioconus; and partly, that there might remaine still some occasion of quarell, under colour whereof they might from time to time invade Armenia at their pleasure. Whereby it happened afterward, that the same *Araces* was taken prisoner alive, and the Parthians among their diffentions and troublous garboyles, went away with the greatest side of Armenia, confining upon the Medes, together with **Artaxata*. When this dishonourable decree was confirmed, to the end that during the cessation of armes, there should be nothing done contrarie to the covenants, there were given on either side in shew of hostages, great persons of qualitie, to wit, on our part, *Nervus*, *Piccor*, and *Mellobandes*, Tribunes of notable and valiant bands: but on the other, *Bineser*, one of the ranke of the nobilitie, and other three Lords or Potentats of right good note. Thus after a peace for thirte yeares was concluded, and the same surely ratified by the solemne complements of a religio us othe, we returned another way, & because we avoided the places adjoining to the river, as comberous & rough, distressed we were for want of drinke and meat both.

And so this peace granted under colour of countesse & humanitie, turned to the destruction of many; who being pinched with extreame hunger to their very last gaspe, and therefore secretly going before, were either for want of skill in swimming swallowed up of the rivers streame; or els, if they passed and overcame the violence of the waves and came to the banks, by the Saracenes or Persians (whom, as I said, the Germans had expelled a litle before) killed like sheepe, or sent farre off to be sold as slaves. But when as the trumpets sounding together, openly gave signall of passing over the river, a wonder it was to see with what a heat every man rashly venturing upon all advantages of triall, & putting himselfe before all the rest, made hast to shun many fearefull dangers: whiles some sitting upon hurdles, made at all adventures, holding their horses as they swum on either hand; others upon bottles, and some again turning and winding divers waies in the point of necessitie, with crooked courtes cut and pierced through the billowes and waves beating full against them. The Emperour himselfe with some few others, having crossed over in those small barks which remained after the burning of the fleet, as I have shewed, appointed the same vessels to passe to and fro betweene, untill we were all conveyed over. And in the end we came to the banks on the further side (all save those that were drowned) through the gracious favor of the heavenly power, having by hard chaunces escaped out of jeopardie. While we stood yet in feare of calamities and troubles hanging over our heads, given we were to understand by the relation which our fore-riders made, That the Persians were making of a bridge farre out of our sight, to the end, that now after peace and covenants established, whiles the tempestuous stormes of warre were allayed, they might set upon our sickly and crasse folke as they went secure and fearelesse, as also our beasts, long wearied and tyred out of heart. But when they perceived how they were discovered, they relinquished this their wicked designe.

CHAP. XI.

After they had marched sixe daies journey with penurie of all things, refreshed they are with new provision of victuals. Iovianus goeth in hand with establishing the state of the Empire. The Nisibenes hearing that their citie, of all others in the East the strongest, was surrendered to Sapor, burst into tears.

BEing now freed from this suspected danger also, we made hast, and by long journeyes approached Hattai, an old towne, situate in the midst of a desert, and long since dispeopled; which when *Traianus* and *Severus*, warlike princes, attempted at sundrie times to rase downe to the ground, they were with their armies like to have beene utterly defeated, according as in the historie of their acts I have orderly set downe these particulars also. From whence, knowing that along this plaine, stretching out threecore and ten myles in these drie countries, there could be found neither water to drinke, but such as was salt and stinking, nor any thing else to feed upon, but *Sothernwood*, *Wormewood*, *Dragonice*, and other kinds of most bitter or biting herbes, all the vessels which we carried with us, were filled with fresh water; and by killing our cammels and other beasts of draught and carriage, we made shift for food, though it was unholosome. And after six daies journey, when there was not found so much as grasse to give comfort in our extreame necessitie, *Cassians* Lord Warden or Marquess of *Mesopotamia*,

potamia, and *Mauricius* a Tribune, sent before of purpose, came to a castle in Persia named *Vr*, bringing with them victuals out of that provision, which the armie, left with *Procopius* and *Sebastian*, had saved by living frugally. From hence another *Procopius*, a *Notarie, & *Memorius* a militarie Tribune, were dispatched to the tracts of *Illyricum* and of *Gaule*, to carrie tidings of *Iulians* death, and that *Iovianus* after his decease was advanced to the dignitie imperiall. These men the prince had given in charge, to urge *Lucilianus* his wives father, who after his militarie charge given up, was retired to a privat life, and who made his abode as then at *Sirmium*, after they had presented unto him a patent for the mastership of horse and foot both, that he should make hast to *Mullaine*, there to settle the state that stood upon doubtfulle tearmes; and (which was more feared) if any new occurrences should arise, to oppose himselfe. Beside these Mandats, he gavethem letters also unto him of more secrecie, willing *Lucilianus* likewise to bring with him certaine choise men of approved industrie and fidelitie, whose helpe he meant to use, according as the incident affaires should require. And in good and wise policie he commanded *Malarichus*, who had beene a dealer for him in his household businesse, living as then in *Italie*, to succeed *Iovinus* in the *mastership of *Armes in *Gaule*, sending unto him the ensignes and ornaments of that office; foreseeing herein a two-fold commoditie, namely, that both a captaine of high desert, and therefore suspected, should be removed out of the way, and that a man of inferior hope being thus preferred to an higher place, might with great studie and affection establish the estate of his foundr, which as yet was but wavering and uncertaine. Moreover, commaundement was given to those that were to goe about the accomplishing of these businesse, That they should extoll the whole course of the late acts, and make the best of them, yea, and spread abroad what way soever they went light rumours, according all in one tunc, namely, That the *Parthian* expedition was brought to an happie end: and that in travelling speedily night and day together, they should insinuate unto the rulers of provinces, and leaders of any forces, the new Emperours writings; and after they had in secret manner sounded the minds of them all, returne quickly with their answers: that thus upon intelligence given, what was done in remote parts, there might betimes bee some wise course found out for the establishing of his Empire. But Fame, that prevented these messengers, flew all about the provinces most swiftly, telling tales of heave accidents, and strucke the people, but the *Nisibenes* above all, into grievous sorrow, when they understood once that their citie was yielded unto *Sapor*: whose anger and secret grudge they feared, as calling ever and anon to mind, what mortall foiles and overthrows he had continually there sustained, when many a time he went about to assault it. For it was full well knowne, that the compassse of the East Empire might have beene brought in subjection to Persia, but that this citie, so well fortified and so fortified with mightie wals, made resistance. Howbeit these poore wretches, although they much more feared future calamitie, yet comforted they were with this small hope, that the Emperour either of his owne free accord, or at their prayer and entreatie, would in the same state keepe this citie, the strongest port-citie and key of all the East.

CHAP. XII.

When these vittuals were spent, the armie is distressed with hunger. Iovianus refuseth to enter into Nisibis: which citie, Bineles in the name of Sapor taketh possession of, notwithstanding the loyall and faithfull citizens, who in vaine stood against him, and whose pitifull departure out of it is here described.



Hiles divers rumours disperfed abroad in all places the order and course of these proceedings, after the small store was spent of vittuals which were in the armie, and brought thither as I have said before, men were of necessitie to feed on their owne bodies, but that the flesh of their labouring beasts which they killed lasted in some sort a while; whereby it came to passe, that most of their armour, weapons, and baggage were *cast away. For so grievous and extreame was the famine whereby we pined, that if in any place there was but one *Modius or peck of meale found (and that happened but seldom) it was exchanged for ten pieces of gold. Being thence departed, we came to Thisaphalta, where *Sebastianus* and *Procopius*, together with the Tribunes and principall captaines of the souldiors (committed to their charge for the defence of Mesopotamia, as the solemne order required) met with us, and being courteously received, bare us companie. After this, the prince having made halt in his journey, and gladly seene Nisibis, pitched his standing campe without the citie: and being earnestly requested by many prayers of the people, that hee would enter the citie, and as the custome was of other princes, lodge within the palace, he stiffly refused, as being abashed and ashamed, that whiles he converted within the wals, the citie, otherwise inexpugnable, should be delivered up into the angrie enemies hands. Then and there, when the evening waxed darke, *Iovianus*, the principall of all the *Notaries, who at the siege of the citie Majozamalcha (as I have said) escaped with others through a mine under the ground, was violently taken from supper, and being brought into a place out of the way, and pitched headlong into a drie pit, was overwhelmed with a number of stones cast upon him: for this cause verily, that when *Julian* was slaine, he also being by some few nominated as worthe of the Empire, after the creation of *Iovianus* behaved not himselfe in modest rearmes, but was overheard to whisper somewhat as touching that assure, and otherwhiles invited to feasts the martiall men of the campe. The next day *Bineles*, one of the Persians, who (as I said) was a noble and right honorable person among others, making hast to accomplish his lord and kings commandement, called instantly for the performance of promise and by permission of the Roman Emperour entred the citie, set up the banner of his owne nation upon the citadell, denouncing unto the citizens their lamentable remove and departure out of their native feat. And being presently commanded all to flit and be gone, they stretched forth their hands, and besought there might be imposed upon them no necessitie of departing, saying, That they alone, without the publicke allowance of vittuals and souldiors, were able to defend their dwelling houses, trusting assuredly, as they had oftentimes found by experience, to find justice hereafter alio fighting for the place wherein they were borne. And in this wise verily the States and the Commons humbly prayed: but they spake in vaine to the very winds, as they say; whiles the Emperour made semblance (fearing indeed other things) that he declined

clined the hainous sinne of perjurie. Then *Sabinus*, a man for wealth and birth renowned among his fellow citizens and burgeses, having a rolling tongue of his owne, made a speech to this effect: *That Constantius in a world of fierce and cruell warres, was otherwhiles vanquished of the Persians, and brought in the end by flugs with some few, to Elibia, no sure nor fenced situation, where he lived with a piece of bread which an old woman of the countrey as his much enreatie reached unto him; yet for all this, lost he none of his Seignories to his dying day: and Iovian now as his first entrance into his Empire hath passed from the very wall of the Provinces, by the barre, as one would say, whereof they continued time out of mind, without taking any harme.* But when as hee could not prevail, whiles the prince constantly pretended the conscience of keeping the oath he tooke: and when as he received at length with much ado and by constraint a Coronet presented unto him, which he a good while refused, one *Silvanus* an advocate, that used to plead in the defence of mens causes, crying boldly aloud: *So crowned (quoth he) o Emperour, mayest thou be by all other cities b-sides.* At which word hee grew so angrie, that hee commaunded them all within three dayes to depart out of the wals, detesting and cursing the present state of the time. So there were set certaine of purpose to force and drive them forth, threatening death also to as many as delayed their departure; whereby the citie was full of sorrow and lamentation: and throughout all the streets and parts thereof there was nothing heard but groning and wailing on all hands; whiles the matron, readie to be thrust, as banished out of her house wherein she was borne and brought up, tare the haire of her head; whiles the mother bereft of her *children, and the widow of her husband, was to be driven away farre from their *Manes; and whiles the lamentable multitude clipping the posts, cheekes, and lintels of their entrie dores, pitteously wept. Hereupon were fundrie wayes full of those that departed, every one as they could make shift: For why? many of them conveyed away by stealth their own riches, which they thought might handsomely be caried, setting nought by the rest of their household goods, whereof there was much, & that of great price: for all this left they behind for want of labouring beasts.

*whom the had
buried there.
*on their graves.

CHAP. XIII.

The iudgement of Ammianus Marcellinus as touching the condition of the Romane Empire in those dayes. The corpse of Julian was entred in a Suburban place neere Tarsus. The armie commeth to Antioch, where are scene many and dreadful sights: and namely a Comet, as touching the reason and nature whereof there is put downe a natural discourse.



And here in this place art thou, the fortune of the Romane world, justly blamed, who when the stormes were up, blowing and beating fore upon the Common-wealth, diddest commit and betake the reynes or helme thereof, newly stricken out of the hands of a skillfull leader and pilot of the State, unto a raw young man, not come as yet to his proove: who being not knowne for any notable thing during his former life in such affaires, can by right neither be blamed nor commended. But this one thing went to the very heart of good men, that whiles he standeth in feare of a concurrent, and whiles hee thinketh seriously upon Gaule and Illyricum, and casteth in his mind; how

some

*to feble they
were that they
were not able to
carry them.

*or Secretaries.

some have many times aspired to high matters, he making haſt to prevent the ſame of his coming, under a pretence of avoyding perjurie, committed an act unbecoming an Emperour, by looſing Niſibis, which ever ſince king *Mithridates* his dayes ſtood out with might and maine, that the Eaſt Empire ſhould not come in to the poſſeſſion of the Perſians. For, never ſince the citie of Rome was firſt founded, can we find, as I ſuppoſe, though you read over all the Annales, that either Conſul or Emperour gave away the right of any part of our territories, or that triumphall honours were ever conferred upon any for the recoverie of aught that had beene taken away, but for the enlarging of our dominions. Hence it was that unto *Publius Scipio*, for the regaining of Spaine, unto *Fulvius*, when Capua, after ſkirmiſhes and assaults made a long time, was won, and unto *Opimius* after divers battailes ended, what time as the Fregellanes then mortall enemies, were forced to yeeld themſelves, triumphes were denied. Thus much alſo we learned out of the auncient records, That in extreme caſes covenants made with a generall and chief leader, after that the parties on both ſides tooke an expreſſe and formall othe, were ſtreightwayes by making wane a freſh undone and voyd: as for example, in old time at the ſtreits or gullet Caudine, when the Roman legions were in Samnium put to the yoke: alſo, when by *Albinus* in Numidia a peace was wickedly thought and treated of: and laſtly, when *Marcinius* the author of an agreement made diſhonourably in haſt, was delivered up unto the Numantines. Well, after this, when the citizens were fetched forth, & the citie rendred, and *Conſtantinus* a Tribune ſent to aſſigne & ſet out the garriſon forts with their territories, unto the Perſian Lords and great Captaines, *Procopius* was ſent with the reliques of *Julian*, to interre the ſame in the ſuburbs of Tarſus, as he had given charge in his life time. Who taking his journey to execute this buſineſſe, preſently after he had buried the bodie, departed: neither could he be found any where, although with great diligence hee was ſought for, untill that long after he was ſcene at Conſtantinople all on a ſuddaine inveſted in his purple robes. Theſe matters in this wiſe brought about, and our journeyes thus diſpatched, we came to Antioch, where, for many dayes together (as if God had beene offended) were ſcene many fearefull and ſtrange ſights, the events whereof, ſuch as were ſkillfull in prodigial learning foretold and prophesied, would be wofull and lamentable. For, both the ſtatue of *Maximian Caſar*, which ſtood in the verie porch or entrie of the kings houſe, loſt ſodainly the braſen ball, faſhioned to the forme of the * Pole which he carried: and alſo with an horrible noiſe the beames and poſts within the Conſiſtories made a ſound. There were ſcene likewiſe in the day-time blazing ſtarrs: as touching the nature whereof the Naturall Philoſophers varie much in their reaſons and arguments. For ſome hold, That therefore they be called Comets or hairie ſtarrs, for that when a multitude of ſtarrs be gathered together, by the ſhaſhing of fire from them, certaine haire ſeeme to be ſcattered. Others are of opinion, That of a drie exhalation of the earth ſteeming up aloft by little and little they catch fire. Some againe doe thinke, That the rayes or beames of the Sunne, being kept from going downward by the oppoſition of a thicke cloud betwene, and caſting a brightneſſe upon a groſſe bodie, repreſent unto mans eye a light, diſtinguiſhed, as it were with ſtarrs. And there be alſo thoſe that are thus conceited of them, That ſuch a fight as this then appeareth when a cloud drawne up higher than uſually it hath beene, ſhineth by reaſon of the viciniie of thoſe eternall heavenly fire: or at leaſt wiſe, that they be certaine ſtarrs like unto the reſt, the riſing and ſetting whereof at what times they be

appear-

appointed, mens wits could never reach unto. Much more beſides concerning * Comets we have read in authors that be learned in Aſtronomie: which I may not here ſet downe, for that my pen maketh haſt to write of other matters.

CHAP. XIII.

Iovianus cometh to Tarſus, and being departed from thence, eſtablisheth his imperiall dignitie by all the means he can: But within a while after, when he was come as far as to the confines of Galatia and Biſhynia, hee was in the night found dead. His vertues and vices are briefly touched.



When the Emperour had ſtayed a pretie while at Antioch, fore troubled with divers weightie cares, a wonderfull deſire he had to be gone. And therefore ſparing neither beaſt nor man, hee ſets forth from thence in the verie mids of cold Winter, notwithstanding, as it hath beene ſayd, many ominous ſignes croſſed the ſame, and entred into Tarſus, a noble citie of Cilicia, the originall foundation whereof I have ſhewed before. And making exceeding great haſt to goe out of it alſo, he appointed to have the ſepulchre of *Julian* trimly garniſhed, ſituate within the precincts of that way which leadeth to the ſtraits of the mountaine Taurus: Whole reliques and aſhes, if hee had then done right and beene well adviſed, * Cydnus ſhould not have ſeen, a moſt pleaſant and cleere river though it be: but to perpetuate the glorie of his good deeds, Tiberis that runneth through the mids of that immortal citie Rome, and toucheth the monuments of the auncient Emperours of ſacred memorie ſhould have paſſed by. From Tarſus when he was departed, he tooke long journeyes and came to Tyana a town in Cappadocia, where *Procopius* the foreſaid Notarie, and *Memorius* a Tribune, in their returne meet him, and open the whole courſe of their proceedings: beginning, as order required, at this, namely, That *Lucillianus* being entred into Millane, with *Seniauchus* and *Valentinian*, two Tribunes whom he had brought along with him, knowing that *Malarichus* reſuſed the * Maſterſhip aboveſaid, rode in poſt to Remes: and as if there had beene no rumors up, but all quiet in that nation, ranne forth as we uſe to ſay, without the liſts: and verie unreaſonably and over ſoote, before as yet all things were well ſetled, of an ordinarie Clerke gave himſelfe to be an Auditor. Who being privie to himſelfe of his owne fraudulent and naughtie dealings, fled unto the armie, and deviled, That *Julianus* being yet alive, a certaine man of meane condition was riſen up to make an alteration in the State, and himſelfe Emperour. At whoſe falſe and deceitfull forgeries, the ſouldiors mightily moved and growne to a tumultuous broyle, ſlew both *Lucillianus* and *Seniauchus*. As for *Valentinian*, who ſoon after became Emperour, being in great feare & doubtfull whither to fly, his friend and hoſt *Primitivus* had packed him away in ſafety. But upon theſe heavie occurrents there came other newes as joyfull, namely, That the ſouldiors ſent from *Iovinus* were at hand, ſuch as militarie men uſe to call Capita^r Scholars, and theſe brought tidings, That the army ſerving in Gaule, gladly embraced *Iovianus* as Emperour. Which being knowne for truth, the ſecond forme or ranke of the Scutarius was committed unto the regiment of *Valentinian* who returned with them: and *Vitalianus* a ſouldior ſerving in the band of the * Heruli, was taken into the companie and ſocietie of the Domeſtick: and he long after being advanced to the dignitie of a Comes, fought unfortunately in Illyricum. And ſtreight after, was *Arintheus* ſent into Gaule, bearing letters with him unto *Iovinus*, exhorting him to

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keepe his place still, and remaine constant : given also he was in charge, That the principall rayser of the foresaid tumult should be punished accordingly, and that all authors of fedition should be set over bound unto the Emperours * Counsell. After these matters disposed of as seemed expedient, at Aspuna, a little enfranchised towne of Galatia, the * souldiours serving in Gaule, shewed themselves unto the Emperour : and being admitted into the Consistorie, after gracious audience given of those * errands which they brought, they were rewarded and commaunded to returne unto their colours. And when the Emperour was come into * Ancyra, after all things put in readinesse, which according to the present time were requisite to a solemne pompe, he entred upon his Consulship, taking to him in the fellowship of that honourable dignitie, his owne sonne *Varronianus*, a young infant, whose wrawling (whiles he strugled hard, and made means not to ride in the * Curule chaire, as the custome was) portended that which soone after happened. Hereupon also the prefixed time that *Iovianus* was to end this life, made a quicke dispatch of him. For when he was come to * Dadaflana, a place that divideth Bithynia and Galatia asunder, he was found dead in the night : as touching whose death many doubtfull reports have gone abroad. For, it is said, that he could not endure the smell of his bed chamber newly daubed or pargeted with mortar made of lime : or that hee came to his end upon a tumor or swelling of his head, occasioned by an huge fire, kindled of coals : or at least wise, upon greedie feeding of a number of meats, hee crammed his belly so full, that he dyed of surfeit. Now, he departed out of this world in the three and thirtieth yeare of his age. And whereas both he and *Scipio Emilianus* chaunced to end their lives alike, yet find we not that there was any inquisition made, or commission siven upon, about their death. His manner of gate was grave, his countenance most pleasant, his eyes grey : bigge he was of making, and withall verie tall, in so much as a long time there could not bee found in the ward-robe, any regall garment meet for the measure of his bodie : And a willing desire he had to imitate *Constantinus*, imploying himselfe in serious affaires otherwhiles after noone : and he used to jest openly with his favourites and familiars. An affectionat lover and professor he was also of the Christian Religion, and sometimes a right honourable embracer thereof ; meanelly learned therein, and rather enclined in kindnesse to them than otherwise : one also, as appeared by those few whom he promoted, that would be verie precise and considerat in chusing of Iudges. But a great eater he was, and much given as well to wine as fleshly lust : which vices haply he would in time have amended, in regard of the Imperial Majestie that he carried. Furthermore, it was said, that his father *Varronianus* foreknew long before that which happened, by a certaine dreame that told him as much, and that he acquainted two of his most faithfull friends therewith : and said thus much more-over, That himselfe also should have the Consular robe of estate conferred upon him. But as the one part of his dreame tooke effect, so he never attained unto the other : For hearing for certaine of his sonnes fortune, before he could see him hee was by fatall death prevented. And for that it was foretold unto the old man in a dreame, That the sayd most honourable Magistracie was portended to this name, his nephew *Varronianus*, as yet an infant, was, as I said before, together with his father *Iovianus* declared Consul.

THE



THE XXVI. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

When Iovianus was dead, Valentinian was elected Emperour.



HAVING with verie great care delivered the whole order and course of State affaires unto the times next proceeding our late and neere remembrance, beseeching it were now to draw backe, & proceed no farther in matters so wel known, to the end we may both decline the daungers, which many times are attendant upon the truth, and not bee subject to the censure of unreasonable examiners of this worke now to be compiled forward, who keep a great stirre as fore hurt, in case we should overslip what the Emperour spake at supper, or omit for what cause the common souldiours were chastised in the campe about * Principia : who also would be readie to find fault, and say, That in the manifold descriptions of countries, we ought not to have beene silent as touching finall pyles and forts : as also that all their names who assembled at the office or court of the Citie-Prætor, were not expressly set downe : and many the like particulars not suting with the rules of Hyllorie, which is wont to discoure and run through high and important affaires, and not to search into the small points of low and meane matters : Which if any man would desire to know, he may as well hope, that those indivisible little bodie or mores flying up and downe in the ayre, such as we call Atomi, may bee numbed. Which inconvenience some of the ancient Hyllorians fearing, published not unto the world the notice of sundrie acts (when they were penned and put downe in a flowing stile) so long as they lived : according as *Tullie* also, a reverend witnesse, affirmeth in a certaine Epistle unto *Cornelius Nepos*. And therefore contemning such vulgar ignorance, proceed we to the narration of that which is behind. These mutable and horrible accidents making an end with a lamentable issue and dolefull death : after a small time comming betwene, when the corps of the prince deceased was dressed accordingly, yea and sent to Constantinople to be interred among the reliques of other Emperours, when the atome also was gone forward toward * Nicea the mother citie in Bithynia, the civile magistrats and martiall officers, enwrapped in great cares about the State, and some among them puffed up with a vaine hope, made enquire after a governour of long proove and gravitie : and in a running rumor and darke whisperings of some few, there was nominated *Equitius* Tribune as then over the first companie of the Scutarij : Who being misliked by the better sort that were in authoritie, as one rigorous and some-

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what rude, from him their voice turned and went, after a slight manner, to a kinsman of *Iovianus*, named *Iannarius*, who had the chiefe charge of all necessities belonging to the armie in Illyricum: who also being rejected, for that he lay farre off, *Valentinian* with an uniforme accord, by the favour and grace of the heavenly deitie was elected, as a fit and meet person for that affaie about which they went, one who being capitaine of the second companie of the Scutarij, was leſtar Ancyra, to follow afterwards, as it was ordained. And for that this was thought without the gaineſaying of any to ſtand with the good of the Common-wealth, whiles ſome were of purpoſe ſent to admoniſh him for to come with all ſpeed, for tenne dayes ſpace there was none to ſteere the helme of the Empire, which the Soothſayer *Marcus*, by inſpection of beaſts bowels at Rome, had pronounced to have happened at the ſame time. Meane while, to the end that nothing might be practiſed or done contrarie to that which was decreed, nor the unconstant ſouldiours, often mutable, ſhould make choice of ſome one there preſent, diligent fore-caſt was had by *Equitius* and *Leo* together (which *Leo*, as yet under *Dagalaſphus* Generall of the horſemen, kept the accompts of receipts and expences for the militarie bands, and afterwards proved a miſchievous maſter of the offices) who framed and wrought all that ever they could the mind and judgement of the whole armie, as being Pannonians and favourers of the Emperour elect: who being upon ſending for come, and having a preface or perceivance of the buſineſſe to bee performed (as hee had an inckling given him even by continual dreames) would neither be ſcene nor come abroad for two dayes, avoiding the Biſſext or odde day^b of the Leape year in the moneth Februarie, which then was coming, and which he knew had beene divers times unfortunate to the Romans: the certaine knowledge of which day I will now declare.

CHAP. II.

A diſcourſe and ſpeculative conſideration as touching the Biſſextile or odde day of the Leape year, ſo precisely obſerved by Valentinian.

THe ſpace and revolution of the year, the auncient writers, learned in the motion of the heaven, and in Aſtronomie, among whom *Memon*, *Euctemon*, *Hipparchus*, and *Archimedes* excell, define in this wiſe: namely, when the Sunne having by the everlaſting law and order of things coeleſtiall run through the circle of the [twelve] ſignes, which in the Greeke tongue is termed the ^c Zodiacke, a courſe that he performeth in three hundred threeſcore and five dayes and nights, is returned againe to the ſame point: as for example, if ſetting out at the ſecond degree of Aries, he returneth after his courſe ended to the ſame againe. But moſt truly, the ſpace of one year is fully determined in the daies aforeſaid, and fixe houres beſides, namely, untill noone; and then the next year ſhall begin after the ^d fixt hour, and reach unto the evening: the third day taking his beginning at the firſt ^e watch, extendeth to the fixt hour of the ^f night: and the fourth, from midnight holdeth on untill it be cleare ^g day-light. Leaſt therefore this computation, by reaſon of the divers beginnings of the year, and for that, as one runneth out or endeth after the fixt hour of the day, ſo another after the fixt hour of the night ſhould by a diſorderly diviſion confound all knowledge: and leaſt the Autumne moneth might be found at any time in the Spring, thought good it

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was, that thoſe odde fixe houres, which in foure yeares ariſe to foure and twentie, ſhould make the full meaſure of one day and night, for to be put unto the reſt. Which being deeply conſidered, with the accord of many learned men it came to paſſe, that the revolution of the yerely courſe being brought to one diſtinctend, is neither wandering nor uncertaine, ne yet from thenceforth appeareth the order and motion of the heaven ſhadowed with any error, and the moneths keepe juſt their appointed times. The Romans for a long time, before they had farre enlarged their dominions, were ignorant hereof, and for many ages together being enwrapped with obſcure doubts and difficulties, wavered then moſt in the deepe miſt of errors, when they had transferred upon the prieſts the power and authoritie of ^a Intercalation: who gladly gratifying the Publicans or ſuiters at law for their commodities, at their pleaſure abridged or augmented the times. And beſide this, there aroſe many other deceivable errors, which to relate I thinke it now ſuperfluous. All which abuſes *Oſtavian Auguſtus* having aboliſhed, in imitation of the Greekes reformed the diſorder, and compoſed this inſtancie, by collecting together with great deliberation the ſpaces of twelve moneths and fix houres: and ſo the Sunne running by eternal motion through the houſes of the twelve ſignes, concludeth the ſpace of the whole year. The reaſon of which odde day in the Leape year being thus allowed, Rome alſo (which by the helpe of Almighty God is to live ſo long as the world ſhall laſt) hath eſtabliſhed. Wherefore let us proceed to the reſt.

CHAP. III.

Valentinian before the whole armie is pronounced ſoveraigne ruler of the Empire, whiles ſome can hardly brooke it, whom he in a grave Oration rebuketh and repreſſeth.



When this day was paſt, unmeet (as ſome think) for important affaires, and the evening now came on, ordained it was, and proclamation made under paine of death, by the motion of *Saluſtius* the Praefeſt, and the readie aſſent of all men, That no perſon in place of high authoritie, or ſuſpected to aſpire unto great matters, ſhould the next morning goe forth of doores in honourable habite. And when with the irkeſome wearineſſe of many, who were vexed with vaine vowes, at length the night was ended, and day begun, all the ſouldiours aſſembled together, and *Valentinian* went forth into the plaine field: where being permitted to mount up to the Tribunal erected on high, in ſhew of a Parliament aſſembly, and with moſt forward good will of all that were preſent, he was pronounced as a grave perſonage, Governour of the Empire. And anon being inveſted in regall robes, crowned alſo and ſtyled [*Auguſtus*] with ample praiſes, ſuch as ſweet noveltie could deviſe, he addreſſed himſelfe to make a premeditate ſpeech, and as he put forth his arme, that he might ſpeake more readily, there aroſe a great mumbling, with a noiſe of the Centuries, Maniples, and all the Cohorts, urging inſtantly, that out of hand there might a ſecond Emperour bee declared with him. Which albeit many thought was done by the corruption of ſome few, in favour of thoſe that had been rejected, yet by this one thing it ſeemed they were utterly deceived, becauſe the criſ went not as voices purchaſed with money; but like an uniforme accord of the whole multitude wiſhing and willing one thing; as fearing much by the freſh example they

^a noone.
^b .6. of the clocke in the evening.
^c midnichte.
^d .6. of the clocke in the morning.
^e .6. of the clocke in the evening.
^f all houres, when daies and nights be equall.

they had of late, the frailtie and britlenesse of high fortunes. Then from secret whisperings it appeared evidently, that there was a more violent tumult rayled of the armie, making a mightie noise; and doubted it was, what the soldiours confident boldnesse might prove, which otherwhiles breaketh out into mischievous actions. Which *Valentinian* fearing more than all others, least it should come to passe indeed, holding happily up his right hand as a most hardie and redoubted prince, daring to rebuke some of them as seditious and stubborne, delivered his mind without interruption of any in this manner. *Most valiant defenders of the provinces, I reioyce and acknowledge now, and ever shall, that your vertues have conferred upon me, as the worthiest of all others, the rule of the Romane world, without any hope or desire at all of mine. I has therefore which lay in your power to doe, when there was not yet any Governour of the Empire elected, yee have profitably and with glorie performed, in taking him to the highest pitch of honour, whom from the prime of his youth, even to this ripenesse of yeares, yee knew by experience to have lived in much honour and integrity. Wherefore listen (I pray you) with quiet and peaceable eares, what after mine opinion in plaine and simple words delivered, is expedient for the Common-weale. I has there ought against all chaunces whasover a colleague to be ioyned in fellowship of authoritie, sundrie considerations so requiring, I neither make doubt nor gaine say, as who even my selfe also, being a man, feare beapes of cares and sundrie changes of accidents. But we must with our whole power endeavour to have peace, by which even the least things become mightie: and that will easily bee obtained, if your patience, ioyned with equitie, shall willingly yeeld that unto me which belongeth unto my charge. For, as I hope, Fortune (the aduice of good purposes) will give the same unto me, seeking diligently (so much as I am able to effect and asseue unto) after a temperance and moderation. For, as wise and learned men define this point, not onely in the matter of an Empire, where the greatest dangers are, and those happening most often, but also in private and dayly affaires, when any wise man hath iudged a stranger meet for his friendship, he ought then to take him, and not when he hath taken him, then to iudge of him. I has much promise I, with hope of more prosperous proceedings. As for you, retaining still your constant and faithfull doings, while Winters repose giueh leave, repaire the vigour of mind and bodie both, who forthwith are to receive your due, for declaring and saluing me Augustus. The Emperour having ended this speech, which an unexpected authoritie had made more confident, woon them all to his mind: and they following his way and advice, who a little before with most earnest voice required another thing, conducted him (enviored round about with standards and banners, royally also guarded with companies of diuers degrees and states, and now terrible to see to) into the palace.*

CHAP. IIII.

Apronianus Prefect of Rome, passeth Prisoners and Sorters to death.



Hiles the volubilitie of inconstant fortune produceth these occurrences in the East parts, *Apronianus* an upright & severe iudge, who then ruled Rome, among other principall and important matter, with which this Prefectship is often troubled, chiefly set his mind and whole endeavor upon this, That Sorcerers (who then began to spring

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up here and there) being apprehended, and openly convicted after examinations and trials past, that they had done hurt to some, and having discovered also such as were privie unto them, should be put to death: and so with the perill of a few, for feare of the like measure, to drive the rest away, if happily any lay close hidden. And this he did (by report) the more effectually, for that himselfe being promoted by the choice of *Julian*, who then abode in Syria, had lost one of his eyes in his journey: and suspecting that he was layd at by these wicked arts and practises, upon a just griefe verily, but yet unusuall, he made diligent inquisition after these and other the like: whereupon he was thought of some over-rigorous and cruell, in that he would seeme to looke into these criminall matters in the highest degree, even in the race of the Amphitheatre, where otherwhiles the commons flocke and conflow together like so many waies. In the end, after many such like offences punished, he condemned to loose his head *Hilarius* a chariot-runner, convicted, and that upon his owne confession, That he had put forth a sonne of his, scarce under-grown, unto a Sorcerer, to be taught certaine secret casts forbidden by law, so as that without the privitie of any one hee might by himselfe have the helpe of some hidden and inward meanes: who, as the executioner had but slender hold of him, slipping suddainely away from under his hand, fled for sanctuary to a chappell of the Christians, and being pulled out from thence, had forthwith his head stricken off. But these and such like hainous practises, by order then taken for, to be punished streightwaies, men were warie to commit, and none or not very few offenders in these foule and odious crimes insulted over the publicke iustice: but in the time ensuing long impunitie nourished lewd enormities, and licentiousnesse grew to so great an head, that a certaine Senatour followed the example of *Hilarius*; and proved it was against him, even almost by his owne hand-writing, That he had put unto a teacher of these cursed crafts a servant of his, for to be inducted and schooled in these horrible secrets, and was faine to buy out his punishment with a round summe of money, as the report commonly went. And this selfesame partie now, delivered and freed from this kind of slaughter that went of him, whereas he should have beene ashamed of his life and fault committed, endeavoured not to wipe away this stains but, as if he alone, among many reprochfull persons had beene void of all offence, mounted upon a rich trapped horse, and praucing over the paved streets, draweth after him, being but one man, many troupes of servants and pages, affecting by a certaine new kind of badge and cognizance, more earnestly to be gazed at: like as wee have heard, that *Dullius* in old time, after those glorious battailes which hee fought at sea, tooke thus much upon him, as to returne home unto his house after supper with a minstrell piping softly before him. Howbeit, under this *Apronianus* there was such plentie from time to time of all necessities, that there could not so much as any grumbling at all be heard for want of victuals: a thing that falleth out continually in Rome.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

*Valentinian saith unto him to be Colleague in the Empire, his brother Valens : and when he was come to Constantinople pronounceth him Augustus. Through-
out the whole Roman world there be troubles and commo-
tions of the people, which the Emperours ende-
avour to quench.*



But Valentinian declared Emperour, as I have before said in Bithy-
nia, after he had given forth the signall of setting forward in his
journey against the third day following, and assembled the
chiefe governours and officers of the campe, intending, as it
were, wholly to follow such designements and counsels as were
right *pleasing to himselfe, did put to question and demanded,

* *Qua sit placita*

Who it was that must be assumed into the fellowship of the Empire : and when
all the rest held their peace, *Dagalafrus* General of the horsemen for the time be-
ing, boldly answered thus, *If thou lovest thine owne (quoth he) most gracious Empe-
rour, thou hast a brother : if the Commonwealth make further enquire for another.* At
which words he was angrie, but saying never a word, and concealing what hee
thought, after he had travailed apace, he entered Nicomedia the first day of March,
and there with the dignitie of a Tribuneship, made his brother great Master of his
stable. And when hee was come from thence to Constantinople, casting many
things in his mind, and considering that he now was about to managge great and
urgent affaires, he supposed there was no lingering about the matter, but produ-
cing the same *Valens* to a place by the citie side, with one generall accord of all (for
no man durst say against him) pronounced him *Augustus* : and being adorned and
invested in Imperial robes, and wearing a diademe about his head, he brought him
backe in the same chariot with him : one verily, who was a lawfull partner with him
in power and authoritie, but yet duefull unto him, as if he had bene a Sergeant,
or such like attendant officer, as the processe of mine Hystorie shall declare. Which
business thus brought to an end, without trouble and interruption by any one,
both the Emperours having been long sicke of hot burning agues, when there was
assured hope of life, as they were more industrious to looke into businesses than to
compose them, granted out a commission to make strait inquirie into the suspiti-
ous causes of their sicknesse, unto *Prasius* Master of the offices, a fieice and cruell
Dalmatian, and to *Juvenius Siscianus*, at that time Questor, raising matter of envie
and malice, as the constant bruit went, unto the memorie of prince *Julian*, and to his
friends, as if they had by some secret practise benee hurt. But this storme soon blew
over and came to nothing : for there was not so much as a word found to lead unto
any presumption or suspicion of traitorous dealing. At this time, as if the trumpets
had sounded the battaile throughout all the Roman world, most fell and savage
nations rose up in armes, and invaded the next limits unto them. The **Alemans*
wasted at once both Gaule and Rhaetia : the Sarmatians and Quadi made spoyle
in Pannonia both the one and the other. The Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacots,
infested the Britens with continuall troubles. The Austorians and other Mauritan
nations made rodes more fiercely than they had wont, into Affricke. Certain bands
of Gothicke Brigands and rovers rised and rancked Thracia. The king of Persia
layd

* *Austria, Carin-
thia, Carniola, and
Hungaria.*

layd violent hands upon the Armenians, hatching by all forcible meanes to reduce
them a fresh to his owne dominion, but unjustly, pretending and alledging thus
much, that after the decesse of *Jovianus*, with whom he had established league and
peace, there ought to be nothing to the contrarie, but that hee might recover those
things which hee shewed to have, before time appertained unto his aunce-
stors. After therefore that the Winter was passed over in quietnesse and peace,
the two Emperours agreeing most joyntly together, the one in name having pre-
eminence, the other, for outward shew, equall in honour, after they had passed
through Thracia, came to Naëssum, where, in a certaine Suburban countrie towne
which is called Mediana, and standeth three miles from the citie, as if they meant
shortly to part, divided their Comites betweene them. And verily unto *Valentini-
an*, after whose will and direction the State was mannged, full *Jovianus*, promoted a
good while since by *Julian* to be Master of the men of *Armes in Gaule, and *Daga-
laphus* whom *Jovian* had preferred to be Colonell of the footmen. But to follow
Valens into the East, was *Vitellius* appointed, who also by the choise and judgement of
the foresaid Prince, had bene advanced, and with him was joynd *Arintheus*. For,
Lupicinus promoted likewise before by *Jovian*, to be Master of the horsemen, had the
charge of the East parts. Then also was *Equisinus* made Colonell of the armie that
served in Illyricum, not *Master as yet, but Comes. And *Serenianus*, who long
since was discharged of his militarie othe, entered into armes and warfare againe, as
being a Pannonian, accompanied *Valens*, and became captaine over the companie
or band of the Domestici. Which things thus digested and ordered, there was a
partition made also of the militarie bands : and after this, when both Princes entered
into Sirmium, and had divided their Palatine traine, as it was thought good unto
the elder and better of the twaine, so that *Valentinian* departed to Millain, and *Valens*
to Constantinople. And verily in the East parts governed *Sallustius* as Prefect :
but *Mamertinus* ruled in the same authoritie both Italy, Affricke, and Illyricum, like
as *Germannus* the Provinces of Gaule.

* *or horsemen.*

* *or Comes.*

CHAP. VI.

*Whiles Valentinian intendeth to make warre upon the Alemans, Procopius in the
East parts aspires to be Emperour : Whereupon Valentinian was
busied with new cares.*



Hiles therefore the two Princes kept their residence in the said cities,
they put on their first Consular robes of Estate : and all this year
was the Roman Empire afflicted with grievous losses & damages.
For, the Alemans brake through the limits of Germanie, provoked
thereto with a more mischievous mind than usually they had benee,
upon this occasion : Whereas upon their ambassadors sent unto the Princes court,
there should have bene bestowed of dutie certaine set gifts appointed by custom,
allowance was made of smaller, and those of lesse value than had benee vied : which
they, when they should receive, faring in furions manner, flung away, as a most
shamefull indignitie offered unto them : and after they had benee verie roughly
intreated by *Prasius* the Master of the offices, an angrie and cruell man, they re-
turned home, and aggravating this fact, stirred up most fell nations, as if they had benee
contumeliously despised to rebellion. And about that time, or not long after, *Pro-*

the first day.

Procopius in the East rose up in armes, and plotted to usurpe the Empire. Which newes happening neere about the "Kalends of November, were reported the verie same day unto *Valentinianus*, as he was comming to Paris. And for the Alemans verily he commaunded *Dagalaiphus* to march forward with speed; and to make head against them: who having wasted the places neerer at hand, were departed & gone a great way off, without losse of blood. But about the repressing of the designe & attempt of *Procopius* before it might grow to greater strength, he was distracted with doubtfull cares, and in this regard especially troubled, for that he wist not whether hee affected and reached at the foresaid Empire, whiles *Valens* was alive, or after his death. For *Equitius*, upon relation and intelligence given by *Antonius* a Tribune (who had the command of the forces in the mid. land parts of Dacia) which gave knowledge of nothing but the occurrent it self, and that obscurely upon heare-say, had also himselfe before the thing was knowne for certain, in bare words acquainted the Prince with what was done. Upon knowledge hereof *Valentinianus* having honoured the sayd *Equitius* with the dignitie of Great Master, or Generall, purposed to returne unto Illyricum, lest the rebell become dread now after the overrunning of Thracia, should in hostile manner make rodes into Pannonia. For, exceedingly terrified he was with the late and fresh example, as calling to mind how *Julian* a little before (contemning that Emperour who everie where in civile warre went away on the winning hand) before he was either feared or expected, passed with incredible celeritie from one citie to another. But as hot set as hee was upon returne, yet this heat became allaied by the counsell and advice of those about him, perswading and beseeching him, not to expose Gaule unto the barbarous enemies, threatening as they did nothing but deadly mischief; nor upon this pretense and allegation to forsake the Provinces needing his helping hand: And together with them joyned the embassadors of noble cities, praying and intreating him not to leave the sayd Provinces in this hard and doubtfull estate, unprotected and without defence, which with his personall presence he might deliver out of great daungers, by affrighting the Germans onely with the majestie of his name. At length, pondering thoroughly and with good adviement, the utilitie of the thing, as bending and framing himselfe to yeeld unto the opinions of many, hee otherwhiles would say, That *Procopius* was enemy indeed but onely to himselfe and his brother, whereas the Alemans were to the whole Roman world and Empire, and so determined not to stirre any whicher for the time without the confines of the Gaules, being gone forward alreadie as farre as to Remes: Yet having a careful regard of Affricke, lest the enemies should sodainly breake into it, he tooke order that *Vulterius*, afterward Consull, then Notarie, should goe to the defence thereof, as also *Masurius*, one of the Domestici Protectores, upon this consideration, that being brought up there in times past under his father *Cresius* a * Comes, he knew all the suspected and dangerous places: and with these he joyned *Gaudennius* a Scutarius, whom he knew of old to be true and faithfull unto him. Now, for that there were most wofull tempests and stormes up in both parts of the Empire at one and the selfe same time, we will digest everie thing in due place; first reporting what was done in the East, and then relating the Barbarian warres [in the West:] For that the most part of these occurrences fell out in the same monethes, both in the West, and also in the East part of the world: least whiles we make haft by leaps to returne otherwhiles out of one place to another, we should in a confusion of all, enwrap the order and course of the storie with verie foule obscuritie.

CHAP. VII.

What this Procopius was, and by what devices and policies he went about to usurpe the Empire.

Procopius descended of noble parentage, borne & brought up in Cilicia, in this regard that he was neere of kin unto *Julian* afterwards Emperour, from his verie first degree arose and shewed himselfe: and as one for his life and behaviour verie orderly and precise (although he was of a close and silent carriage) serving in the warres a long time in good credit and shew in qualitie of a Notarie and Tribune, and now being next in place unto the best and chiefe officers, after the death of *Constantius*, in that change of the world aspired high: as who was a kinsman of the Emperours, and raunged in the ranke and fellowship of the Comites. And apparent it was, that he, if ever it might lye in his power, would trouble the quiet estate of the Commonweale another day. This *Procopius*, *Julian* when hee entered into Persia had left behind him him with strong regiments of souldiors in Mesopotamia, joyning to him in equall power *Sebastianus*: and had given him in charge, as whisped it was by a darke report (for there was no certaine author to be seene of this mandate) that hee should deale according to the counse of things and occurrents knowne: and if he perceived at any time the ayds of the Roman State to goe downe the wind, he should take order, that himselfe with all speed might be nominated and stiled Emperour. Who carrying himselfe in civile and warie wise in the managing of that which was enjoyned unto him, when hee understood of the death of *Julian*, upon a false rumor running abroad, that the same *Julian* lying at the verie point of death, delivered thus much, That it was his mind and pleasure, that the government of the Empire should bee put into the hands of *Procopius*, fearing least for this cause he should be killed, without proceffe of law and condemnation, got himselfe out of sight: but terrified most of all after the death of *Jovianus* the chiefe of all the Notaries; whom upon the decesse of *Julian* nominated by some few souldiors as worthy of the Empire, and suspected afterwards to aspire thereunto, he understood to have been with much torment put to death. And for that he had learned how himselfe was with great diligence layd for, so avoid the heavie load of grievous envie, he departed out of the way (as I said) into remote and secret parts. And when he perceived that *Jovianus* the Emperour had his spies abroad to seeke out his lurking holes, and was beside wearie of this manner of life: for, being cast downe from an high estate to a low degree, he was sore pinched also with hunger in ill favoured and foule countries: he wanted the speech and conference with men: & driven in the end to extreame necessitie, by journeying through wilds and by-ways, he came into the territorie about Chaledon, where because that seemed unto him a sure place of refuge, he kept himselfe close with a most trustie friend one *Strategius*, who of a Palatine souldior was become a Senator: going many times secretly, as he might, betweene his house and Constantinople, as it appeared evidently by the same *Strategius*, who disclosed all, after that there had been oft inquisition made into the adherents of that faction. After the guile therefore of a most cunning and subtle spie, altogether unknowne (in visage hee looked so poore and leane) he harkened after all the flying rumors that began then to runne thicke abroad (as commonly things at their first beginning bee ever more distast-
fall)

* Lieutenant or Captain.

full) bruited by many persons, who seemed to blame *Valens*, as if he were hote and greedily bent to make spoyle of other mens goods : to the enkindling of whose rigour and crueltie, there was a mischievous fire-brand readie at hand, his * father in law *Petronius*, promoted with a suddaine jumpe from being a captaine of the fouldiors * Martenses, to be a * Patritian, a man in mind and habite of bodie deformed. Who being wonderfully sharpe-set to strip all men without any respect, even to their very skins, after exquisite torments bound the innocent as well as the offenders with foure-fold bonds, raking and scraping for debts due even from the very dayes of *Aurelianus* the Emperour, and sorrowing exceedingly, if he had absolved or enlarged any, without receiving some hurt and damage. Whose intolerable conditions this mischiefe also made the worse, for that being enriched with the piteous sorrowes of other men, he was inexorable and cruell : as he carried also an enraged heart, so he was therewith most rude and untaught, not fit at any time either to yeeld or admit reason : more odious than *Cleander* ; who governing as Præfect under the Emperour *Commodus*, in a high straine (as it were) of outrage and madnesse, made havocke (as we read) of divers mens estates : more grievous and irkesome than *Plautianus* ; who being likewise Præfect under *Severus*, swelling and puffed up beyond all measure, would have made a confusion of all things, had he not died upon the revenging edge of the sword. These lamentable proceedings, which by the instigation and setting on of *Petronius* under *Valens*, had shut up many houses as well of poore as rich, and the more horrible feare of mischiefs toward, stucke close to the very heart root of the provincially people and fouldiors both, who groned under these burthens alike : and every man wished for a day, though in darke and secret teames, and that with joynt grones on all hands, that by the helpe of the highest God there might be an alteration in the State. Which *Procopius* closely taking vantage of, and supposing that when that blessed and happie day should come, with small adoe he might be taken up to the very top of the highest dignitie, lay close in espiall, waiting as a savage beast for his prey, readie forthwith to bounce out, if it could see that which might be caught. Unto whom, so eage of the bit, Fortune ministred this occasion in exceeding good season, to make up his mouth.

CHAP. VIII.

While *Valens* is farre removed by occasion of warre against the Gothes, *Procopius* putting forward his intended businesse, is by tumultuarie acclamations saluted Emperour.



When Winter was spent, *Valens* speeding himselfe apace toward Syria, and being now entred the marches of Bithynia, was enforced by the relation and reports made from the Lord-marchers, That the Gothes, a nation at that time unfoyled and not meddled with, and the same most cruelly banding together, were putting their forces in readinesse, to invade the confines and borders of Thracia. This beeing knowne, to the end that himselfe in person might without any let goe forward whither he meant, commaunded a sufficient aid of horse and foot both to bee sent unto those places, wherein it was feared there would be any rodes of the barbarous enemies. When the prince therefore was

farre

farre removed, *Procopius* worne away with long miseries, supposing any grievous death more easie and tollerable than the painefull afflictions which he endured, threw at a venture the dye, and hazarded at one cast all perils whatsoever : and in a desperate resolution leading the way, nothing at all afraid now to suffer any extremities, setteth in hand with a most bold enterprise. The * Divitenses and Tungritani of the younger sort and later enrolment, appointed among others to make hast unto the urgent service in Thracia, and purposing to abide after the solemn manner two dayes in Constantinople, he hastened to sollicite by the mediation of some out of the same companies with whom he was acquainted (because it was a perillous and difficult matter to speake with them all) and made choice of some few to put in trust : who beeing woon through the hope of great rewards, promised and bound it with a religious oath, to doe whatsoever he willed them ; yea, and gave their word for the favour also and assistance of their fellow fouldiors, among whom themselves carried a great sway, and might do much by persuation, as having the greatest pay, and being of best desert. According to appointment, and when it was faire day light, the said *Procopius* distracted into iudic cogitations, went to the Baines * Anastasianæ, so called of *Constantines* sister, where he knew the militarie ensignes were bestowed, and being enforced by those that were privie to their secret counsels, that all of them, upon an association made in the night, agreed to fide with him, with assurance of safe conduct being gladly admitted unto them, environed he was with a multitude thronged together of vendible or sale fouldiors, by way of honour I must needs say, but yet pent up amongst them as one besieged : who, like as the Prætorian cohort in times past, after the death of *Perrinax*, received *Iulianus*, cheapening (as one would say) the imperial dignitie, and making offer what price he would give for it : even so they also, bent to every thing that would yeeld them advantage and profite, defended *Procopius*, plotting to enter upon an unfortunate soveraigntie. He stood therefore among them as one halfe pined and consumed (a man would have taken him to have been a ghost rayfed from the dead) by reason that a rich regall mantle would no where be found, clad in a coat beset with embossed gold, like unto one of these kings * servants, arrayed from the heele to the share in manner of a nice and pretie page, wearing also purple shoes and hose : and as he bare a javelin or speare in his right hand, so he carried in the left a pretie piece of purple cloth ; so as one would have thought, that in a stage-play within the Theatre, either some notable image and counterfeit through the tapistrie curtaines, or elsie mocking delusion to make folke laugh, suddainely came forth and appeared. Well then, being thus after a ridiculous manner lifted up to this degree, in disgrace (as it were) and mockerie of all honours, and by way of servile flatterie having made a speech unto the authors of this benefit and advancement of his, yea, and promised unto them great riches and dignities for this hanfell and first fruits (as it were) of his Empire, forth he went in procession into the streets, guarded with a multitude of armed men : and there in statelie port he marched on with the ensignes borne aloft upright, enclosed on every side with a dreadfull noyse of shields and targuets, clattering in dolefull wise : which they, for feare least from the high houses they should bee pelted with stones or broken tyles, fitted close and thicke to the crests of their helmets. As for himselfe, going timorously as he did, the people neither withstood nor favoured : howbeit, ravished they were with a suddaine pleasure and joy in such a noveltie, a thing naturally given to most of the vulgar sort : and this was the rather

* women of the Guard.

set

set on foot, because (as I said before) all folke with one mind detested *Petronius*, growing on to such wealth by violent means: as who railed up against divers orders and degrees of citizens new troubles and suits; yea, and revived bills and writings of debt long since buried. When as therefore the said *Procopius* was mounted up to the Tribunal, and by reason that all the people looked downe on the ground, and stood astonied (which silence of theirs gave suspicion of some mischief toward) supposing there was prepared now (as he feared) a readier way to his death, by reason of a trembling that went over all his joints (being of himselfe not readie of speech) he stood a long time silent. Yet after he had now begun to say somewhat with an interrupt and dead voice, whereby he pretended his neere alliance unto the blood and line imperial, with a low whispering of some few that were hired thereto of purpose, and afterwards with tumultuarie noises and cries of the common people, being named Emperour, disorderly & in great hast he went to the *Curia: where finding none there of *Senators degree, but some few, and those ignoble and base persons, he went apace, but with a most unfortunat and wicked foot, and fo entered the palace.

CHAP. IX.

Valens hearing of this bold action of *Procopius*, chaungeth his purpose: *Procopius* by sundry craftie devices, and in the end by an armie levied and assembled, provideth for himselfe.



Some marvaile, I assure you, that such ridiculous beginnings, unwisely and rashly taken in hand, have broken forth in the end, to the wofull calamities of Commonweale; as ignorant perhaps of former precedents, supposing the same to have happened then first, and never before. Thus *Andrius* the Adramyten, a base fellow, and of the meanest condition, rayed up to the very name of **Pseudophilippus*, was the cause of the third grievous and bloudie Macedonian warre. Thus whiles *Macrinus* the Emperour abode in Antioch, *Heliogabalus* came forth of **Emesa*, and became *Antoninus*. So also by an unexpected assault made by *Maximinus*, was **Alexander*, together with *Mammaea*, rabbed to death. In Affick, the elder *Gordian*, haled by force to usurpe the Empire, for very trouble and anguish of imminent dangers strangled himselfe with an halter, and ended his life. Well, procured there were and taken in to the doubtfull issue of this strange occurrence, some against their wils, and some willingly, **marchants* of trifling cares and such as gave attendance within the palace, or had given over to wait: those also who having bene enrolled souldiors, had betaken themselves now to a more quiet life. And there were againe, who supposing all conditions of life better than the present State, slipped away secretly from the citie, and with speedie journeyes made hast unto the Emperours campe. All these, *Soptrinius*, then a Notarie, Praefect afterwards of Constantinople, outstript and prevented by riding most swiftly, and turned backe into Galatia, *Valens*, readie then to depart from Caesarea in Cappadocia, intending now, that the hote and sultring constitution of the weather in Cilicia was allayed, to goe through, and that with speed, to the habitation and seat of Antioch; him, I say, he averted from his journey, after he had declared the whole order of the proceedings aforesaid unto him, much troubled and astonied, as he was, by reason of his doubtfull hopes, (as in such cases it is an ordinarie thing) and minding to take hold of these matters, yet standing upon fearefull and ticklish tearmes.

But

But whiles he maketh speed and taketh great journeyes, *Procopius* with most earnest and watchfull care from day to day spent the whole nights, shewing abroad certaine suborned and counterfeit persons, who with confident boldnesse fainning, that they were come, some out of the East, others out of Gaule, brought word, that *Valentinian* was dead; yea, and gave it out in plaine teames, that all lay cleare and open for this new and much favoured prince to enter upon. And because such rebellious usurpations of Empires malaparty taken in hand, are wont otherwhiles to be strengthened with quick dispatch, least any thing should be omitted that might strike a terror, forthwith *Nabridius*, newly by the faction of *Petronius* promoted in the rowme of *Sallustius* to be Praefectus Pratorio, and *Casarius* Praefect of the citie Constantinople, were cast into prison and layed up fast: and *Phronemius* had commaundement to rule the citie after the wonted government, and *Euphrasius* to bee master of the Offices; both of them Gaules, and men most approved for their erudition and learning: and the managing of militarie and campe-affaires was committed very inconsiderately (as the end shewed which bewrayeth what things are) unto *Gomarius* and *Agilo*, who were called backe againe to take a new oath of souldiorie. And because *Iulius* the **Comes* having charge of the forces in Thracia, was like from the neere stations to suppress the rebels, if he understood once of their attempts, and therefore feared, there was this effectually and cunning policie devised; and he, by commaundement as it were of *Valens*, being sent for to Constantinople by the letters of *Nabridius* (as yet in prison) violently wrung from him, under a colour to treat about the troubles of the barbarous enemies, was there detained in strait hold close prisoner. And by this craftie and deceitfull fetch the warlike nation of Thracia being without bloudish wooon to the fide, brought exceeding great aid and maintenance to these tumultuarie attempts. After which so achieved with prosperous successe, *Araxius* also by labouring those of the palace, and procuring of their voices, became Praefectus Pratorio: and *Agilo*, who married his daughter, helped him forward also, with his good word: many others likewise were admitted to sundry places and employments in court, as also to the administration of provinces, some against their wils, others of their owne accord offering themselves with money and rewards in hand. And, as it usually falleth out in civile and domestically dissensions, divers rose up even out of the very dung-hill and rascalitie, directed onely by desperate and blind projects: contrariwise, some againe there were, who being nobly borne, fell from high estates downe to very death and exile. Now, when as by these and such like practises there seemed to be a faction firmly framed, it remained that there should be good store of militarie forces raised: and easily was that brought about, a thing that diverse times in publicke broyles and commotions hath hindered brave exploits, enterprised even upon just and lawfull motives. For the troupes and companies as well of horsemen as footmen which were levied through Thracia, to performe the expedition as they passed along, being courteously and liberally entreated, and all assembled together, so as they made a shew of an armie, gaping after most large promises, under paine of cursed execrations swore allegiance unto *Procopius*, promising in their behalfe this constant resolution, That they would not faile, to defend him with their owne armes and forces. And verily he met with a very fit occasion and oportunitie to allure them unto his part, for that himselfe carrying all about with him in his owne armes a little daughter of *Constantinus* (whose fresh memoriall was highly honoured) pretended kinned even with *Iulianus*. He found also another thing, that

*Comes or Lieutenant.

*the Senate house.
*Curia, summe.*for counterfeit
name of *Philip*.*Hannan & Hannan,
to, *Antioch*.**Capitulum* vil-
lum mercatorum:
happily he meeteth
carers, and such
like effects for
provisions.

that failed verie fitly with the present time : for that he did upon him the ornaments of Imperiall vesture, when as *Fantina* mother of the said gulte was by a certaine meere chaunce present in place. To these he adioyneth another peece of pollicie, which with all diligence was to be put in practise; namely, certaine picked men for the nonce; and foole-hardie, were sent to leize upon Illyricum, trusting upon no other helpe but malapert fawcinesse, who, forsooth, handfomely devised certaine peecces of gold made with the stampe of the new Emperours face, beside other meanes of allurements: Whom *Equitius*, Generall of the forts in those countries apprehended and put to divers sorts of death. And then fearing the like practises, he stopped up three most narrow waies and passages, by which the Northern provinces are affailed, the one by Dacia **Ripensis*, a second, and that right well known, by *Succi*, and the third by the Macedonians, which they tearme *Leimæna*. And by this warie prevention the usurper of an undue and unlawfull government, being put quite beside his vaine conceit and persuation to get Illyricum into his hands, lost great meanes of maintaining warres.

CHAP. X.

The legions armed against Procopius, and readie to fight, through his seditions words as it were, enchanted and bewitched, are wrought against Valens and Valentinian, and acknowledge Procopius for Emperour. After this he gaineth to his side Nicæa and Bithynia. Valens having escaped extreme of danger, by his best and most select captains encounters the rebels.



Hiles these things are thus in contriving, *Valens* astonished at so heave and fearfull newes, and now in his returne through Gallogracia, hearing how things went at Constantinople, marched diffidently and in much feare: and considering this sodaine affright confounded all the wayes of providence and forecast, so much was he discouraged and cast downe, that hee thought once to throw away his Imperiall robes, as an heave burden. And so had he done indeed, but that through the gainfaying and opposition of his inward friends next about him, he was dissuaded from that base and unseemely purpose, and strengthened with the advice and opinions of the better sort, commaunded two regiments to goe before, named *Iovij* and *Victores*, for to breake into the rebels campe. As these now drew neere, *Procopius* being rettyred from Nicæa, whither he was lately come, having in his companie the *Diviteses*, and a confused rabble of rebels and revolts, which almost in six dayes space he had gathered together, he made hast to Mygdus, a place watered with the river **Sangarius*: where, when the legions were readie to joyne battaile and fight, among those that discharged arrowes and other shot to and fro, he alone, as if he meant to advance forward, and by way of skirmish to charge the enemies, brake out into the mids before them all: and such was the guidance of his good fortune, that seeming to agnize one *Valerianus* out of the opposit battaile (and whether he knew him or no uncertain it is) after greeting in the Latine tongue, he gently led him forth, and after he had given him his right hand, and saluted him with a kisse, when they were all on both sides amazed hereat, *Lo* (quoth he) *the ancient fidelitie of the Roman Armies, and the other bound with firmer religious complements. And is it indeed your mind and pleasure, my valiant warriors, thus for unknowne strangers so many sword should be drawn of your*

owne countrey men; and that a base and misbegotten **Pannonian*, marring and spreading downe all under foot, should enjoy an Empire which he never durst so much as conceive in his mind or wish for, and that we should grone under your and our wounds? Nay, rather follow the royall race and line of the highest bloud, raising new most iust and lawfull war, not so tyrannize and make harvocke of other mens goods, but rather to restore the same unto the full and whole estate of ancient Maieſtie. With this mild speech they were all appeased that came fiercely to fight, and debating the tops of their ensignes and standers, willingly revolted unto him: and with a terrible crie, which the barbarous sort tearme *Barritus*, they filed him Emperour, and in one consent, with a strong guard about him, as the manner is, brought him backe into the campe, and in fouldior-like sort cried unto *Iupiter*, and prayed, that *Procopius* might bee invincible. This good successe of these rebels had a better to second it. For, *Rumissalca* a Tribune, being taken into the societie of the *Procopians*, and having entred upon the charge of the Palace, and therewith complotted in good time this designe, and communicated it with the fouldiors, came by water to a towne before time named **Drepanum*, and now *Helenopolis*, and so from thence possessed himselfe, sooner than men would have thought, of Nicæa. To the besieging whereof when *Valerianus*, sometime a great leader, and king of the Alemans, was sent, with such as were skillfull in this kind of service, *Valens* goeth forward to Nicomedia: From whence being departed, verie earnest he was with great forces to assault Chalcedon: from the walls whereof they let flie at him reviling and reproachfull rearmes, calling him injuriously *Sabaiarius*: (now is *Sabania* a kind of poore folks drinke in Illyricum, made of barley or wheat converted into liquor:) But wearied in the end for want of victuals, & through the exceeding obstinacie of the defendans within, that would not relent, he was now at the point to depart: And see, in this meane while, those which were besieged within Nicæa, sodainly setting open the gates, and issuing forth, after they had slaine a great number of the pioners and assailants, with their most hardie and bold leader *Rumissalca*, made hast in this heat of bloud to come upon the backe of *Valens* (who as yet was not gone from the suburbs of Chalcedon) and to compasse him in round about. And verily effected they had this exploit, but that by a certaine rumor that went before, he having intelligence of this imminent mischief, with departing speedily by the lake *Sunonenſis*, and the winding cranks of the river **Gallus*, he deluded the enemy hard at hand at his heeles, and following after him in vaine. And by this accident Bithynia likewise was brought under the hands of *Procopius*. From whence, when *Valens* was by speedie journeyes returned to Ancyra, and advertised, that *Lupicinus* was comming toward the East parts with certaine puissant companies of armed men, being now put in greater hope of better successe, he sent *Arimheus* a most select captaine to encounter the enemies by the way. Who being come to *Dadaſtana*, a certaine station wherein *Iovianus* dyed, all on a sodaine espied *Hyperichius* readie to affront and make head against him with an armie, one who before time was truly tearmed *Apparitor* **Gastrens*, that is, a Minister of the belly and throat: unto whom as to a friend *Procopius* had committed the conduct of his ayds. And disdainning in fight to vanquish such a contemptible person, bearing himselfe bold of his owne authority, a goodly tall personage, commanded the verie enemies themselves to bind their ruler. And so this unfortunat Carpet Knight, a chieftaine, forsooth, of armed troups, was apprehended by the hands of his owne followers.

*Hungarian.

*Ponto Sabia, and Trapezus, Metropolis.

*Gazippo, Piner.

*Alluding by way of synecdoche to Calcedonia, a Metropolis. A paradise or garden.

CHAP. XI.

Procopius besiegeth Cyzicum, and by the good service of Alifon a Tribune winneth it by force, as also by keeping in most strait ward Serenianus the Prefect, sent unto Nicea. Which done, bearing and vaunting himselfe over high, he neglecteth the opportunitye of his affaires.



Hiles these affaires in this manner proceed, *Venusinus* a certaine Minister or Officer belonging to the Treasure, under *Valens*, sent long before to Nicomedia, for to receive gold, and distribute it as wages poll by poll among the souldiours that were disperfed all over the East parts, understanding of this heauey newes aforesaid, considering the time was unfit for that businesse, went quickly to *Cyzicus with those monyes which he had gathered up; where by chance he found *Serenianus*, then *Comes of the Domestici, of purpose sent to keepe the treasure safe: who with the helpe onely of a tumultuarie garrison kept the citie, wel knowne, even upon ancient records, to be compassed with imprenable walls: to the winning whereof *Procopius* had appointed a strong power, that being lord of Bithynia, he might be master alio of Hellefpontus. But by reason that the companies of the besiegers were oftentimes fore troubled with arrows, bullets, & other shot, as also for that through the industrie of the defendants there was devised a barre, by a verie strong yron chaine bestowed in the verie mouth of the haven (which, because the enemies ships armed with piked-beake-heads, might not rush in, was bound fast at either end) long it was ere the siege tooke effect. This chaine, after sundrie paines that both souldiours and captaines tooke (who alreadie were out-toiled with most sharp conflicts) one *Alifo*, a Tribune, and an expert warrior, cut away by this device. Vpon three ships joyned together, he built a roofoe over head in this manner: Vpon the foremost hatches or rowers banks stood armed men close together with their shields couched thick over their heads, others also behind them stooping somewhat lower, & a third fort by degrees bending their bodies down: so as the hindmost resting upon their houghes or hammes, made a shew of an arched building: Which kind of Fabricke against fight from walls, is framed in such a forme for this cause, That the shot of casting weapons and of stones, as they light and fall, might glance and glide off like shewers of raine, and so take no effect. Thus therefore *Alifo* being saved for a while from the violence of dartes and other shot, with mightie strength of bodie putting underneath a sound pyle or post, with the huge stroke of an axe so clave and burst the chaine aforesaid, that it fell asunder, and gave a large entrance to the citie. And so by the working of this feat the citie lay open and undefended, to the violence of the enemies. For which cause what time as afterwards (*Procopius*) the author of all this proud and audacious rebellion, was put to death, and the adherents and complices of this faction cruelly executed, this verie Tribune in regard of so noble an exploit, keeping his life still, and the place he had in warre-service, dyed long after in Isauria, stabbed and killed by a sort of robbing Brigands. When *Cyzicum* was by this service laid open, *Procopius* made hast thither, after pardon graunted in generall to all those that had made resistance, onely

Serenia-

Serenianus he commaunded to be led bound unto Nicea, and there kept in ward most straitly. And forthwith upon *Ormisda*, a forward and ripe young gentleman, the sonne of that noble *Ormisda*, a [Persian] Prince of the bloud royall, he conferred a Proconsulship, with commission to manage after the manner of old time, as well civile causes, as warre affaires. Who dealing mildly in his place according to his accustomed manner, when he should have beene surprisied, and caught up in a sodaine incurtion, by those souldiours whom *Valens* had sent by the wilds and by-ways of Phrygia, with so vigorous a courage escaped, that being once embarked he would never lye open to such doubtfull and dangerous chaunces: and had away with him his wife that followed in safetie, notwithstanding a cloud (as it were) of arrows flew all about, when she was at the point to be taken prisoner: a wealthy dame she was, and nobly descended, whose modest carriage and glorious constancie delivered her husband afterwards from extreame dangers. *Procopius* upon the foresaid victorie vaunting himselfe above the condition of mortalitie, and not knowing, that any man be never so happie to day, with the turning of Fortunes wheele, may once before evening become most miserable, commanded the house of *Arbetio*, full (as it was) by reason of those inestimable escheats (which house before time he had spared as his owne, as reckoning him for one of his owne complices and adherents) to be rifled and ransacked cleane, taking stomacke and indignation against him, that being sent for sundrie times to come unto him, hee always made delays, alledging for his excuse the lets of old age and sicknesse. And although for this cause he, a presumptuous usurper, might well feare some grievous inclination and turning of the ballance: yet whereas he might now at his pleasure with the willing assent of all men (there being none to make resistance) have invaded the East provinces, desirous all to see some new change, as irked with that rigorous and rough government wherewith they were held under: yet by lingering on, and making longer stay, for to allure unto him certaine cities of Asia, and to chuse out skillfull miners for the getting of gold ore, as those that might stand him in good stead against his wars, which he expected would be many and great, he became dull and blunt in manner of a keene and fine edged sword: Like as in times past *Pescennius Niger*, sent for oftentimes by the people of Rome, to relieve and succour the hope of the State lying in extremitie, whiles hee lingered a long time the invading of Syria, was vanquished in the gulfes *Issicum (which is in Cilicia, where *Alexander* defeated *Darius*) and being put to fight, died by the hand of a common souldior, in a certaine Suburbe-village of Antiochia. These were the acts that passed about mid-Winter, whiles *Valentinian* and *Valens* were Consuls.

*Golfo de Azzaro

CHAP. XII.

Valens using the service of Arbetio an old experienced captaine, draweth unto him many of Procopius his footmen and horsemen both: At length Procopius himselfe bound in chaines by his owne men, and brought unto Valens, had his head stricken off, and so buried quite the troubles of a civile war which was begun.



When that most honourable magistracie was transferred to *Gratianus* as yet a privat person, and to *Dogalaiphus*, and the Spring began, wherein all things gather strength, *Valens* joyning unto him *Lupicinus*, with strong auxiliaries, speedily advanced his ensignes towards

Qq ij

*Pessinus,

*Poliast. Theoret.

*Pessinus, a towne in times past of Phrygia, and now of Galatia : which when he had quickly fortified with a garrison, least any unexpected accident might at unawares arise in those tracts, he intended to take his journey by the foot of the high hill Olympus, and the rough craggie lanes, minding to set upon *Gomoarius*, whiles he lay secure and negligent. But crossed he was in this designe by many, that jointly and resolutely agreed together, upon this consideration especially, That his enemy (as hath beene related before) by carrying about with him in a litter the little daughter of *Constantius*, with her mother *Faustina*, both in the way as he marched, and also when battailes approached one another embattaile, he enkindled the courage of the souldiers, to the end, that for this imperiall progenie, whereto he sayd moreover that himselfe was linked, they might fight more boldly. Like as upon a time the Macedonians, readie to strike a battail with the Illyrians, placed their king (as yet an infant in his swathing bands) behind the armie raunged in battaile ray, for feare of whom, least he should be carried away captive, they fought more valiantly, and vanquished their enemies. Against these craftie fetches, the Emperour in sage policie, to helpe the matter thus wavering and readie to reele, tooke good order, and exhorted *Arberio* sometime Confull (who this long time had lived privately) to repaire unto him, to the end that by the reverent regard of him, a captain under *Constantius*, the rebels fell stomacke might be appeased. And so it fell out in very deed. For when he, in yeares elder, and in dignitie higher than all the rest, shewed his reverend gray haire unto many, that were otherwise enclined to perfidious trecherie, he calling *Procopius* himselfe a traytcrousb rebell to the State; but the souldiers that now followed his error, fornes and parteners with him in travailes and paines-taking long agoe, requested them rather to follow him, as a father knowne unto them for his most happie conduits, than to be ruled by a lewd varlet, who would even anon be forlorne, and at point to take his final overthrow. Which being knowne, *Gomoarius*, when he might well ynough have deluded the enemies, and returned safe to the place from whence he came, taking the vantage of the neere distance, in pretence and colour of a captive passed over to the Emperours campe, as if he had beene beset with the rode of a multitude, that he suddainly espied. Upon this good successe, *Valens* marched on with a running campe toward Phrygia; and nere unto *Nacolia, when they were come to joyne battaile, the capitaine of the adverse side *Agilo*, at the very instant of a doubtfull fight, by riding suddainly out of the ranke, betrayed all: and in imitation of him a number of others now shaking their javelins and swords, goe over to the Emperour, bearing their banners and shields reversed: a most manifest signe of revolt. This being once scene besides all mens expectation, *Procopius* perceiving himselfe cut off from all meanes of escape, betooke him to his heeles, and ran within the secret noukes of the woods and woulds that stood round about: and after him there followed *Florentius*, and *Barchalba* a Tribune, whom being well knowne for his service in most bloudie warres, even from *Constantius* his dayes, necessitie, and not his owne will, had drawne into this leawd and wicked action. When as therefore the greater part of the night was past, and the Moore, which from evening shone untill day light, augmented their feare, *Procopius* seeing on every side himselfe destitute of all meanes of escaping, not knowing what to doe (as it falleth out commonly in such hard cases) expostulated with his lamentable and heaveie fortune: and so, overwhelmed with a world of sundrie cares, was suddainly by his owne companions fast

fast bound, and upon the returne now of day brought into the campe, and presented to the Emperour, saying never a word, and looking downward; and immediately having his head smitten off, hee buried with him the troubles of civile discords that were growing: according to the example of *Perpenna* in old time, who after that he had murdered *Sertorius* as he sat at his meat, having enjoyed a while the Sovereignitie, was plucked forth of the shrubs under which he had throwed himselfe, and being brought before *Pompeius*, at his commaundement was slaine. And in the like heat of bloud, *Florentius* and *Barchalba*, who brought him in, were streightwayes killed, without any regard and consideration had of reason. For, if they had betrayed their lawfull prince, even Iustice her selfe would have pronounced, they were rightly killed: if a rebell and enemy of civile peace (as he was named to be) they ought to have had ample and large rewards given them for so memorable an act. Now, *Procopius* departed this life, when he was fortie yeares old and tenne moneths over: a man not uncomely of bodie, nor of meane stature, somewhat stouping, and in his gate looking alwayes downward to the ground, and by his close and sad behavior, like for all the world to that *Craesus*, of whom *Lucilius* and *Tully* make this report, That he laughed but once all his lifetime: and that which is to be wondered, so long as he lived, not stained with bloudshed.

CHAP. XIII.

Marcellus capitaine of Nicea, after that Serenianus was slaine, and Chalcedon possessed, taketh upon him the shadow of a deadly and wofull Emperour: but within a litle after is suppressed. Then was there cruell proceeding against the complices of Procopius and Marcellus, and that beyond all measure: for which Valens, an implacable man, whose greatest fault it was, deserved blame: whose crueltie here is described.



Here about the same time, *Marcellus* a Protector, and a cousin of the same *Procopius*, capitaine also of the garrison at Nicea, having intelligence given him of the souldiers revolt, and death of *Procopius*, came upon *Serenianus* at unawares in the dead time of midnight, thut where hee was within the palace, and slew him; whose death was the life of many: for, if he had survived this victorie, being a man rough hewen, rude of behaviour, and for resemblance of conditions and vicinitie of native soyle well accepted of *Valens*, observing the close disposition and pleasure of the prince, too much enclined to crueltie, would no doubt have massacred many innocent persons: who being slaine, *Marcellus* aforesaid riding presently unto Chalcedon, and seizing it into his owne hands, at the crye and shout of some few, whom their base condition and desperat estate thrust forward to mischief, taketh upon him the momentanie shadow of an Emperour, that cost him his life; induced thereto by two motives, which failed and deceived him: for that both the three thousand Gothes, which upon the pacification of the kings were sent to aid *Procopius*, pretending that he was of kin un-

*Etiologic. Lament.

to *Constantinus*, he thought might be brought with some small reward and consideration to side with him; and also, for that the proceedings in Illyricum were as yet unknowne. Amid these fearefull occurrences, *Equitius* being given to understand by faithfull espials, That the preparation of the whole warre was turned upon Asia, departing by *Succi*, assayed by great force and violence to open *Philippopolis*, called in old time *Eumolpiada*, shut up and kept by the enemies garriſons, a citie of very great importance, and like to impeach his coming, in case he should be forced when he was to bring the aids that were left behind unto *Valens* (for as yet he knew not what had beene done at *Nacolia*) to hasten unto *Hermimontum*. But a little while after, when the vaine presumption and usurpation of *Marcellus* was knowne, there were sent adventurous and resolute souldiers, who having apprehended him, cast him into safe custodie, as a slave yeelded up for to receive punishment. Whereupon the next day following he was brought forth, and after his sides were most cruelly cut and mangled, together with his consorts, that suffered the like torments, he died; in this regard onely favoured and loved, for that he dispatched *Serenianus* out of the way, as cruell as *Phalaris*, trustie both to one and another, even to the teaching of cruell learning, which he shewed upon small and trifling occasions. After this mortall and deadly warre was by the fall of the chiefe captaine rooted out, more rigorous proceeding there was against many, than eyther their errors or trespasses required: but most of all against the defenders of *Philippopolis*, who hardly and with very much adoe yeelded up both the citie and themselves, but not before they had seene the head of *Procopius*, which was carried into *Gaulle*. But to gratifie those that made much entreatie, some were chastised more mildly: among whom, *Araxius* was a chiefe man, who by ambitious labouring for voices, and the intercession of his daughters husband *Agilo*, in the very hear and broile of all attained to be Praefect, and he (I say) was for his punishment confined to the Islands, but shortly after escaped. As for *Euphrasius* and *Phronemius* likewise, they were sent into the West parts, and exposed to the will and determination of *Valentinian*: and verily *Euphrasius* was quit and set free; but *Phronemius* was had away into *Cherthonesus*, and in the same businesse more unmercifully punished, because he was a favourite of *Iulianus* of sacred memorie; whose memorable vertues, both the princes, brethren, depraved, being themselves neither his like, nor comming neere unto him. Besides all this, other exemplarie punishments there were more grievous, yea, and farre more terrible than those executions that fall out in battailes: For the tormentor, the drags and yron hookes, with bloodie examinations, without respect of age or dignitie made foule worke in all estates and degrees; and under the pretence of peace, a most detestable vice was put in practise; whiles all men generally cursed this unluckie victorie, more grievous than any deadly warre whatsoever. For among weapons yet and sounding trumpets the equalitie of condition maketh the dangers lighter, and the power of martiall valour either preventeth that which was attempted, or if death happen suddainly and unawares, it carrieth no sence at all of ignominie and shame, but bringeth with it both end of life and paine together: But when wicked and impious purposes have right and lawes for their pretence, and the Iudges sit them downe with a faire colour, and set upon them either of a *Catonian* or *Cassian* sentence, and whatsoever is done, is done according to the will of a great ruler or magistrat puffed up with pride, and to satisfie his pleasure, matters of great importance,

tance, even of life and death, are weighed and considered accordingly, there must the issue needs fall out to capitall mischief in the highest degree. For as any one in those dayes was in any respect powerfull, or toward the Court, and burning in greedie desire to seize upon other mens goods, although he were openly knowne to accuse an innocent person, yet was he welcommed as a familiar and faithfull friend shortly to be enriched with other mens misfortunes. For the Emperour, readie enough to doe hurt, lying open to all accusers, and procuring deadly informations, proceeded most fiercely to fundrie sorts of punishments, and therein tooke delight, ignorant as hee was of that worthie saying of *Tully*, who sheweth, *That unhappie are they, who thinke they may lawfully doe all things*. This implacable rigour, in a most righteous cause verily, but toulely blemishing a victorie, exposed many innocent folke to the tormentors hand and either brought their heads bending under the racke, or layed them along with the stroke of the grim executioner: for whom it had beene better to have lost tenne lives apeece in fight, if by nature they could have had so many, than thus (faultlesse as they were) with their sides gashed and rent, and their whole estates groning, as it were, to suffer punishment as traitors, having their bodies all torne and mangled before, which is more dolorous than all the deaths in the world. After this, when as his crueltie (overcome with so many wofull executions) became assuaged, men of higher place and calling endured proscriptions and banishments, and such like; which although they be grievous, yet seeme to some but light: and to the end that another person might be enriched, a man of noble birth, and happily for his deserts become very wealthy, stripped and turned out by the head and shoulders of his livelod, and thrust into exile, either pined away, and died for anguish, or else was faine to live upon the devotion and benevolence of others: neither was there any end of these mischievous practises, untill the prince and his favourites were satisfied with their goods and blood.

CHAP. XIII.

Fearefull tremblings or quakings of the earth at one and the same time throughout the whole earth.



Whiles this usurper [*Procopius*] whose manifold acts and death I have declared, was yet living, upon the twelfth day before the kalends of August, whiles *Valentinian* was the first time Consull with his brother, most fearefull earthquakes suddainly happened, that shooke the whole earth, the like to which, neither fabulous tales nor true reporting records of antiquitie deliver unto us. For a little after Sunnerising the whole weightie and stedie masse of the earthy globe shooke, with flashes of lightening most fiercely shot going before very thicke: the sea also driven aside, with the waves and billowes tumbling out backward, went away so, that the deepe gulfes being discovered and layd bare, a man might have seene many sorts of swimming creatures sticking in the mud: also the vast vales and mounts, which nature had set farre away under the huge waters, saw (as men thought) that day the beames of the Sunne. After therefore that many ships were bedded fast (as one would say) in drie ground, and a number of people straggled at their pleasure in the small remaines of water, to take up fishes and such like with their hands; the waves of the sea disdained (as one would say) and loth to put up this repulse, rose up all at once and turned againe, and violently

*Fortius generis
hunc uenerunt, et
tunc: in hunc all
estates and degrees
ground a just.

*1. day of July,
*2. Valent.

*Cui bene furit,
and such like.

lently among the surging shallows, beating upon the islands and promontories of the continent reaching farre into the sea, overflowed, and laid leuell an infinit sort of things in cities, yea and houses where any were found. And therefore in this furious discord of the elements, the surface of the world being covered, represented strange and wonderfull sights. For, the mightie masse of the sea being returned backe againe, when it was least looked for, killed and drowned many thousands of people: and with the swift and violent whirling of the tydes running backe, certaine ships after the swelling of this liquid substance or element was abated, were seene sunke to the verie ground, yea and by reason of shipwrackes many dead bodies lay along either on their backs or groveling. Other mightie shippes also driven out by violent winds, setled upon the tops of palaces, as it happened at Alexandria: and two miles almost off, farre from the shore were some of them flung, as we our selves in passing by beheld one of Laconia neere unto the towne Metion, almost rotten for age.



THE XXVII. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

As the Alemans make new preparation for wars, Carietto and Serenianus encounter them with a power of armed men: And when both of them were slaine in fight, Iovinus a brave capitaine gave the Alemans, leaping for joy of victorie, three batailles. Valens sendeth over the head of Procopius unto Valentinian lying at Paris.



Hiles these things which we have reported, upō divers occurrences passe in the East empire, the Alemans after grievous losses, & sore blows, which in their often conflicts with *Iulian* being *Cæsar* they had sustained, having at length refused their strength, though unequal to that which they had before, for the cause aforesaid being now much feared, invaded the limits of Gaule. And immediately after the *Kalends of Ianuarie, when the rigorous and bitter Winter weather froze hard all over the ycie tracks, a number of them went forth by plumpes, and stragled abroad at their pleasure. To encounter the formost companie of these, *Carietto* Lieutenant generall for both the Germanies, a man most forward to give battaile, went out, taking to him

him for his companion in this painefull service, *Severianus* a Lieutenant likewise, but of no valour, and aged besides, who at Calydona had the command of the Divitenes, and the *Tungricanes. The Romans therefore having joyned their forces together, marched with their squadrons embattailed close and thicke one by another, and when they had with sure speed passed over the bridge that stood upon a little river, no sooner saw the Barbarians asfare off, but they allayed them with arrows and other light darts, which they againe for their parts valiantly shot backe as fast. But when the troupes met and fought with drawne swords, the battaile of our men fore shaken with the fierce charge of the enemies, found no meanes either to resist, or to fight manfully, as being for feare all of them put to flight, when they once saw *Severianus* unhorsed, and shot into the mouth with a casting weapon. *Carietto* likewise himselte, at last, whiles verie venturously with opposition of his bodie, and words from his mouth in a chiding accent delivered, he slayeth them, and laboureth with bold standing to it a long time, to wipe away so shamefull a dishonour, was wounded mortally with a dart, and so dyed. After whose death the banner of the Eruli and Batavi was caught away, which the barbarous enemies leaping and dauncing with many a friske, erected often and shewed on high, but after great conflicts it was recovered againe. When knowledge was taken with exceeding great sorrow, of this overthrow, *Dagalaiphus* to make amends for this dishonourable foile, was sent from Paris. But whiles he a long while trifled out the time, and alledged, That himselte was not able to set upon the barbarous enemies, so scattered and spred in sundrie parts, and was soone after sent for to take upon him the dignitie of a Consull together with *Grianius*, who as yet was but a privat person, *Iovinus* Generall of the Cavallarie addressed himselte to this buisnesse: and being well appointed and readie in battaile ray, having a most watchfull and warie eye to both the sides of his armie as it marched, drew neere unto a place named *Scarpona: where sodainely and unlooked for, he surprised the greater multitude of the sayd Barbarians, before they were armed, and in the turning of an hand slew them everie one. This worthy and notable capitaine leading forth his souldiors (rejoycing for this glorious battaile, which cost them no losse of blood) for to defeat likewise the other companie behind, and marching softly on, was enformed by a trustie espial, That the forces of these spoyling brigands having rifled the villages neere at hand, rested hard by a river: and approaching then anon, and lying close hidden in a darke vale set thick with groves and woods, beheld how some of them were washing and bathing themselves, others busie in colouring the hayre of their heads yellow, and making the same shine like gold, (as their manner is) and some againe drinking garaus. Thus having met with a verie seasonable time of advantage, all on a sodaine he gave the signal by sound of trumpet, and brake into the campe of these robbers. The *Germans on the contrarie side, in bragging with rapping out nothing but vaine sounds and noyses of threats, were not permitted (the conquerour pressed so hard upon them) either to make readie their armes and weapons scattered here and there, or to put themselves in order of battaile, nor so much as to plucke up their spirits and resume strength. A number therefore of them pierced through with javelins and swords, were slaine, besides those who ran away, and with good footmanship gat into the crooked and narrow lanes, and there hid themselves. *Iovinus* now fleshed and more emboldened with this happie exploit, which vertue and fortune together had achieved, leading on his souldiors, and sending out before a diligent scout-watch to discover

*Scarpaque, Ortel.

*or Dutch.

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the coasts, made hast with a running campe to charge upon the third regiment of them which remained. And having sped himselfe apace in this journey, he found them all neere to the *Catelauni most readie to joyne battaile. When as therefore he had encamped himselfe within a rampier in a place convenient, and as the time would give leave refreshed his men with meat and sleepe, at the verie dawning of the day he arraigned his armie displayed at large with politique skill in an open plaine, to the end that the Romans, inferiour in number, yet equall in puissance, taking up so large a ground, might seeme to match the enemies in multitude. When as therefore the trumpets had sounded the battaile, so that they began to fight close hand to hand, the Germans affrighted with the strange sight of our glittering banners, stood still. Who being for a while daunted, but loone after taking heart again, so that the conflict held unto the end of the day, our men with great force pressing hard upon them, had gained the honour of a brave day, without any losse at all, but that *Balobaudes* Tribune of the ^b Armature, a man made altogether of big words, but cowardly withall, when as now the evening came on, reculed in disorder: whom if the rest of the cohorts had followed and gone away, the matter would have growne so faire forth to an heave issue, that there could not possibly one have remained alive to tell what had beene done. But our souldiors standing to it with resolute and fierce courage, quit themselves so well with strength of armes, that having sore wounded tour thousand of the enemies, they left other fix thousand dead in the place: but they themselves lost not of their fellows above two hundred, and two hundred likewise and no more were hurt. Thus therefore when by the nights comming the battaile was ended, and the wearied bodies of our men refreshed, our brave leader toward day-light having stretched forth his armie in forme of a foure square battaile, and found that the barbarous enemies taking vantage of the darkenesse, were secretly slipped away and gone, secure of any ambushments, followed through the open champion grounds and easie plaine wayes, riding over them as they lay along halfe dead, who by reason that the sharpe cold aire drew their wounds together, were killed with extremitie of paine. After this when hee had gone further, in his returne finding no enemy, he learned that the king of those regiments of the enemies, with some few taken by the ^c Hastarij (whom himselfe had sent out another way to ransacke the tents of the Alemans) was hanged on a gibbet. Hereupon in his anger he purposed to punish the Tribune, that durst doe such a deed without the advice of an higher power; and verily had condemned him, but that it appeared by evident proofes, that this foule and cruel fact was committed in the souldiors hot blood. After this, as he returned toward Paris, upon the exploiting of this brave service, the Emperour with great joy met him, and afterwards named and elected him Consul: and this, I assure you, augmented the measure of his joy. For that the verie same time he had received the head of *Procopius*, sent over to him from *Valens*. Besides all this, there were many other skirmishes fought, lesse worthy the relation, in sundrie tracts of Gaule, which here to set down were superfluous labour, considering that neither the proofe and issue thereof brought any great matter of gaine and importance, nor be seeming it is to draw out an hy storie in length by such base and slight particulars.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

A portentous prodigie seene in the town Pistoriensis, presaging bloodie seditions, as Rome especially, and that among the Christians, for the strife and consension of Damasus and Vrsicinus about the bishopricke.



T h i s t i m e, or a little before, there appeared a strange and portentous sight in *Thuscia ^a Annonaria, and what might the end and effect thereof be, the skilfull and learned in such prodigious signes were altogether ignorant. For, in the towne *Pistoriensis neere the third ^b houre of the day, in the sight of many, an Asse having mounted up to the *Tribunall was heard to keepe a great braying: and when all there present, as also they that understood so much by report of others were astonished hereat, and none able to guesse the future event thereof, that fell out afterwards, which was then portended or signified by it. For, *Terentius*, a man of base parentage, borne in the ^c citie, and a *Baker, by way of recompence and reward, because he had given information of one that had beene *Præf. cl.* for robbing the Treasurie, administered the office of a * * Correc- tor in this selfe same province: and taking upon him afterwards in this presumptuous confidence of his, to be meddling verie busily, in the matter and affaire of Ship- Masters, and convicted to have dealt falsely therein, as the voyce went, dyed by the hangmans hand, whiles *Claudius* governed Rome. But long before that this chanced, after *Apronianus* succeeded *Synnachus*, a man worthie to be named among the principall paternes and examples of learning and modestie: during whose ^d being in place, that most sacred citie enjoyed the blessings of peace and wealth in more plentiful manner than usually it had done; and vaunteth much of a sumptuous and exceding strong bridge, the which himselfe built and dedicated with great joy of the citizens, unthankfull persons they, as the truth most evidently shewed: who after certaine yeares gone over their heads, burnt a most beautifull and goodly house of his in the * tract beyond Tiberis, as taking much offence and displeasure hereat, because a certaine base commoner devised and fained that hee should say, (and no man else there was to declare and testifie so much) That he would more willingly with his owne wine quench the lime-kills, than sell the said wine at the price they hoped for. After him followed in the regencie and government of the citie, *Lampadius*, who had bin *Præfectus Prætorio*: a man that would take the matter verie hainously, if he were not prayed even when he did but spit, as who (forsooth) had a speciall grace above all others, to doe that also with wiselome: but yet otherwhiles he was grave and of good government. This man, what time as he exhibited, being Prætor, stately games and plays, with a bountifull largesse, not able to endure the tumult of the commons instantly oftentimes calling upon him, to have many things bestowed on unworthy persons, for to shew himselfe liberall, and a despiiser of the multitude, sent for certaine needie and poore persons out of the ^e Vatican, and them endowed with great riches. But to shew his vanitie (that we rove not much abroad) it shall suffice to put downe this one example, a small matter though it be, yet such as Iudges ought to take heed of. For, in everie part of the citie which had beene adorned at the expences of sundrie princes, he would use to write his owne name, not as *REPAIRER* of old, but as *FOUNDER* of new workes: (Of which disease *Traian* the Emperour is said to have laboured;

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whereup

*About Chalons
in Champagne.

*Tuscan.

*Pistoria, Ortel.
"is not the chief
citie in creating
wheat
"The chief
branch of justice.

*of Rome
"Pistor, alluding
to stramonium.
"I said
"of Governor.

*as Prefect of
Rome.

whereupon by way of jeaft and skoffe they used to tearme him the hearbe *Parietina*.) This Praefect was troubled with many commotions, and one above the rest, when the rascall commons gathering together, with throwing of firebrands and firebals, had quite burnt his house neere unto *Constantines* Baine, but that his slaves and friends speedily ran and assembled themselves, and from the house tops pelted them so with stones and tyles, that they were glad to depart. With which violent attempt, and the noyse of a seditious tumult growing to be more hot, himselfe affrighted, retyred to *Pons Milvius*, which the elder *Scavrus* is sayd to have built, waiting for the appeasing of a tumult there, that arose upon this just and grievous occasion. Going in hand to erect new edifices of the citie, or to repaire some old, he caused the charges thereof to be rayled not out of the accustomed *levies* and taxes: And if any yron, lead, brasse, or such like stuffe were to be provided, his ministers or officers were sent forth, who like to chapmen should buy and carrie away divers sorts of wares, but never pay therefore: whereupon much adoe hee had (though he went away as speedily as he could) to avoid the anger of poore men, enchaied and bewailing their losses for such commodities as had bene taken from them. Then came in place his successor *Viventius*,* who had bene Treasurer of the Emperors household, an upright man and a wise, a Pannonian borne, whose government was quiet, peaceable, and flowing abundantly with plentie of all things. And he likewise was terrified with the bloudie seditions, which stirred up such a broyle as this. *Damasus* and *Priscinus* exceedingly hote set upon the getting of the Episcopall See, by divisions and factions contended most bitterly, so that the partakers of both sides proceeded as farre as to dealing of bloudie blowes, and even to danger of death. Which stirres *Viventius* not able either to redresse or appease, upon great violence compelled, retired himselfe apart into a countrey house by the citie side: And in this skuffling *Damasus* had the upper hand, so instant was that part which favoured him. And knowne for certaine it is, that in the *great Hall of Sicininus*, where there is holden a congregation and meeting of Christians, there were found in one day an hundred and seven & thirtie dead bodies of them slaine: as also, that the common people, growne hereupon to be outrageous a long time, were hardly afterwards pacified. Neither can I denie, beholding the glorious braverie of the citie, that the competitors, desirous of this Episcopall dignitie, for the attaining of that which they desire, have good reason to strive all that ever they can, considering that when they have gotten it, they shall be so void of care and thought taking, that they are enriched with the oblations of matrones, ride abroad mounted in coaches, and therein gloriously arrayed, keeping profuse and riotous fare, inso-much as their feasts surpassse kings tables: who might be happie and blessed indeed, if despising the greatnesse of the citie, by which they pretend to cloake their vices, they would live according to the example of some provinciall bishops, whose slender diet in eating and drinking most sparily, whose low priced apparell also, and eyes looking downe to the ground, commend them as pure and modest persons to the eternall God and his true servants.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Ammianus Marcellinus going about to describe the Gothes warre, first of all presenseth unto us the limits, the ancient nations, provinces, and principall cities in his time of Thracia.



Hus farre forth it shall suffice that wee have digressed out of the way, now returne wee to the orderly proceesse of our Hystorie. Whiles these matters abovesaid proceed thus in Gaule and Italie, new warres arose in Thracia. For *Valens*, as it seemed good unto his brother, whose advice he asked, and after whose will and pleasure he was wholly ruled, levied armes against the Gothes, mooved thereto upon a good and just cause; namely, for that they sent aids to *Procopius*, when he entred into civile warres. Meet it is therefore by way of a briefe digression to discourse as touching their originall and the situation of their countries. As for the description of Thracia, easie it were, if the ancient writers thereupon did accord: but for as much as their obscure varietie helpeth not a worke that professeth truth, sufficient it shall be briefly to tell, what I have to mine owne remembrance scene. That these lands extended in times past a mightie way, as well in plaine and pleasant champion fields, as also in high hills, the ever-during authoritie of *Homer* doth shew, who saith, That the two winds *North-east* and *West* do blow from thence: which either is a fabulous fiction, or else all those tracts that spread farre and wide abroad heretofore, and were appointed for savage nations, went all under the name of Thracia. And verily a part thereof was inhabited by the *Scordisci* farre removed now from the same provinces, a people cruell in times past and terrible, as aunient records beare witness; procuring the propitious favour of *Bellona* and *Mars* by sacrificing of captives, and greedily drinking bloud out of mens skuls. By whose rigorous and rough dealing, the State of Rome after many foughten fields oftentimes fore troubled, lost at length their whole armie and leader both. But as now we see it, the same places shaped in manner of a crescent or new Moone, portray unto us the faire resemblance of a Theatre: In the very top whereof Westward, the straits of *Succi*, standing thicke with high and steepe hills, begin to open, dividing Thracia and Dacia asunder: but that part on the left hand lying toward the North starres, is enclosed with the loftie mountains of *Hemus* and the river *Hister*, whereas it runneth hard by *Romane* ground, and hath many cities, castles, and forts seated upon it. On the right hand, which is the South side thereof, are stretched out the craggie cliffs of *Rhodope*: and where the Sunne riseth, bounded it is with a narrow sea; against which as it runs with surging waters out of the *Euxine* sea, and passeth forward with reciprocal ebbs and flows to the *Ægean* sea, there openeth a narrow partition of lands. Howbeit, out of the East angle it joyneth to the *Macedonian* marches by certaine narrow and steepe waies, which are tearmed *Aconisma*; hard by which lyeth the vale *Arethusa* and a station, wherein is to be scene the sepulchre of *Euripides* that Poet famous for his loftie penning of Tragedies: also *Stagira*, where wee have heard say *Aristotle* was borne, who (as *Tully* sayth) poureth from him a river of gold. These places also were in old time held by barbarous nations farre different in varietie of manners and of language: among whom there is, beside others, mention made

*aquilem, if you take it precisely.

*Bosphori, or Bosles.

*Hemus, montana, celsitudine, Caena Mundi, de Monte Argentato Tmes.

*Macedonia.

*or household servants; families.

*Pons Molle.

*Such as the Episcopall See in London.

*See *Quintus* p. 10.

*which haply was become a Church.

made of the Odryse, as of people exceeding outrageous and savage, so accustomed to the shedding of mens blood, that when they want enemies to fight with, themselves at the very boord, after they have engorged themselves with meat and drinke, turne the edge and point of the sword one upon anothers bodie, as if they were strangers. But when our State was growne great, during the flourishing government under Consuls, *Marcus Didius* with mightie resolution and constancie subdued these nations, untamed alwayes before time, and wandering licentious without civillie or lawes: *Drusus* reduced them within proper bounds of their owne; and *Minutius*, neere unto the river *Februs*, which runneth from the high hills of the Odryse, in a battaile vanquished them: after whom, those that remained, were in a cruell battaile by *Appius Claudius* Proconsull utterly destroyed. For the Romane navies were possessed of the townes standing upon *Bosphorus* and *Propontis*. After these came *Lucullus*, that noble warrior and conqueror, in place, who was the first of all others that strucke a battaile with that most bold and hardie nation of the *Bessi*; and in the same journey defeated the *Hæmimontanes*, that stoutly made resistance: who whiles he hovered over those parts, all *Thracia* throughout was reduced under the subjection of our auncestors. And in this manner, after many doubtfull battailes fought with the hazard of the Commonweale, sixe provinces were gained: among which, the first, which confineth afront upon the *Illyrians*, is by a speciall name called *Thracia*, adorned with two spacious cities, *Philippopolis*, called in old time *Eumolpias*, and *Beroea*. Next to it, *Hæmimontum* hath in it **Hadrianopolis*, which was called *Vicudama*, and **Anchialos*, great cities: Then *Myfia*, where standeth *Martianopolis*, surnamed of *Traianus* the Emperour his sister: also **Dorosforus*, **Nicopolis*, and **Odyffus*: and hard unto it *Scythia*, wherein **Dionysopolis*, **Tomi*, and **Calatis*, are the townes of greatest name: And the last of all, *Europe*, which besides borough townes shineth againe with two cities, **Apris*, and *Perinthus*, called also by the posteritie ensuing *Heraclea*. *Rhodopa*, which is annexed unto this, hath *Maximianopolis*, **Maronea*, and **Enus*; which when *Æneas* had built and left, he after wandering travailes a long time, by a perpetuall traine of prosperous Auspices arrived in *Italie*. Now it is for truth knowne, as continuall rumors from time to time have bruited, that in manner all these country people, which in the regions aforesaid inhabit round about the high mountaines, outgoe us in health of bodie, and a certaine peculiar prerogative of long life. And this happeneth, as folke thinke, hereupon, for that they abstaine from feeding of many meats together, and by reason that a continuall freshnesse of dew with cold sprinklings bindeth and hardeneth their bodies, they enjoy the sweetnesse of a purer ayre, and are besides the first of all that see the Sunne beames (which of their owne nature give and maintaine life) before they are infected with any corruption of earthly things. Having thus digested in order these matters, retorne we to that which we began.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIIII.

Valens reticeth the frivolous excuse of the Gothes, who had maintained Procopius and his side, passing over Hister, and meeting none to make resistance, retourneth with his forces. The warre being in the yeeres ensuing renewed, as length the Gothes by the intercession of Athanaricus obtaine peace, and Valens goeth backe to Constantinople.



After that *Procopius* was vanquished in *Phrygia*, and the matter of civile dissensions layed asleepe, *Vicior* Generall of the Horsemen, was sent unto the Gothes, to know in plaine tearmes, For what cause that nation, friend unto the Romanes, and obliged by covenants of a free peace, had given aid by armes unto one that warred against lawfull and naturall princes: who, that they might seeme by their first plea to justify the deed, presented unto him the letters of the same *Procopius*; alledging, That he tooke upon him the Empire, due unto him as a neere kinsman of *Constantines* race, and avouching, that the error was worthie to be pardoned. Vpon knowledge whereof, by the relation of *Vicior*, *Valens* making small reckoning of this their most vaine excuse, advanced in warlike manner against them, who had fore-knowledge alreadie of this trouble coming toward them: And in the beginning of the Spring having assembled his forces together, encamped neere unto a strong hold named *Daphne*; and upon a bridge floored with planks over the hatches of ships, passed the river *Hister*, without resistance made of any. And now bearing himselfe aloft with great boldnesse, when riding up and downe, he could find none that he might overcome or terrifie (for all men stricken with feare of our souldiours, approaching with a brave shew of preparation, were retired to the mountaines of the **Serri*, which were very high and inaccessible but only to such as were skilfull in the wayes) least that having spent the whole Summer, he should retorne without any exploit done, by sending out *Arimbeus*, colonell of the footmen, with certaine companies to waite and spoyle, seized on part of their families, such as, before they came to the broken and winding wayes, might be taken straggling and wandering over the plaine fields. And thus having achieved this onely that Fortune presented to his hands, he returned with his forces in safetie, having neither given nor received any grievous blow. The yeare following, when he assayed with like courage to enter into the enemies land, being hindered with the streames of **Danubius*, that overflowed farre beyond his banks, he rested still, pitching his standing campe neere to a village named *Carpurum*, untill the end of Autumne: Whence because nothing could be done, by reason that the great floods kept him off, he departed to *Martianopolis*, there to Winter. Semblably, the third yeare also holding on his purpose still, having broken into the ground of the barbarous enemies by *Novidunum*, and that by meanes of shippes joyned together for to passe over the river, after continuall journeyes taken, he set upon the *Grutungi*, a warlike nation, that inhabited further off; and after some light skirmishes, constrained for feare of extremitie *Athanaricus* to take his flight, who in those dayes was a most puissant ruler, & who with a power that he thought more than sufficient, dared to make resistance: and then himselfe with all his forces returned againe to *Martianopolis*, there to keepe his Winter; a place as in those trades meet and convenient. Now, after sundrie accidents that fell out in these three yeares space, there were good motives and reasons to end the warre. First, for that

*Hadrianopolis.
*Anchialos.
*Dritra, or Dritra,
or Doria.
*Neocæs. Syph.
*Varna Nigr.
*Næp. castris.
*Comitatus Ortel.
*Pantale. 115.
*Apti Siph.

*Maronea. Syph.
*Enos, Nigr.

*Arimbeus 115.
Serri. 115.

*Dorus

that the enemies feare encreased by the princes long abode in these parts. Then, because the barbarous people being debarred of traffique and commerce, were distressed for exceeding want of necessaries, in so much as they sent embassadors oftentimes in manner of suppliants, and craved pardon with peace. Unto whom, the Emperour unexpect, I must needs say, but a most equall and indifferent considerer as yet of things, before that he was beguiled with the pernicious allurements of flatterie, and afflicted the Commonwealth with slaughters and executions for ever to be lamented, taking sage advice for the common good, decreed, That it was behoofull to graunt peace. And he sent forth by turnes *Victor* and *Arimbæus*, who then had the managing of the horsemens service. Who when they had given true intelligence by their letters, That the Gothes condescended unto the conditions propoed, there was a meet place appointed for the conclusion of a peace. And for as much as *Athanasius* avouched, That he was bound under the fearefull curse of an othe, and beside, by his fathers commaundement expressly forbidden, to tread at any time upon Roman ground (in which regard he might not be compelled) and withall it had beene an unseemely and base thing, that the Emperour should go over to him, thought good it was by them that were wise, that in certaine vessels guided by ores into the mids of the river, where were embarked the Emperour and the foresaid Iudge of the nation, together with their Esquiers, they should, as before it was determined, passe the covenants of a league and peace together. Which businesse being dispatched, and pledges received, *Valens* returned to Constantinople, where afterwards *Athanasius* driven out of his native countrey by a faction of his neere kinemen and followers, yeilded unto nature, and was entered with solemn and sumptuous funerals, after the guise of our countrey.

CHAP. V.

Whiles Valentinian lyeth sicke of a grievous disease, certaine of the principall officers and rulers lay their heads together, about choosing Rusticus Iulianus, Master of the Rolles, or Severus, Colonell of the footmen, to be Emperour. But the said Emperour recovering, declareth Gratianus his son for his Colleague and Augustus both, after he had in a grave oration recommended him unto the armie, which generally accepted of him: and when he was adorned with a coronet and imperiall robes, exhorteth him to doe his devoure, with the exceeding applause of them all.



Whiles Valentinian in this meane time lay grievously sicke, & thought no other but like to dye, at a feast where the Gaules secretly met, who served in the Emperours armie, *Rusticus Iulianus* then Master of the * Rolles, was, as it were, in a furious fit or motion of madness nominated to the Empire, once as bloud-thirstie as any savage beast, as he well shewed whiles he governed Affricke in place of Proconsul. For in his Prefecture of the citie, during which he dyed, fearing the dangerous and ticklish dayes of tyrannie, by the will and pleasure whereof, he had climbed up to that high dignitie, for default, as it should seeme, of worthie persons, enforced he was to shew himselfe mild and verie tractable. Against these Gaules, some there were who in a deeper reach and drift laboured in favour of *Severus*, then Colonell of

of the footmen, as a man fitted for the obtaining thereof: who albeit he was rigorous and dread, yet more tollerable, and everie way to be preferred above *Rusticus* aforesaid. But whiles these matters are thought upon to no effect, the Emperour somewhat refreshed and recovered by the meanes of many remedies, and perceiving that himselfe was scarce yet delivered from daunger of death, had a full purpose to adorne with the imperiall ensignes his owne sonne *Gratian*, a pretie young stripling, and well growne: and having provided all things in readinesse accordingly, and wrought the souldiours to accept thereof in good gree and willingly, when *Gratian* was come he went forth into the field, and ascended up to the Tribunal: where being environed with a gallant companie of noble persons and Officers of State, hee tooke the youth by the right hand, brought him forth before them, and with a solemne publicke oration recommended him (as ordained Emperour) to the armie, in this wise: *In this habit of princely place and dignitie which I carrie about with me as an ample signe of your favours enlarged toward me, by which I am deemed a more worthie personage than many others, and those right honourable, I will before you my affociates in counsels, and fore-men in desires and wishes, in due office of pietie and kindnesse, set in hand with a master, God saying Amen, and promising good successe, by whose eternall ayd and helpe the Roman State shall stand firme and invincible. Understand therefore, I beseech you, with peaceable minds, see right valiant Knights, what our desire is, considering thus much withall, that these things which the lawes of love and naturall affection ordaine to be done, we have beene desirous not onely to passe with your knowledge and privitie, but also to have approved and ratified, as meet and expedient for us, by your authoritie. This my young sonne Gratian (whom for that he hath beene along time conversant among your children, see love as a deere pledge common to me and you) I am about, for the better assurance on all sides of publike peace and tranquillitie, to take into the fellowship of imperiall service and warfare, in case the propitious favour of the heavenly power above, and your maiestie, shall second and assist the love of his father: one not brought up from his cradle hardly as our selves, nor enured to the enduring of the hard world, nor capable as yet of martiall toyle, as yet see: but answerably according with the prayse-worthie vertues of his familie, and the noble deeds of his auncestors, like shortly to come behind verie few of them, for feare, as they say, of any envie. For, as I am wroth so shinke and conceit of him, weighing many times, as I do, his manners: and motions (though the same are not yet come so maturitie in these tender and youthfull yeares of his) for as much as being polished with humanitie, and the studies of wisie sciences, he shall peise and examine by uncorrupt iudgement the deserts for well and evil doing, hee will so order the matter, that good men shall understand there is knowledge taken and regaid had of them: He will advance and pus himselfe forward to performe brave exploits, ready to stick close unto the militarie ensignes and Eagles: he will endure the hot parching Sunne, the cold frost and snow, long thirst and watching: he will otherwhiles, if need so require, make good and defend the campe: he will venture and expose his owne life for his partakers in perils; and, that which is the chiefe and principall point of pietie, he will be able to love the Commonwealth, as the verie house of his father and auncestors. These words, before he had made an end of his speech, being heard with joyfull assent, everie souldior according to his place hastening and striving a vie, with glad heart one to our goe another, as if they had beene partakers of commoditie and joy, declared *Gratian Augustus* intermingling with a most lowd sound of trumpets, the gentle noyle and clattering of their armour. Which when *Valentinian* perceived, rejoicing now with greater confidence, after he had adorned his sonne with a crowne, and the*

robes of highest estate, he kissed him : and thus all gorgeous and goodly to be seen, and giving attentive care to that which he said, he spake unto him in this manner: Behold (quoth he) my sonne Gratian, thou hast upon thee Imperiall garments, as we all hoped for, conferred with luckie offices and acclamations by the iudgement of my selfe and our fellow souldiers : Arme thy selfe therefore according to the importance of urgent affaires, as the Colleague of thy father and uncle bash, and enure thy bodie with our to goe over with the whole regiments of footmen, the rivers Elster and Rhene, passable on foot with yce ; to stand next unto the armed souldiers ; to spend by blood and life both considerately for them whom thou dost rule ; yea and to thinke thus no strange ground which reacheth to any side of the Roman Empire. Let it suffice for this present, to have given thus much in charge : for the rest, I shall not cease to admonish thee accordingly. Now, those of you beside, who are the chiefeit maintainers of the State, I desire and earnestly beseech, That with grounded and firme affection yee preserve this hopefull Emperour in his rising and growth, committed as bee is to your faithfull protection. When these words were with all solemnitie confirmed, *Eupraxius Casariensis*, a Moore, * Master of the Rolls at the same time, first of all cryed out in these terms, The familie and lineage of Gratian deserueth this honour : and presently being promoted to be Questor, he left behind him many examples of good loyaltie and trust, swerving no way aside from the state of a fearelesse nature, but constant alwayes, and like unto the lawes which wee observe to speake with one and the same voyce in many and sundrie causes : who also persisted then more stedfastly in any part of iustice undertaken, when the Emperour in threatening and violent manner shooke him up, as he aduised him to any good wayes. After this they fell all at once to refund the prayes of the elder Emperour and the yong Prince both, but especially of the youth himselfe, whom a lively, a quick light some eye, a most pleasant grace as well of countenance as the rest of the bodie, besides a singular towardnesse of wit and mind did commend : which had made an accomplished Emperour comparable with the best that ever were in aunient times, if the Destinies would have given leave, and his inward fauourites besides, who with their leawd and wicked acts darkened his vertue, which as yet was well settled. Howbeit, in this affaire, *Valentinian* transgressing the maner and custome taken up of old, nominated his brother and sonne in much kindnesse and affection, not *Casares*, but *Augusti*. For there was not any man aforetime that assumed unto him a Colleague in equall power and authoritie, save onely the Emperour * *Marcus*, who made his adopted brother * *Vernus* (without any abridgement at all of imperiall maiestie) his fellow and companion.

CHAP. VI.

Valentinian letting slacke the reins of anger, cruelly farest and rageth against many innocent persons, notwithstanding that Eupraxius and Florentius opposed themselves.

THese matters thus ordered according to the mind and will of the Governours and souldiers both, scarce passed there some few dayes betweene, when *Avianus*, sometime a deputie Prefect, accused, for robbing the treasure, *Maximian*, Prefect of the Pretorium, being returned from the citie, whither he had gone before to redresse some things that were amisse. Whereupon there succeeded after him *Valerianus Rufinus*, a man accomplished

shed every way, and crying before him, sit were the severend ornament of honourable old age, but one that under hope of being unlesse, never offered any occasions or opportunities to gaine : Who being in high favour with the Prince, and having readie access to him, procured thus much, That *Orsius*, late Prefect of the citie, should be delivered out of exile, and with the restoring of his livelode which he had lost, be sent home againe. And albeit *Valentinian*, a man in the beginning of his reign openely knowne to be cruell, for to mitigate the opinion of rigour that went of him, endeavoured sometimes to hold in and mellow his fierce and cruell passions, yet this vice of his creeping close, and delayed for a pretie while, brake out more licentiously to the mischief of many, and the same encreased by bitter and boiling anger. For, the learned wise men define ire to be an ulcer or sore of the mind, long lasting, and otherwhile perpetual and incurable, and the same springing usually from a soft nature and tender spirit, which they averre upon this probable argument, for that sicke persons be more teastie & angry than the sound, women than men, old folke than young, and those in miserie more than they that are in prosperitie. But among other executions done at that time upon meaner persons, the death of *Dioctes* late * Treasurer for the Emperour in Illyricum, was notable, whom for certain small trespasses he commanded to be burnt : Likewise of *Diodorus*, who had bene a Pursuivant or Intelligencer, and of three officers belonging to the deputie Prefect in Italie, for this cause put to cruel & dolorous torments, for that the said Treasurer complained unto him, that *Diodorus* for his part had after a civile manner craved the benefit of law & justice against him ; and the officers or ministers above said, durst at the judges commandement give him summons, as he was taking his journey, to answer according to the law : whose memorial the Christians at Millain solemnly keeping to this very day, call the place where they were buried, * *Ad Innocentes*. After this, when as in the matter and businesse of one *Maximianus* a Pannonian, upon an execution which lawfully by warrant from the judge was hastened, he had given commandement that the * States of three townes should be massacred, *Eupraxius* then Questor interrupted him, and said, O deale more favourably, most mercifull Prince : for these whom thou commandeest to be put to death as malefactors, those of the Christian Religion honour as Martyres, that is to say, men beloved and accepted of God. Whole boldnesse tending to do good, *Florentius* the Prefect following, when he heard how for a venial fault he in a fit of anger had commanded that out of the Senators degree in many cities there should three be executed : And what shal be done (quoth he) if some townes of these have not so many such * Burgeses ? And among the rest this also ought to be paused upon That if they have them, they should be slaine. This likewise (an horrible thing to be said and done) aggravated his unmercifull rigour, namely, That if any man came unto him with this request, for the avoyding the judgement of some mightie enemy, to have another Iudge assigned him, he might not obtaine this suit, but was referred over unto the same partie whom he feared, notwithstanding he alledged many just and sufficient reasons. Likewise, there went speech abroad of another cruell and horrible part of his, to wit, That when any debtor was said to be in such poverie that he was not able to satisfie and make payment, he would pronounce sentence then, That he must dye for it. Now, these and such like pranks play some Princes at their pleasure in the height of their pride, for that they deny their friends libertie and meanes to reforme any naughty designs or deeds of theirs ; and with the greatnesse of their power they terrifie their enemies for speaking. Neither is there any question or

* Or Receiver of the revenues and taxes there.

* As one would say, S. Innocents.

* The principall Purges, Ordines, or Senators.

* Or Senators, C. 11. 11. 11.

* Master of the Rolls.

* Aurelius Antoninus Platiphobus, * L. Aurelius Verus Commodus, * Julia Capitol.

inquire to be made of lewd acts and enormities among them, who thinks, whatso-
ever they will, to be the greatest virtues.

CHAP. VII.

*The warre in Britannie happily achieved by Theodosius a most valiant leader, after
he had repressed the Picts, Saxons, and other enemies.*

BEing departed then from *Amboise, and making haft to *Triers, he was
stricken with heaue newes, giving him to understand, That Britannie
by a generall conspiracie and banding of the barbarous nations was
fore distressed and brought to extreame miserie: also, that *Nestarius*,
Lieutenant or Admirall of the maritime tract, was slaine, and *Bucobaudes*, L. War-
den of the marches, by a traine of the enemies forelaid and assailed on every side.
Which when he understood, with great feare and horror he sent *Severus*, even then
Comes of the Domestici, if fortune would happily speed his hand, to redresse
whatsoever had happened amisse: but when he within a little while after was called
backe, *Jovinus* being gone into the same parts, sent in great hast before unto *Pro-
ventusides, to crave the aid of a puissant armie. At the last, in regard of many and
those fearefull accidents which rumors continually reported as touching the same
Island, there was elected & appointed thither to make speed *Theodosius*, a man most
happily knowne and approved for his martiall feats: and so with a select power of
legions and cohorts both, he marched forward, with brave boldnesse and resolution
leading the way. And forasmuch as when in compiling the acts of *Constantine* the
Emperour, I declared and layed open to my power the motions of the Ocean both
flowing & ebbing, as also the maritime tract & sea coast of Britannie, I have thought
it superfluous to returne unto those matters which have bin once in order set downe:
like as *Plyxes* in *Homer*, among the Phœciacs, is for the exceeding difficultie of a
matter afraid to unfold it, and make a recitall thereof. Yet thus much it shall suffice
to deliver, That the Picts in those dayes, divided into two nations, to wit, *Dical-
dones and *Vesturiones, the Attacocs likewise a warlike kind of people, & the Scots
raunging in divers parts, wasted and spoiled much. As for the tracts of Gaule, the
Franksen and Saxons, their neere confining neighbours then, wheresoever any of
them could breake forth and make rodes by sea or land, made havock therein, by
raising cruell booties, firing townes and places, yea, and killing men & women, their
captives. For the restraining of these outrages, if haply fortune might graunt good
successe, this right puissant captain taking a voyage to the end of *the world, when
he was come to the coast of *Bononia, which is severed from the land over againe
by a narrow channell of the sea, that ebbeth and floweth interchangeably, and useth
to rise and swell with terrible tides, and againe to settle and lie even (without hurt of
the saylers) in manner of plaine champion fields; from thence having leifurely crof-
sed over the said narrow sea, he arrived at *Rutupie, a quiet rode and harbor opposit
unto it. Whence also, when the *Batavi, Heruli, Iovij and Victores, bold and hardy
companies, who followed hard after, were arrived, he went forth, and marching to-
ward *Lundonium, an ancient towne, which the posteritie afterwards named Aug-
usta, having divided his power into sundry bands and regiments, he charged upon
the forces of the enemies, as they were spoiling and wasting here and there, laden
also with much pillage and baggage: and having quickly discomfited and scattered
those that drave afore them as wel men and women bound, and also candel, he strip-
ped them of the bootie which the poore and miserable tributaries had lost. And in
the

*at Ambien.
*Trevos.

*Proventusides
celeri gradu prom-
issu: I wrote not
yet what to make
of this the rest I
supposed to be faine.

*foot and horse.

*The Western
Picts.
*the Fast Picts,
both inhabi-
ting Scotland,
Gull, London.
*Northern Brit-
tain dwelling be-
tweene the two
frontier walls of
Severus and Ha-
drian.
*The Severus Brit-
tain thought to ly-
*Belgians.

*Richborough, or
Rochester, see
Sandwich.

*London.

the end, having made restitution of it all, save some small parcels distributed among
the wearied souldiers, he entred with exceeding joy, in manner of a petie triumph,
into the said *citie, overwhelmed before time with many distresses and calamities,
but now on a suddaine refreshed to farre forth, as it might hope for perfect safetie.
And here, upon this prosperous successe encouraged to greater attempts, he abode
doubtfull of the future; and casting what course safely to take like to speed, as being
informed as well by the confession of captives as the relation of fugitives, that these
disse comparies of sundry nations spred to farre abroad, and raging so cruely,
could not possibly be vanquished but by privie sleights, secret ambushes, & suddain
excursions: To conclude, after edicts published, & promise made by proclamation
of impunity: he called unto their colours and service againe such as had forsaken the
field and were run to the enemy; as also many other, that having free passport and li-
cense to go and returne at their pleasure, were dispersed in sundry parts. At which
warning given, when most of them were returned, being thoroughly kindled and set
on with courage, yet curbed with heaue and pensive cares, he required to have *C-
vilius* by name sent unto him, for to governe Britannie as depute Praefect, a man of a
very sharpe wit and quicke spirit, but withall a good justicer and observer of righte-
ousnesse: likewise *Dulcinus*, a captain renowned for his skill in deeds of armes. And
thus went the affaires in Britannie.

*Civitas, which
he called before
Oppidum, London.

CHAP. VIII.

*The most miserable state of Africke under Romanus the Lieutenants (withoute the know-
ledge of Valentinian) whose cowardise and crueltie Ammianus Marcellinus reprob-
eth. The rovers and robbers out of Iuvia are repressed. Prætextatus Praefect of
Rome, a righteous and wise man, is put downe for the pasternie of
an excellent magistrate.*



BVt as for Africke, ever since the beginning of *Valentinian* his raigne it
was all in combustion through the outrage of barbarous enemies,
wholly set upon slaughter and spoile, that they made by bold & ad-
venturous outrodes: which thing was much encreased through the
idleness of the souldiers and the covetous desire to encroch & seize
upon other mens goods, but especially of one named *Romanus*, Lieutenant there:
who forecasting what would come, and his crafty-master in deriving all envie from
himselfe unto others, in regard of his cruell demeanour was hated of many, for this
cause especially, that relying himselfe upon the affinitie he had with *Remigius*, then
master of the offices, he strove to outgoe the very enemies in wasting of the provin-
ces: by the means of which *Remigius*, who stucke not to give wrong & false infor-
mation, the prince, who took himselfe to be most warie and wise, was the longer ig-
norant of those losses which the men of Africke sustained. But the full and whole
order of the proceedings in those countries, as also the death of *Ruricius* the Presi-
dent, and of the embassadours, with other lamentable accidents, I will more exactly
deliver, when reason shall so require. And for that there is now offered free op-
portunitie to utter what we thinke, let us plainly speake it out, to wit, that this
Emperour was the first of all others that exalted militarie men to a great pitch of
pride, even to the hinderance and dammage of the weale publique, whilst he rai-
sed on high their dignities and wealth: and that which was a thing both in pub-
lique and privat to be lamented, punished the errors and delinquencies of com-
mon souldiers with inflexible rigour, and spared the great ones: who, as if they
had

*at Carthage.

had gotten a dispensation and indulgence for all faults, grew to staine themselves with horrible sinnes; who hereupon puffing and taking on, suppose the estates of all men to depend upon their will and pleasure; whose proud blasts and heauie hands the first devisers of auncient lawes seeking to reſtraine, have poſſed their doome, for the putting to death otherwiſes even of ſome innocent perſons, Which oftentimes happeneth, when for the crimes of a multitude, ſome harmleſſe folke (ſuch is their hard lot) are puniſhed as culpable: For this hath reached ſome times to the caſes of privat perſons. But in Iſauria, the brigands paſſing by plumpes and companies along the townes adjoyning and the plentifull villages, ſpoyleing them at their pleaſure, put Pamphylia & the Cilicians to great loſſes: whom, when *Muſonius*, deputie Praefect then of Aſia, who before time had beene a profeſſour of Rhetoricke at Athens in Attica, perceived to waſt and conſume all in bloudie and cruell manner, when their ſtate lay a bleeding in deſperate plight; and the ſouldiours who ſhould have helped, growne feeble with looſeneſſe and riot; he taking unto him ſome few halfe armed men, whom they teame *Diocmitas*, aſſayed to ſet upon one ſquadron of thoſe robbers, if peradventure he could have found his advantage: but paſſing by a certaine narrow winding lane with a ſteepe deſcent, he fell into the inevitable danger of an ambuſhment, and there (together with thoſe whom he led) was ſtabbed and hewed in pieces. Theſe brigands exceeding proud and bold for this good ſucceſſe, and raunging more confidently ſundrie wayes, the maine armie at length went forth, and after ſome few of them ſlaine, forced them to the blind craggie mountaines which they inhabite, where having neither libertie to reſt, nor meanes to meet with victuals, beſide a truce, they required to have peace graunted unto them, and that through the motion and perſuaſion of the inhabitants of Germanicopolis, whoſe authoritie (like unto the vanguard in battaile) hath alwayes beene among them of great force to ſway the reſt: and ſo after they had put in their pledges, as they were enjoined, they continued a long time quiet, and attempted no hoſtilitie at all. During theſe affaires, *Praxeſtarius*, who in ſtately port managing the Praefectureſhip of the citie, by many deeds of integritie and honeſtie, whereby from his very youth he became famous, attained to that which ſeldom happeneth; namely, that albeit he was dread, yet loſt he not the love of the citizens, which commonly is wont to be grounded upon threats, eſpecially toward rulers and judges that be feared. By whoſe grave authoritie and juſt ſentence going with the truth, when the tumult was appealed (which the debates and jares of the Chriſtians had raiſed) and *Vulſinius* put to the repulſe and expelled, there grew together with a joint purpoſe of Romane citizens, and the honour of their noble governour, who ordered and diſpoſed many profitable things, a moſt ſettled and uniforme peace. For he tooke away all thoſe jutting galleries of pleaſure called *Memiana*, which even by auncient lawes alſo were forbidden to be built in Rome, and he cauſed a partition to be made between the wals of privat mens houſes and ſacred temples, whereto before they unſeemly joyned: and he ordained certaine weights throughout all the regions or wards of the citie, when otherwiſe there could be no meanes found to meet with the greedineſſe of many, that made falſe ballances according to their pleaſure. Moreover, in trying and deciding of controverſies, thus much above all others he gained, which *Tully* reporteth in the commendation of *Brutus*, That doing nothing at all for love and favour, yet all things ſeemed lovely and acceptable that he did.

*Saturne.
*For twelve cities
there were of that
name, *Ortel*.

CHAP. IX.

The expedition of Valentinian and Gratian againſt the Aleman in battaile diſcomfied and put to flight with a great overthrow.

ABout the ſame time well neere, whiles *Valentinian* was gone forth warily, as he thought, to an expedition, an Aleman *Prince*, named *Rando*, making preparation long before for that which he deſigned, entred by ſtealth with a crue of ſouldiours lightly appointed to kill and rob, into *Magontiacum*, when it was without a gariſſon. And for that he found there by chance a ſolemnitie holden of the Chriſtians, he led away without any let and impeachment a ſort of both ſexes undefended, it ſkilled not of what eſtate they were of, together with no ſmall ſtore of houſehold goods. Within a little while after there ſhone up on the Romane Empire an unexpected hope of better dayes. For when king *Vithicabius*, the ſonne of *Vadomarius*, in ſhew an effeminate and diſealed prince, but of courage bold and valiant, kindled oftentimes hote warres againſt us, great care and diligence was employed, that he might be made away and murdered, it mattered not how: and for that being aſſayed ſundrie times, he could not either be openly vanquiſhed, or privily betrayed, at the earneſt ſolicitation of our men murdered he was by the deceitfull hand of one of his owne miniſters, belonging to the privie chamber. After whoſe death, the enemies in ſome ſort gave over their hoſtile rodes and incuſions: howbeit, the murderer, for dread of puniſhment which he feared, in caſe the buſineſſe had beene diſcovered, got himſelfe over as faſt as he could into Romane ground. After this, preparation was made with good pauſe and deliberation, as alſo by ſundrie kinds of forces, of an expedition againſt the Alemanes, and the ſame of greater puiſſance than uſually had beene, conſidering that the defence of the State required no leſſe; becauſe the faithleſſe ſtirres of a nation, whoſe forces might ſoone be renewed, were feared: and our ſouldiours nevertheleſſe were enkindled againſt them, for their ſuſpected conditions; who feeble now and ſuppliant, yet ſhortly after threatening deadly and mortall hoſtilitie, gave them no reſt at all, nor ceſſation of armes. *Valentinian* therefore, together with *Gratian*, having aſſembled an huge hoſt, well furniſhed as well with armes as victuals, and ſent for *Sebaſtian* the lieutenant, together with the bands of Illyricum and Italie, whereof hee had the regiment to joyne with them, in the very firſt prime of the yeare ſet forward, marching in foure ſquare battailons cloſe together and undivided; himſelfe in the miſtſt having *Iovinus* and *Severus*, expert and approved warriors, flanking the ſides of the ranks on both hands, for feare they might be ſuddenly aſſayed. And ſo from thence, by the guidance of thoſe that were perfect in the wayes, having diſcovered beforehand the avenues through the plaine countries, lying out a great length, the ſouldiours advauncing ſoſly forward, yet very eage of fight, as if they had found the enemies already, in threatening manner gnaſhed their teeth for anger. And for that during certaine daies journey they could meet with none that made reſiſtance, there was put forth a regiment of certaine cohorts, who with the devouring flame of fire conſumed the ſtanding come and houſes that they could ſet eye upon, all ſave only ſuch food, as their doubtfull ſtate where in they ſtood forced them to gather and keepe. This done, the prince going further forward with a milder pace, when he was come neere to a place named *Solincinium*, ſtood ſtill, as if a barre had beene ſet in his way, enformed by a moſt true relation

*Regius.
*Magontia, Maſ.
excusat Meant.

*Solima, *Herulic*,
Solima, *Lat*.

relation of his out-riders, that the barbarous enemies were discovered as farre off, who seeing no way or means left to save their lives, unlesse by a speedie encounter they defended themselves, presuming boldly upon their skilfulnesse in the wayes, with one mind and accord gained a verie high mountaine, by the means of rough and craggie hills, steepe and unaceffable on everie side, save onely the North, whence it hath an easie fall or descent. Where having out of hand pitched downe their standerds, as their manner is, and cryed the alarme on all hands, our souldiours easie to be directed at the commaundement of the Prince and leaders, stood their ground, waiting untill the banner were set up aloft, which was the signall to begin battaile in convenient time. Now, for as much as there was little or no time allowed to take any deliberation, whiles the impatient Roman souldiours terribly tooke on and fumed on the one side, and the Alemans made horrible noyes on the other, this course onely the shortnesse of time and quicke dispatch admitted, namely, That *Sebastian* with his companies should possesse himselfe of that North part of the hills, which I said had an easie descent, there with little adoe, if good luck were, to have the killing of the Germans as they shold flie. Which was not thought good to be pur in practise in haste. And while *Gratian* was detained backe about the Corps de guard, and ensignes of the Ioviani, as who for his tender yeares could not yet endure the toyle some perils of battails, *Valentinian* as a captaine that liked well to hold off, and worke safely, vailing boner, and saluting the centuries and maniples (without making any of the great commaunders privie to his secret designement, and having none of his guard about his person) rode out with some few in his companie, whose industrie and fidelitie he had good proove of, to view and discover the bottomes of the hills; giving it out (as he was an arrogant prizer and praiser of himselfe) That there might bee some other way found out, leading up to those high and difficult cliffs, beside that which the fore-riders had discovered. As he went therefore out of the way, through unknowne and moist marishes, he had surely lost his life by a sodaine rode of the enemy, bestowed in ambush among the craggie and broken cliffes, but that he tooke himselfe to the last helpe in time of necessitie, and setting spurs to his horse, galloped through the slipperie mire, got away, and shrowded himselfe within the bosome of the legions, and so escaped a sodaine and unlooked for daunger, whereto he was so neere, that a gentleman of his chamber who carried his helmet richly set with gold and pretious stones together with the verie case perished quicke, and could never after be found alive or dead. After rest therefore graunted for the refreshing of their bodies, and the banner erected, which is woont to give signall and warning to battaile, at the menacing sound of the trumpets kindling their courage, *Salvius* and *Lupicinus*, two valiant young Knights, chosen of purpose to give the onset in daungerous service; the one a Targuetier, the other of the Gentiles band, before all others readily stepped forth and led the way with a most bold resolution, toward the battailons as they began to advance, with a terrible noise stirring and inticing them forward: and thus brandishing their speares, when they were come to the foresaid cliffes that stood against them, and endeavoured maugre the Alemans (who shoved and thrust fore upon them) to gaine the higher ground, thither came all the maine force of the armie: and in the end, following hard after these ring-leaders through the thickest of bushes, and rough brambles and briers, with much straining of their strength got up to the high toppes of the mountaine. With a great stomacke therefore of both parts the conflict began by the deadly

dint & point of the sword to be tried: and of the one side the Romans more skilfull souldiours, and on the other the barbarous enemies, though fierce, yet unwarie and inconsiderate, coped and joynd hand to hand. And verily our armie displayed verie large, and spreading forth the wings to enclose the enemies on both sides, assailed them fore, terrified as they were with hideous outcries, neighing of horses, and sounding of trumpets: yet neverthelesse tooke they heart againe and boldly resisted. And thus for a while the hosts in equall ballance of fortune maintained fight with no small ado and endeavour, whiles the conflict continued with mutual killing and slaying on either side. At length such was the valiant courage of the Romans, that the enemies ranks were broken, and for feare so shuffed together, that the foremost were mingled with the hindmost: and whiles they seeke to get away by good footmanship, pierced through they were with casting darts and javelins that the enemies launced at them. And in the end, whiles they run fetching their wind short and all wearie, they laid open to them that followed their hammes, the calves of their legges, and their backes. In conclusion, after many of them were beaten downe, *Sebastian* placed with a fresh companie for supply at the back of the mountaines, slew part of them that had slipped and escaped away, by reason they were hemmed in on that side that they tooke no heed of: the rest dispersed, betooke themselves to the lurking corners of the woods. In this conflict there dyed of our part also, men of no small account, among whom was *Valerianus*, the principall of all the guard in ordinarie, and a certaine esquier or targuetier, borne a verie evirate Eunuch, but such an expert and approved warriour, that he might be compared either with old *Sicinius* or *Sergius*. These exploits thus performed with such varietie of accidents, the souldiours returned unto their Winter harbours, and the Emperours to Triers.

*Domestici.

CHAP. X.

Probus, Pretorio Prefectus or L. chiefe Justice, a most cunning and experienced Courtier, is here lively depainted.



IN these dayes when *Vulcatius Rufinus* was departed this life even in the time of his government, *Probus* was sent for from the citie, to rule as Prefectus Pretorio, a man for noble parentage, power, and wealth, knowne all over the Roman world, in which throughout, almost from the one end to the other he held possessions and livelodes dispersed here and there, whether by right or wrong it lyeth not in my simple judgement to set downe. This man, a certain twofold fortune (as the Poets faine) carrying with her slight-wings, shewed unto the world one while a bountifull benefactor and advauncer of his friends to great fortunes, otherwhiles againe a vengible wayt-layer, and by bloudie grudges and displeasures doing much mischief. And albeit he could doe much all his life time, by giving great largesses, & suing continually unto those that were in high authority, yet was he now and then timorous in any opposition with those that were bold, but bearing himselfe bigge over such as were fearefull: so that hee seemed when he presumed of himselfe, to creake and vaunt in a lostie tragicall note; and whensoever he feared, to debase himselfe lower than a comicall actor. And, as all the kind of fishes and swimming creatures driven out of their owne element, live

*For he was Prefect of the Pretorium of Rome.

not long upon dryeland : even so drouped he, and could not hold up his head without Prefectures, which he was forced to take upon him for the troubles and law-suites of great families, which by reason of their infinite desires are never innocent; and to the end they may be able to effect many designs without punishment, use to engage their Lord deeply in the affaires of State and government. For, confessed this must be, that being bred up in that magnanimitie as he was, hee never commaunded either *Client or servant of his, to doe any unlawfull action. But if he found that one of them had committed any crime or hainous offence, although even Iustice her selfe said nay, without due enquire made into the matter, without respect of goodnesse or honestie, he would parronize it : a fault, that Cicero by way of reprehension noteth in these words: For, *What difference is there (quoth he) betweene the counsellor to a fault, and the defender of a fault? Or what matter is it whether I would have a thing done, or reioyce that it is done?* Howbeit of his owne nature suspicious he was, and of a bale and faint heart; and smiling also after a bitter sort; yea and glaying otherwhiles upon a man to do him harme (and that is a notorious and evident bad propertie in such conditions, and then especially, when it is thought it may be concealed) so implacable and hard hearted, that if hee purposed once to doe a man a shrewd turne, he could not possibly be intreated nor inclined to forgive so much as light errors and delinquencies : and therefore his cares seemed to many men (though they were not indeed) close stopp'd up. In the highest pitch of dignities and riches, full of care, and taking thought, and in that regard troubled alwayes with light diseases. In this order passed the affaires in the West parts.

CHAP. XI.

Sapor King of the Persians invadeth Armenia. King Artaces he taketh prisoner, and after dolorous torments killeth him: And whiles he goeth about to murder and make away his wife and son, there fall out some accidents, which were the seeds of a new warre betweene Romans and Persians.



BVt Sapor thus long living king of the Persians, and a prince from the verie beginning of his raigne much given and addicted to the sweetnesse of pillage and robberies, after the decease of the Emperour Julian, and the covenants of so dishonourable a peace concluded, seeming together with his people for a while to friend us, brake the faithfull bond of the articles of agreement made under Iovianus, and reached at Armenia : that, as if the strength of the said capitulations had bene reversed and cancelled, he might lay the same unto his owne dominion. And first of all, by divers false and deceitfull sleights, he put the whole nation that withstood his intent, to some small and light damages, soliciting certaine of the chiefe rulers and great lords of the countrey, and surprising other by sodaine rodes and invasions. After this, when he had caught the king himselfe, Artaces, by the means of fine allurements, and those interlaced with perjuries, he invited him to a feast, and then commaunded him to be drawne away to a secret back doore : and when he had caused his eyes to be plucked out of his head, bound him with chaines of silver, which among them is reputed some solace and casement yet,

yet (vaine though it be) for punishment inflicted upon honourable persons, and so sent him away to a castle named Agabana, where after much torture the executioners sword bereft him of his head. This done, because his perfidious treacherie might overpasse nothing unpolluted and prophaned, after he had deposed and driven out *Saurumaces*, who by the Roman authoritie was ruler of Hiberia, he conferred the said place of government upon one *Aspacures*, and gave unto him beside, the royall diademe of that nation, thereby to shew, that hee contemned and trode under foot the judgement and election of our State. Which after he had effected with a most wicked and ungodly mind, he committed the regiment of Armenia unto *Cylaces* an Eunuch, and to *Artabanus*, whom he had in times past intainted as traitorous fugitives from their Prince : (now one of these, before time a captain or Prefect of that nation, was said to have bene Generall of the forces) and them he gave in charge, with speciall care to rase *Artogerassa*, a towne strongly walled, and stoutly manned, which had the keeping of *Aspaces* his treasure, with his wife and sonne. These chieftaines therefore as it was appointed, began the siege; and for that the said fortified place scituate upon a rough and stonie mountain, by reason also it was extreame cold weather, and nothing but frost and snow, was inaccessible, *Cylaces* being an Eunuch, and a meet fellow to deceive a poore woman, taking to him *Artabanus*, approached quickly neere unto the verie walls, upon assurance given and taken of safe returne : who being with his companion received, as his request was, into the towne, persuaded the *defendants & the Queene, by a speedie surrender to appeale the menacing mood of *Sapor*, the most unmercifull man in the world. After this, when many words had passed to & fro, and the woman pitifully bewailing the horrible hard fortune of her husband, these motioners, as hot as they were for the betraying and yielding up of the towne, inclined to mercie, and changed their minds : and upon hope also of better gaine and preferment, by secret conference plotted and ordered the matter so, that in the night season at a certaine appointed houre, the gates at once being fet open, a strong company should sallie forth, and sodainly with bloudie sword assaile their enemies camp, promising that themselves would betray them into their hands, so that the attempters of this exploit would keepe their owne counsell. Which when they had with a religious othe confirmed, they went forth accordingly, & constantly avouching, that the besieged had craved two dayes to be graunted unto them, wherein they might deliberate what course to take, brought the besiegers to this passe, that they sat still and did nothing : So, whiles the centinels by reason of securitie were found asleepe that they sionored againe, the citie gate was set open, and out of it there issued a nymble crue of lustie young gallants : who treading softly for making noyse, and creeping close with their swords readie drawne, entred into their campe that feared no such matter, and whiles no man made resistance, slew a number of them as they lay. This unlooked-for revolt, and unexpected slaughter of the Persians, rayled mightie quarrels and causes of discord betweene us and *Sapor* : and this also aggravated the matter, for that the Emperour *Valens* had entertained *Para* the son of *Aspaces*, who by the persuation of his mother was departed with some few other out of the said fortified towne, and commaunded him to abide in **Neocæsarea*, a citie of great name in Pontus **Polemoniacus*, there to be kept with liberrall diet and in apparell meet for his person. With which courteous usage *Cylaces* and *Artabanus* allured, sent their orators, and craved of *Valens* aid, yea and required to have the

**Perfection he
sought, for
certaine*

**defence, for*

**Thrace,
Bithynia,
Nicomedia*

said *Para* to be their king. But aid for the present being denied, *Para* was by *Teren- sian* a capitaine conducted backe into Armenia, to raigne for a time over the nation, without any regall ensignes: a thing upon good reason and consideration obser- ved, least we might be taxed for the breach of covenant and peace.

CHAP. XII.

After that the widow of Arsaces was taken prisoner, and her sonne by cursed devi- ces reconciled unto Sapor, the Romanes helpe the Armenians: where- upon the king of the Persians addresseth himselfe to warre upon the Romanes.



Hen *Sapor* understood how these proceedings framed, he tooke on and raged beyond all measure; and so rising in armes with greater preparation, by way of open reises and raising of booties wasted all Armenia. At whose coming *Para* being affrighted, as also *Cylaces* and *Artabanes*, looking about them for no aid-forces, withdrew themselves into the noukes under those high mountains, which confine betwene our limits and Lazica: where lying close for five moneths together, among the secret woods and winding woulds, they deluded the manifold attempts of the king. Who perceiving all his labour was lost, considering the pinching season of mid Winter, after he had burnt all trees bearing apples and such fruit, fortified also those piles and forts which he had gotten either by force, or treason, with the whole puissance of his armie he beleaguered Artogerassa: and after many skimi- shes and assaults with variable event, when the defendants were toyled out, and the towne layed open, he burnt it: out of which he fetched forth the wife of *Arsaces*, with the treasure aforesaid, and led her away. For which causes, *Arinthus* a lieu- tenant was sent with an armie to succour and helpe the Armenians, in case the Per- sians should attempt to assaile them againe with fresh warre. Meane while *Sapor*, wonderous wylie and craftie, as who could carrie himselfe lowly or aloft for his better advantage, pretending a shew of some future alliance and locietie, by secret messengers rebuked *Para* as negligent and forgetfull of his owne estate, thus under a colour and pretence of royall majestie to be a slave unto *Cylaces* and *Artabanes*: whom he too too forward in trusting these traines of flattering and faire entice- ments made no more adoe but slew, and sent their heads, when they were slaine, unto *Sapor*, whose devoted vassale he was now become. Vpon this losse and mis- fortune, spred farre abroad, all Armenia had bene quite lost, but that the Persians at the coming of *Arinthus* terrified, made stay ere they invaded it the second time, contenting themselves with this onely, that they sent embassadors unto the Emperour, craving, That (according as it was agreed betwene them and *Iovianus*) the said nation might not be protected. But they were rejected, and *Sauromaces*, who (as I said before) had bene displaced and expelled out of the kingdome of Hiberia, was sent backe againe with twelve legions under the conduct of *Teren- sian*: and when he was now very neere unto the river *Cyrus*, *Aspacurus* requested at his hands, That since they were cousin germanes and sisters sonnes, they might raigne joyntly together; alledging this for himselfe, That he could neither surren- der nor turne unto the Roman side, because his sonne *Vnus* was kept still among the

the Persians as an hostage. Whereof the Emperour being informed, to the end he might by policie and wisdom appease the troubles which were like to rise from this affaire also, condiscended to a division of Hiberia, namely that *Cyrus* the river, which ran through the middest thereof, might divide it: so that *Sauromaces* should hold for his part that side which bordered upon the Armenians and the *Lazi*, and *Aspacurus* the other, which bounded upon *Albania* and the Persians. *Sapor* fore- aggrieved hereat, and crying out, That indignitie was offered unto the articles of a- greement, in that, contrarie to the tenor of the said covenant, Armenia was succou- red, that the embassage which hee had sent, about the redresse of this enormitie, came to nothing, and that without his assent and privitie concluded it was, that the kingdome of Hiberia should be divided (as if now the dores had bene fast locked against all friendship) layed for the aid of the neighbour nations about him, and put his armie in readinesse, to the end that when the faire season of the yeare came about, he might overthrow all that fabricke which the Romanes had framed for their owne behoofe.

*Chirich, Castell.
Zinn, Ruine
Zinn, Ruine



THE XXVIII. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The most miserable State of Rome citie under Maximinus the Prefect, whose parentage and rising is described.



Hiles this perfidious and disloyall dealing causeth in Persia (as I have before said) unexpected troubles on the kings be- halfe, and warres revived in the East parts begin againe, six- teene yeares and upward after the death of *Neporianus*, *Bella- na* provoked upon very small occasions to the working of wofull calamities, raged throughout Rome, and set all in combustion: which I would to God had bene for ever bu- ried in silence, least happily there be attempted sometime the semblable, like to doe more harme by generall examples and precedents, than by delinquencies. And albeit from the exquisite narration of this bloudie hystorie, feare might justly pull me backe (many and sundrie causes duly considered) yet presuming confidently upon the modestie of this present age, I will summarily lay open every particular that is memorable. Neither will I be loath and thinke much briefly to shew, which of those accidents that have befallen unto ancient writers

it is, that I might feare. In the first warre of the Medes, when the Persians had spoyle Asia, besetting the cities herein with huge and puissant forces, yea, and threatening the defendants thereof with terrible torments and dolorous death, they brought the people, thus shut up and besieged, to this extremitie, that they all, sore afflicted with great and grievous calamities, after they had killed their owne deare wives and children, and throwne their mooveable goods into the fire, cast themselves also by heapes after them, striving a vie who might be foremost in that commune flame, that consumed them and their country together. This argument soone after, *Phrygius* digested and penned in a swelling tragical style, and brought it upon the Stage in the Theatre of Athens: and having for a while good audience with contentment, when his high and loslie Tragœdie went on still, and wrung forth many a teare, the people supposing that he had insolently inserted these grievous afflictions also of theirs among Stage-plays, not by way of consolation, but in reprochfull manner, to put them in mind of the miseries that their lovely citie and country (supported with no helpees of protectors and defenders) had sustained, in heat of indignation condemned and confined him to *Milesum*. For *Milesum* was a colonie of the Athenians, transported and planted among other Ionians by *Nileus* the sonne of that *Codrus*, who (by report) in the Dorique warre devoted himselfe to death for his country. But let us come to our purposed historie. *Maximinus* governour of Rome in times past in place of vice-Prefect, was very obscurely borne at **Sopianæ*, a towne of **Valeria*, and his father of no better calling than a cleike, belonging to the Presidents office, descended from the race of the *Carpi*, whom *Dioclesian* removed from out of their aunient habitations, and brought over into Pannonia. This *Maximinus* after he had bestowed some meane studie in the liberrall Sciences, and become a dishonorable advocat and defender of causes, when he had also governed **Corfica* and **Sardinia* likewise, ruled **Thulcia*. From whence being advanced to the office and charge of Rome-cities **purveyor* or for corne and victuals, by reason that his successour stayed long in his journey, kept in his hands still the rule of that province also. And at the first he demeaned himselfe very circumspectly and wisely in three respects: first, for that the words were fresh and rife in his eares spoken by his father (who was passing skillfull in that which the flight of Augural fowles or the singing of birds fore-signified) implying thus much, That he should mount to high regiments, but die in the end by the executioners hands. Secondly, because having gotten a man of *Sardinia*, whom himselfe afterwards by deceitfull trecherie and craftie guile murdered (as commonly the rumor ran) one who was very cunning in raising hurtfull spirits, and soliciting the preiages of such ghosts and spectres, fearing least so long as he remained alive, he should be detected, he was more gentle and tractable. Lastly, because creeping as he did a long time below, like a serpent lying under the ground, he could not as yet raise any great matters of bloudie and capitall consequence.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The beginning of Maximinus his crueltie. His Paron, and his complices. Without any words of vulgar persons, mention is made of the punishments inflicted upon Marinus, Cethegus, and Alypius.



OW the very beginning, from whence he displayed and spread himselfe abroad, arose upon such an occasion as this: *Chilo* late a deputie Prefect, and his wife named *Maxima*, having complained unto *Olybrius*, Prefect of the citie for that time being, and avouching that their lives were assailed and endangered by **poysons*, obtained at his hands a commission, That the parties whom they suspected should forthwith be apprehended and clapt up fast in prison, to wit, *Sericius* an **Organist*, or maker of instruments, *Asbolius* a professor of wrestling, and *Camperius* a **Soothsayer*. But whiles this businesse waxed coole, by reason that *Olybrius* was visited with long and grievous sicknesse, those afore said, who had given information of these things, being impatient of delays, preferred a petition, and craved, That the matter in controversie might be made over unto the **Prefect* of the victuals afore said, for to be examined accordingly. Which for expedition sake was soone graunted. *Maximinus* therefore having received matter to worke mischief upon, discharged and uttered his inbred rigour, that flucke close unto his cruell heart: as oftentimes doe these savage beasts, exhibited in the Amphitheatres or Shew-places, when by breaking their backe grates and dores in pieces, they get at length to be at libertie. And when this matter was many times handled and discussed, in flourishes (as it were) and shewes, so that some having their sides gashed and torne, nominated certaine noble persons, as if they had used workers of mischief by the means of their dependants, and other base fellows, this divellish Inquisitor noting as well the parties accused as the informers, and tracing them (as they say) by the foot, roved further, and in a malicious relation advertised the prince, That the wicked and leawd acts which many committed in Rome, could not possibly be either searched out or punished, but by more sharpe and quicke justice. Who upon the knowledge hereof being enraged (as he was an enemy to vices, rather rigorous than severe) by vertue of one precept or warrant directed for such causes, which hee mingled with an arrogant intention of treason, decreed, That all those, whom the justice of aunient laws, and the judgement of sacred princes had exempted from bloudie inquisitions, should, if the case so required, be put to cruell examinations by torture. And to the end that a duple authority, and the same strained to the height, might patch matters together, to the utter undoing of persons in higher place, unto this *Maximinus* (appointed to rule at Rome as deputie Prefect) he joined in commission for the knowing and determining of these things which were a framing to the danger of many) *Leo*, a Notarie afterwards, master of the Offices, a very swift buckler at every fennell, a knowne robber, and a Pannonian; one who breathed forth of his savage mouth crueltie, and yet was nevertheless greedy still of mans blood. Now the naturall disposition of *Maximinus* bent to doe mischief, was much augmented by the comming to him of a like companion, as also by sweet letters from the Emperor together with an honourable dignitie. And therefore singing out his feet to and fro for joy as he went, he seemed to leape and dance rather than to goe; whiles he affected to imitate the *Bracchius*, who (as some report) keepe a running

*Winchcraft and Soothsayer.

*Organist.

*Maximus.

*Zeelblacke, Simler.
Soppon, Laifus.
*Syrin, Laifus, a
part of Pannonia.

*Corfica at this
day.
*Sardigna.
*Iulcanæ.

and stately jetting among the altars. And now by this time, when the trumpets of domestical miseries sounded, and all men were amazed to see the horrible state of the world how it went, beside many cruell and unmercifull examples (the varietie and number whereof is incomprehensible) most notable was the death of *Mari- nus* an advocate, whom upon a slight and curfarie weighing of proofes and pre- sumptions, he condemned to death, for daring by* indirect and wicked acts to seeke the marriage of one *Hispánilla*. And because I suppose that some men who haply shall read these reports, will be ready to search exquisitely into particulars, and re- proove me, keeping a stire and saying, This was done first, and not that; or such things are overslipt which themselves saw: thus farre forth we are to give satisfacti- on unto them, namely, That all things are not worthy to be put downe in writing, which passed among meane and base persons: neither, if that should have bene needfull, had we sufficient instruction from the verie records, considering how ma- ny publique miseries and misfortunes were so fire and hot, and that this new furie uncurbed and unrestrained, made a generall pudden and confusion, whiles it was evidently knowne, there was not (a thing much feared) any lawfull proceeding to judgement, but a cessation of all law and justice. Then it was, that *Cethegus* a Se- natour, accused for committing adulterie, had his head chopt off; and *Alypius* a noble young gentleman, for a small error was sent away and confined; yea and other meane persons were executed and died a publick death: in whose calamities everie man seeing, as it were, the image of his owne perill, dreamed of nothing but tormentors, chaines, bonds, and lodging in balefull darknesse.

CHAP. III.

The narration of Hymetius his case. The crueltie of Maximinus repressed for a time, is more hotly enkindled against Lollianus, Clarita, Flaviana, Pasi- us, Cornelius, Sericus, Asbolius, Campensis, and Aginatus.

AT the same time was the businesse also in hand of *Hymetius*, a man of excellent towardnesse and expectation: the order whereof we know was carried in this wise. When he governed Affricke as Proconfull, he allowed come unto the Carthaginians (much distressed now for want of food) out of the garners appointed for the people and State of Rome: and within a while after when the earth had yielded plentiful store of graine, he made full restitution thereof without any delay. But for as much as when hee sold unto them that wanted, ten modij after the rate of one solidus, and himself had bought thirric at the same price, the whole gaine and advantage accrewing thereby, he sent into the Princes Treasurie. And therefore *Valentinian* supposing that by such returne of buying and selling there had bene sent lesse than there ought to have bin, fined him with losse of a good part of his substance. And to make his miserie the more, there fell out this occurrent also at the same time, no lesse pernicious to him than the other. *Amanius*, a famous Soothsayer above the rest in those dayes, being by secret information discovered and made knowne, that for the performance and complement of some small matters, he was sent for by the same *Hymetius* to sac- rifice, and hereupon judicially convented, albeit hee stood slooping in manner double under the racke, stiffely and constantly denied the same: Who whiles he

still

still made denyall, in certaine privat and secret papers produced from his house, there was found a *Memorandum written with *Hymetius* his owne hand, reques- ting him out of his art and learning, by the rites and ceremonies of some solemne sacrifices, to pray unto the divine power of the Emperour, and to procure the fa- vour of his sacred Majestie toward him: in the utmost part of which writing there was read a certaine invective against the said Emperour, as being a covetous and cruell Prince. *Valentinian* advertised hereof, by relation of some informers, who made construction of all things that were done in the worst sence, commaunded there should be inquisition made into this businesse in most rigorous manner. And for that *Frentinus* a practiser with *Amanius* abovesaid, was charged to have bene the minister of that forme of prayer which was made, when he had bene well tew- ed with rods, and compelled to confesse, he was banished into Britaine: but *Aman- ius* condemned afterwards for capitall matters suffered death. After these affairs in this order passed, *Hymetius* being brought to the towne *Orciculum, to have his cause heard, by *Ampelius* Prefect of the citie, and *Maximinus* vice Prefect, and like (as it seemed) presently to be put away, when he had libertie graunted to speake, tooke the better course, and appealed for succour to the Emperour, and so protect- ed under the safeguard of his name, was kept in ward safe. And the Princes plea- sure being asked, What should be done with him? hee committed the managing of this cause unto the Senat. Who finding by the equall ballance of justice how the case stood, and thereupon confining him to Boe, a place in Dalmatia, could hardly endure the Emperours wrath, who chafed mightily when hee understood, that a man destined (as himselfe intended) to death, had his punishment by a milder sentence. For these and many such like examples, the daungers sene in a few, men begun to feare would light upon them. And least, if so many enormities being winked at, and creeping on still by little and little, there might grow whole heapes of miseries, by vertue of a decree passed by the *Nobilitie, embassadors were dispatched unto the Emperour, by name *Pretextans* who had bene Prefect of the citie, *Venusius* sometime deputie Prefect, and *Minervius* late a Consular Governor of a Province, with this supplication, That there should not bee inflicted punish- ment more grievous than the offences required; and that no Senatour (after an un- exampled and unlawfull manner) might be exposed unto tortures. Who being admitted into the Consistorie, when they made report of these particulars afore- said; as *Valentinian* denied that ever he ordained such a course, and cryed out, that he was traduced and sustained abuse, *Eupraxius* the Questor in modest tearmes re- proved him for it. By whose libertie of speech, that cruell proceeding thus begun, which exceeded all precedents of rigour, was reformed. About this time *Lollianus* a young gentleman, in the verie prime of his youth, the sonne of *Lampadius*, who had bene Prefect being by *Maximinus*, who looked narrowly into his cause, con- victed to have copied forth a booke of *divelish arts (when by reason of yong yeres his head was not well stayed) and upon the point to be sent into exile (as it was fea- red) at the motion and instigation of his father appealed to the Emperour. And be- ing commaunded to be led from thence unto his *Counsell, which was (as they say) out of the smoke in the flame, was delivered over to *Phalangius* the governour of the province *Batica, and lost his life by the hangmans hand. Over and besides these, *Taratus Bassus*, afterwards Prefect of the citie, and his brother *Camenius*, like- wise one *Marcianus* and *Eusephius*, all *noble persons, and of Senators degree, were brought into question, and had their trial: for that as privie all to one and the same

V u

practise

*or Nov.

*Cæsarian, a partner or Counsellor.

*Orciculi.

*the Senators.

*as magicke, with- craft, charms &c.

*or Court, Coun- sellor.

*Andalozia.

*C Lusitania.

*The peradventure could skill of Sorcerie, &c.

*Altera, to wit Flavianus.

*an Organ, maker or Organist.
*a predicted verdict.

practise of forcerie, they were named to favour and make much of *Auchenius* the *Chariotier: but for that the evidences and proofes were as then but doubtful, they went away quit, by the meanes and helpe of *Victorinus* (as the running rumour went) who was a most inward friend to *Maximinus*. Neither escaped women free, but had their part also no lesse in the like calamities. For, even of this verie sex were many of high birth put to death, as guiltie of the foule crimes either of adulterie or whoredome: among whom *Claritas* and *Flaviana* were of greatest name; of which the *one being led to execution, they stripped so neere out of all her apparell wherewith she was clad, that she was not permitted to keepe about her, so much as would suffice to cover her secret parts: And therefore the executioner convicted to have committed a most lewd and shamefull fact, was burnt quicke. Moreover *Papius* and *Cornelius* Senators both, convinced to have polluted themselves with the damnable sleights of poisoning and forcerie, were by the definitive sentence of the same *Maximinus* put to death. In like sort also the *Procurator of the Mint lost his life. For, **Sericus* and **Asbolus* afore named, because in exhorting them to appeach and name in any place whom they thought good, hee promised faithfully with an othe, That he would commaund none of them to be punished either by fire or sword, he caused to be killed with the mightie pelts of *plumbets: And after this he awarded *Campensis* the Soothsayer to the flaming fire, for that in his affaie he was not tyed to any such othe. And now convenient it is, as I suppose, to declare the cause that drave headlong upon his owne death and destruction *Aginatius*, a man of noble auncestors descended, according as it hath bene constantly reported: For, as touching this matter, there be no evident records extant. *Maximinus*, whiles he was yet Prefect of the corne and victuals, puffing and brawling still in a proud spirit of his owne, and having gotten no meane intigations and encouragement of boldnesse, proceeded so farre as to the contempt of *Probus*, in the rank of right honourable persons the greatest of all other, and, by vertue of the Prefecture of the Pretorium, a governor of provinces. Which, *Aginatius* taking to be a mightie indignitie, & setting it also to his heart, that in examining of causes *Olybrius* had preferred *Maximinus* before him, considering himselfe had beene deputie Prefect of Rome, secretly in familiar talke shewed unto *Probus*. That the vaine man spurning as he did against persons of high desert might be overthrowne and brought to confusion, if he thought so good. These letters, as some affirmed, *Probus* sent (making no bodie privie thereto but the bearer) unto *Maximinus*, as standing in great feare of him, growne now more cunning and expert in doing mischief, and besides in grace and reputation with the Emperour. Which when he had read, the man fell into such a heat of rage, that from thenceforth hee bent all his engines, and levelled his bolts at *Aginatius*, like to some serpent wounded and quized by a knowne person. Beside this, there was another greater cause of practising the overthrow of *Aginatius*, the which brought him to utter destruction. For he accused *Victorinus*, now dead, That whiles he lived hee had sold the friendship of *Maximinus*, and gained by his proceedings: by whose last will and testament himselfe had received no small legacies. And in like malapert saucinesse he threatened his wife *Aneptia*, to go to law and by litigious suits to molest her: Who fearing these troubles, to the end she might be protected also by the aid of *Maximinus*, feined and devised, That her husband in his will which he lately made, left unto him a legacie of three thousand pound weight in silver: Who burning in excessive desire and covetousnesse (for he was not without this vice also) claimed the

the one moitie of the inheritance. But not resting contented herewith, as being but a small portion, and nothing sufficient, he devised another feat; which, as hee thought, was both honest and safe: and because he would not forgo his hold of so good meanes offered unto him to gaine a wealthie patrimonie, he sued to have the daughter in law of *Victorinus* (whom his wife *Aneptia* bare unto a former husband) for to be his sonnes wife: the which with the assent of the woman was soon obtained and concluded.

CHAP. IIII.

The detestable sleights and practises of Maximinus, that he might continue still in that butcherly execution of his, now being created Prefectus Praesorio. Divers successors after him in the Prefectship of the caise; the last of whom exceedeth the crueltie of Maximinus.



Y these and other pranks with like sorrow to be lamented, which greatly blemished and stained the beautie of Rome, that immortall citie, this man not to be named but with a grone, made outrageous spoyle by the manifold overthrowes of mens estates, stretching and straining his power beyond the bounds of law and justice. For, by report, he both had a small cord alwayes hanging at a certain remote window of the Pretorium, the *one end wherof shold tye or binde together a certaine *Tamula (as it were) not grounded verily upon any proofes or presumptions, but like to doe mischief unto many guiltlesse persons: And also commaunded sundrie times *Muscianus* and *Barbarus*, his daily officers and ministers, fellowes most apt and fit to deceive others, severally to bee clapt up. These, as if they bewayled their owne wofull mishaps, whereby they made semblance that they were wronged and oppressed, aggravating still the crueltie of the said judge, and iterating the same speeches verie often, pretended and affirmed, That for persons standing then accused and in trouble, there was now no other meanes or remedie remaining to save their owne lives, unless they would seeme to charge and accuse some of the nobilitie of great crimes, who if they were once joyned with them in societie of danger, then they warranted them they might be easily quit and absolved. By reason wherof, considering that the vile impietie of these courses proceeded further now than to subjects neere at hand, it came to passe that many a man had his hands streight manacled; and those of noble birth were seene as unregarded, in poore plight and much distressed. Neither ought any of them to be blamed, when in their simple salutations they crouched and bowed their bodies so low, as that they welneere touched the verie ground, considering they heard this robber with the pestiferous breath of his mouth come out oftentimes with this note, If he were so disposed, that no person could possibly be found innocent. Which words turning quickly into deeds, had bene ynough, I assure you, to have terrified as good men as ever *Numa Pompilius* or *Cato* were. For in this wise altogether were matters carried, that some mens cies were never drie, but shed fresh teares in the beholding of other folks miseries, a thing that commonly in this life happeneth to men, upon sundrie troubles and crosse accidents of their owne. Howbeit this hard hearted judge how ever he went oftentimes from the course of right and justice, yet in one speciall point tollerable he was. For, otherwhiles hee would spare and pardon some if he were requested and intreated: which; as we

*Suetonius for this authoriteth it indifferently
*Here am I gladly
*Scepticus: whiles one taketh it for a poore, another a policy, at third too a hatchet and a tooth for, it was not wit, bloody substant
Sec. I suppose they smite the marks and until we may meet with a more perfect copie I cannot determine, The place I doubt is corrupt.

read in *Tullie*, favoureth yet of some vice in this place of authority. For if wrath (quoeth he) be implacable, it is rigour and bitterness in the highest degree; but if it be exorable, it is as great a lightnesse and vanitie: which notwithstanding, as in choice of bad things, is to be preferred before bitterness. After this, when *Leo* went forward, and was admitted his successor, *Maximinus* being sent for to the princes court, and advanced to be Prætor Prætorio, became never a jot milder, but did harme still even a farre off, like to the serpents called Basiliskes or Cocatrices. Against that time, or not much before, the very becomes wherewith the noblemens * Curia used to be swept, were seene to bloome and beare blossomes: and this portended, that some persons of most contemptible and base condition, were to be raised unto high degrees of rule and authority. And although it be now high time to returne unto the order of our Historie begun, yet without hindering the processe of times, we will tarrie a while in rehearsing some few particulars, that through the iniquitie of those, who governed as deputed Prefects in the citie, were done otherwise than ought to have beene; which were carried all according to the will and pleasure of *Maximinus*, by the same ministers, as his agents or apparitors. After him commeth *Vrsicinus* in place; a man more inclined to milder courses: who because he would be warie and civile, gave information, and referred over to the Emperour *Esaius*, with others kept in hold, for committing adulterie with *Ruffina*; and who had gone about to accuse and indict her husband *Marcellus*, late a Pursivant or Intelligencer, of Treason: And therefore he, despised as a lingering delayer, and nothing meet for the stout execution and quick dispatch of these matters, was put out of his deputishipp. After him succeeded *Simplicius Hemonensis*; who of a professor in Grammar became counsellor unto *Maximinus* after the administration of his deputishipp: a man neither stout nor prowd, but of a crooked and terrible aspect; who, seeming to frame his words to a kind of modestie, studied and plotted the mischief of many. And first he put to death *Ruffina*, together with all those that were either parties culpable in the matter of adulterie, or privie thereto: as touching whom, *Vrsicinus* (as I said before) had given information: Then, many others, without any difference of guiltie or innocent. For in this bloudie battail, contending with *Maximinus* (marshalled as it were in the maine battail before him) he endeavoured to ougoue him in cutting the sinewes (as one would say) of noble families: imitating * *Busiris* in old time, as also *Anteus* and *Phalaris*; so as there seemed nought wanting but that Bull of Agrigentum.

CHAP. V.

The horrible death of Hefychia a Maïron. The tragickall historie of Faufiana, she bloudie Calastrophe whereof is acted by Aginatus and Anepsia, married folke, put to death as the commaundemens of Maximinus. The iust iudgements of the almighty powers in punishing Maximinus and other bloudie buschers.



Hese and such like matters in this manner passed, a certaine matrone named *Hefychia*, fearing very much some hard dealing and cruell torture for the crime wherewith she stood charged, in the house of an apparitor or sergeant, unto whom she was committed to ward; cast her face groveling upon a featherbed, and so stopping the breath of her nostrils, ended her life.

life. And here take with you another mischief as cruell as the rest. For *Eumenius* and *Abienus* both, of a most honorable ranke, having beene slandered, under *Maximinus*, with *Faufiana*, a worshipfull gentlewoman, after the death of * *Victorinus*, by whose helpe they lived in more securitie, skared now with the coming of *Simplicius*, a man no lesse minded to doe great matters, and that with menaces, betooke themselves to live close and secret. But after that *Faufiana* was condemned, their indictments being taken, and themselves peremptorily called to their answers by vertue of edicts, hid themselves farther out of the way: and as for *Abienus*, hee shrowded himselfe privily a long time in *Anepsias* house. But, as usually it falleth out, that when folke are once going downe, some crosse accidents or other unlooked for will be sure to attend upon them, to aggravate their calamities, a servant of *Anepsia*, named *Apaudulus*, taking it very grievously, that his wife had borne some stripes in the house, went forth by night, and gave notice of all unto *Simplicius*: So there were officers sent, who upon the said discoverie made, had them away out of their lurking place; and *Abienus* verily, upon the crime of adulterie strongly enforced against him, which he was said to have committed upon the bodie of *Anepsia*, suffered death: but the woman, to the end that by deferring her punishment, the might have assured hope to save her life, avouched, That being by cursed and * wicked ans assayed, she suffered that dishonour and violence in *Aginatus* his house. These things as they happened, *Simplicius* rung out againe into the Emperours eares, and *Maximinus*, who abode there, upon a malicious mind that he bare against *Aginatus* already for the cause above specified, now that his privie grudge was together with his power and authority more incensed, made an exceeding earnest suit, that there might be a letter sent backe againe, for to have him executed. And verily this braine-sicke incitor, and mightie withall, soone obtained so much: but fearing the heave load of envie and hatred, in case a man of noble birth should come to his death by sentence of judgement, that *Simplicius*, both his owne counsellor and friend also, pronounced, kept with himselfe for a while the Emperours precept; being at a stay, and doubting whom he might find out especially to be a trustie and sure executor of this horrible designe. And at the last (as commonly like will easily sort with like) he lighted upon one *Doryphorianus*, a Gaule, and a bold franticke person; on whom, for promising shortly to accomplish this service, he tooke order, that a deputishipp should be conferred, and to him he delivered the precept, together with the Emperours letters, instructing the man, cruell though he was, yet unexpert and unskilfull, with what expedition he might without all let or impeachment dispatch *Aginatus*, who peradventure, upon finding out any means of delay, would escape and be gone. *Doryphorianus* sped himselfe in all hast, and tooke long journeyes till hee came to Rome: and at his first coming, before all complements of salutation ended, he cast about, and with great diligence fought, by what forcible device, with the helpe of some others, he might take away the life of a Senator, so nobly discredited: and having intelligence, that but a while before he had beene found in a farme-house or mannour of his owne, himselfe with a sterne countenance determined to have the iudiciall hearing of *Anepsia*, as the chiefe of all the offenders; and that during the ugly darke night, what time folkes minds, possessed with horror and terror, use to be dull and dead; as among an infinite number of examples, * *Aias* also in *Homers* sheweth, wishing to dye by day-light, rather than to abide the terrors of the nightly feare. And for that this Iudge,

* who was a very inward friend with Maximinus.

* by enchantment and magic.

or rather a wicked Brigand, intending onely that which he promised, made every thing greater than it was, when he had commaunded *Aginaius* to be brought before him judicially, he caused a number of hangmen and tormentors to enter in place, and whiles the chaynes made an hideous noyse with their jingling, he tortured to the very point of death the poore slaves, pined with foule usage and evil keeping a long time, to endanger by some evidence their lord and masters life: a thing that most mild and mercifull lawes have forbidden to be done in the question and matter of * fornication. In the end, when some torments were so grievously inflicted, that they had expressed from a sillie maid servant, now readie to dye, certaine ambiguous or suspitious words, no sooner was the evidence by her given, fully discussed and sifted, but without any more adoe definitive sentence was pronounced, That *Aginaius* should be led to execution. And thus without any audience given him (notwithstanding with a lowd voice he called upon the names of Princes and Emperours) hoisted he was away on high, and put to death: and by the like sentence *Anepsia* was also executed. As *Maximinus* himselfe played these pranks both in his owne person whiles he was present, and also by his pragmaticall and busie agents, when he was farre off, Rome citie bewailed the death of many. But the Furies made hast to revenge those that were thus slaine. For (as it shall hereafter be shewed in due season) not only the same *Maximinus*, bearing himselfe intolerably proud under *Gratianus*, was condemned and suffered death, but *Simplicius* also was killed and cut in pieces in Illyricum; yea, and *Doryphorianus*, pronounced guiltie of death, and thrust into the deepe dungeon: Tullianum, the prince by his mothers counsell fetched forth from thence; and when he was returned to his owne home in Gaule, with dolorous torments made an end of him. But now returne we from whence we turned hither. Thus stood the state (as I may so say) of the citie affaires.

CHAP. VI.

Valentinian goeth about to bridle the rodes and invasions of the Alemans: and they having sued for peace, but not obtained it, set upon the Romanes as unawares, and kill two of their martiall leaders.

BVt Valentinian conceiving great matters in his mind, and those of behooffull consequence, fortified the Rhene all along, from the beginning of Rhaetia, unto the narrow sea or Frith of the Ocean, with mightie pyles and bankes; rayling up castles, skonces, forts and turrets of a great height, one by another ranged along in meet and convenient places along the coast of Gaule, as farre as it reacheth in length, yea, and other whiles with houses and buildings planted beyond the rivers, encroaching somewhat upon the limits of the Barbarians, and winning ground. Finally, when he cast with himselfe and considered, how that high built and strong fenced forresse, which himselfe at his first entrance had founded out of the very ground, by reason that the river named *Nicer running hard by, might by little and little with the violent beating of the waves be undermined and subverted, he devised to turne the streame another way: and having sought out and gotten together cunning workemen, skillfull in water-workes, and a number beside of stout souldiours, hee entred upon this hard piece of worke: For certaine maine pieces of timber, and those of Oake, for many

dayes together were framed and couched close, and the same cast into the chanell; notwithstanding huge posts forcibly pitched down hard by, and effsoones pitched againe, at the rising of the mightie billowes were shuffled and huddled together, yea, and plucked up with the violence of the streame, and broken in sunder. Yet for all this, the great and earnest care of the Emperour, together with the painefull labour of the dutifull souldiours (who oftentimes when they were at worke stood up to the chin plunged in water) overcame all difficulties. And so at the last, not without danger of some, the garrison forts were rid quire fro the trouble wrought by the mightie wandering river, and now stand strong and sure. Being glad therefore, and rejoycing at so good speed, and gathering those together, who according to the time and season of the year were slipped sundrie wayes, he had a care of the Common-wealth, as befeemed the dutie of a prince. And supposing this to be most fit and meet for the effecting of that which he intended, he purposed in all hast to build a fort on the farther side of Rhene, upon the mountain *Pirus (which place is within the Barbarians ground) and to the end that quicke dispatch might worke withall a sure effect of this businesse, he advertised *Arator* the lord marcher, by *Syagrius* then *Notarie, afterwards Praefect and Consull, that whiles all was still and silent on every side, he should endeavour to take the vantage thereof. So the Marcher, together with the said Notarie, went straightwayes over the water, as he was commaunded: and having begun by the helpe of the souldiours whom he led, to lay the foundation, received *Hermogenes* to be his successeur. And at the very same instant certaine nobles and lords of the Alemans, the Emperours hostages, came; those I meane, whom according to covenant, and as sufficient pledges of peace long to continue, we had in keeping: who humbly upon their knees besought, That the Romanes (whose loyaltie and faith at all times had extolled up to heaven their fortune) without forecast of future securitie would not be deceived with a false error, nor by treading their covenants underfoot, enter upon an unworthie action. But delivering, as they did, these and such like speeches in vaine, when they could neither have hearing, nor perceive any mild answer returned, lamenting the destruction of their children and posteritie, departed. And no sooner were they gone, but out of a secret nouke of an hill hard by, there leapt forth a companie of the Barbarians, waiting, as we were given to understand, what answeres should be given unto those nobles aforesaid, and setting upon our souldiours, halfe naked, and even then busie in carrying of mould, with their swords, lightly and nimble appointed as they were, slew them downe-right; among whom were also both the leaders slaine: neither was there one left to tell newes of what was done but onely *Syagrius*; who, after all the rest were put to the sword, returned to the court, and by sentence of the prince in his anger, cuffed and discharged of his militarie oath and service, went home to his own house, judged by rigorous censure to have deserved no lesse, for that he escaped alone.

*where now is
Spery. Herald.

*or principall
Secretarie.

CHAP. VII.

Gaul is infected by robbers, and Constantianus Tribune of the stable slain. The Maratocupreni, other brigands, play their thevish parts in Syria. The Saxons likewise in Britanie are repressed by Theodosius, who is created Generall of the horsemen.



In this meane while, a rabble of outrageous and cruell robbers swarmed all over Gaule, to the mischief and utter undoing of many; besetting the frequented high wayes, and failing not to lay along and spoyle what fruits of the earth soever came in their way. To be short, besides a number of others, who lost their lives by such wait-layers, *Constantianus*, Tribune of the stable, and neere kinsman to *Valentinian*, a brother also to *Cerealis* and *Iustina*, was by a privie rode intercepted, and soone after killed. But a farre off, as if the furies of hell haunted the like theeves and pricked them forward; the *Maratocupreni*, most fierce brigands, the inhabitants of a towne carrying that name in Syria, scituate neere unto *Apamia*, raunged on everie side: and a wonder it was what a number they were, and how cunning and craftie beside: In this regard also much dreaded, for that making shew of substantiall marchants houses, villages and towns: neither could any man beware of their fodaine coming, setting as they did their journey not to any one appointed place, but to sundrie quarters, and those farre removed, and in one word, breaking in wheresoever the wind served to conduct them. For which verie cause, the Saxons are feared above other enemies, doing that they doe all on a fodaine. And albeit many mens goods were given and dealt among these confederat theeves, yet incontinent herewith, when they were once set a madding and entred into any intended furious action, they committed wofull murders, as being no lesse blood-thirstie than greedie of prey. But least in reporting everie particular occurrent I should hinder the course and proceeding of my storie, it shall suffice to put downe this one most mischievous practise of theirs. A damned crew of these godlesse and ungracious folke being gathered in a plump together, resembling in outward shew the whole office of a Receiver or Auditor, and the Iudge himselve, in a darke evening at the dolefull sound of trumpet, and voyce of crick, entred a citie, and with sword in hand beset the stately and sumptuous built house of a certaine noble and principall personage, as if he had bene outlawed, and by speciall commission to be slaine: where, after they had seized into their hands and carryed away houshold-stuffe of much worth, because they of the house being fodainely taken, and their wits masked, had not defended the master thereof, slew a number, and before returne of the day-light departed and went their wayes a great pace. But when thus furnished and laden with the spoyle of many, for nothing went beside their hands, that was not too hot or too heave (such was the sweetnesse they found in these cheits) intercepted they were by a power that the Emperour raised, and being over-matched lost their lives to the verie last man: yea and their issue and progenie, then but young and small, for feare they should grow up, like unto their parents, were in the same manner utterly destroyed, and their dwelling houses subverted, which with the lamentable losses of many they had bravely built. And thus verily went things according to the narration aforesaid. But *Theodosius*, a noble and renowned captain, having gotten heart and courageous vigour, taking his journey from *Augusta*, which in old time they called

*Lun-

**Lundinium*, with a power of souldiors that in his politique industrie hee had levi-
ed and trained to his hand, brought exceeding great succour unto the troubled
and confused state of the Britans, gaining before hand such places everie where, as
gave advantage to annoy the barbarous enemies, and enjoyning the common
souldiors no service, whereof himselfe tooke not the essay with a cheerefull heart.
And in this kind as he performed the principall part of a stout souldior, and fulfilled
the careful function of an excellent leader, by discomfiting and putting to flight
sundrie nations, whom insolent pride nourished with securitie, had incensed and
incited to set upon the Romans territories, he restored wholly into the former state
cities and castles which had sustained many losses, yea established peace surely
founded for a long time. Now, there happened whiles he managed these affaires a
foule matter, like to breake out to a dangerous mischiefe, if it had not bene quen-
ched in the verie beginning of the enterprife. One *Valentinus* in *Pannonia* *Val-*
ria, a man of a proud spirit, brother unto the wife of *Maximinus* that cursed and
mischievous deputie afterwards Praefect, being banished into Britannie for an hai-
nous act committed, as one impatient of rest, like some noisome wild beast, upon
a certaine swelling humour of pride, rose up to worke mischiefe and innovation in
the State against *Theodosius*, whom he perceived to be the onely man able to with-
stand his wicked designs. Howbeit, casting many wayes about both closely and
openly, as the gale of his unmeasurable desire rose higher, hee solicited the exiled
persons and the souldiors, promising (as the time would afford) rewards for their
attempts, thereby to draw them on to his purpose. And now, when the time drew
neere, that their attempts should take effect, the warlike leader aforesaid, advertised
hereof by such as were meet to give information, and thereby readie to adventure,
as also upon a resolute and courageous heart, forward ynough to be revenged of
such as were detected, committed *Valentinus* verily with some few of his most in-
ward confederats, unto captain *Dulcinius* for to be executed with death according-
ly. But in his militarie skill and policie, wherein he excelled all men living in those
dayes, guesseing at future daungers, he inhibited all inquisitions to bee made as tou-
ching the rest of the conspirators with him, least if this feare proceeding were once
spred among many, the tempestuous troubles of the provinces, now well allayed,
should revive againe. From hence, turning himselfe to the distresse of many mat-
ters, and those of needfull consequence, now that all danger was quite past (for that
it was for certaine knowne, that propitious fortune never failed him in all his enter-
prises) he reedified and repaired cities, the garrison castles also, as I have said, and the
marches he defended with out-watches, with guards & fore-fences. And thus ha-
ving recovered the province againe, which had yielded subjection to the enemies,
he reduced it unto the pristine estate; so, as by his owne relation and report made,
it both had a lawfull governor, and also was from that time called *Valentia*, at the
pleasure of the Prince. The *Areens*, a kind of people instituted by those in auncient
time (concerning whom I have said somewhat in the acts of *Conitans*) who by
little and little were fallen into disorders and enormities, he removed from their sta-
tions: as being manifestly convicted, that induced with the greauesse of rewards re-
ceived, and more promised, they had otherwhiles revolted unto the Barbarians,
what was in hand and a doing among us. For, their office was this, by running a
great ground to be curious to and fro, and to intimate unto our captains upon
the marches, what sturres there were among the neighbour nations. Thus having
managed most excellently these matters aforesaid, and others the like, being sent

X x

for

*Maratocuprenum.

*London.

*Scitia.

*Theodosius.

for to the Emperours Court, and leaving behind him the provinces leaping and dauncing for joy: like unto *Furinus Camillus*, or *Papirius Cursor*, renowned he was for many victories, and those of good importance. And so, accompanied with the favour of all men to the narrow seas, having passed over with a gentle gale he came to the Princes campe. And being received with joy and prayes, hee succeeded in the roome of *Valens Iovinus*, who had the conduct of the horsemen.

CHAP. VIII.

A returne to the citie affaires. The Prefectship or government of Olybrius and Ampelius. The most corrupt state of Rome in those dayes. The errors and delinquencies of the Nobilitie.



AVING thus a long time and farre digressed from the citie busines (such was the heape of forraigne affaires that forced me thence unto) I will returne to a brieft declaration thereof, beginning at the Prefectship of *Olybrius*, which was exceeding quiet and mild. Who leaving at no time the constant course of gentlenesse and humanitie, was solicitous and carefull that no deed or word of his favouring of rigour should passe in any place: a most bitter enemy and in-veyer against false accusations, abridging wheresoever he could the gaine accrewing to the Exchequer: an absolute discernor and judge of things that are just, and verie temperate towards those that were under his jurisdiction. But there was a vice, and the same verily little hurtfull to the Commonwealth (howbeit a foule blot in a judge of high place) that darkened all these good parts: for that he passed the whole course and carriage, in manner, of his privat life inclining to riot in stage plaies and amorous delights, such as were neither forbidden nor dishonest. After him *Ampelius* ruled the citie, a man given himselfe also to his pleasures, borne at Antioch, raised from being Master of the Offices to a double Proconsulship, and from thence long after to the high dignitie of *Prefect: a man otherwise of merrie disposition, and most meet to win the peoples favour; but now and then rough and rigorous, and would God he had bene stedfast and constant in his purpose: for, in some part, though it were but little, he might have reformed the instigations to gluttonie and shut up naughtie houses of riot, had he not taken to loose and lascivious waies, and thereby lost that glorie which would long time have lived. For, once ordained he had, that no wine Taverne should be opened before the *fourth houre of the day, nor any of the vulgar sort heat his water, or until a certaine time of the day any cookes or skullians set out to sale flesh boyled or roasted: Neither would hee have any man of honest calling be seene eating abroad without his owne doores. Which shamefull abuses, and others greater than these, neglected by continual diffimuling and connivence, grew so rise and common, without all stint and gage, that even **Epimenides* himselfe of *Crete, if, after the fashion of fables acted on the stage, he should be raised from the dead againe, and returne into our world, would not be sufficient alone to cleanse Rome. So great was the corruption of incurable vices that possessed the most part of the people. And first will we set down the disorders of the Nobilitie, as divers times we have done, as the opportunitie of places hath required: then, afterwards of the commons, by way of a brieft digression knitting up such matters as come into our minds. Some growing to be, as they

imagine,

imagine, conspicuously by their glorious and goodly fore names extoll themselves above all measure: as for example, when they are called *Robur*, *Plinius*, *Flavianus*, *Geriones* and *Dalg*, together with *Tarracy* and *Ferrag*, and many other such trim and brave sounding titles of their original descent. Some yee have againe, who in rusling in their silkes and velvets, there follow in traine (as if they were to be led unto the place of execution, or, to speake without any evill prefiging offe, gathering their armor together, where an host is gone before) a number of servants by troupes; bustling and making a great noyse as they goe. Such as these, when they are entred within the vaulted roomes of any *baine, attended with fiftie serving-men appeere at their heeles, crying out in menacing manner, Where? Where be they? if haply they have intelligence given them, that either some unknowne courtian hath on a sodaine appeared, or a common strumpet that sometime hath prostituted her selfe to the whole towne, or some old whore naught of her bodie, they run all at once striving a vie who shall be foremost; and after some dalliance with this stranger or new commer, they make love, and by way of much unseemly flatterie, fall to playing and extolling of her, as much as the Parthyans do **Semiramis*, *Egypt Cleopatra*, the Carians *Arnimisa*, or the Palmyrenes *Zenobia*. And this bath not those to doe, in whose auncestors time a Senatour was taxed and fined by the Censour, that durst, whiles it was not decent and seemly, kiss his owne wife, before the daughter of them both. Of these there be some, who when they begin to be falled, or greeted breast to breast, turning their heads awry when they should be kissed, and brideling it like unto curst and fierce bulls, offering unto their flattering favourites their knees or hands to kisse, supposing that favour sufficient for them to live happily, and be made for ever; yea and that a stranger unto whom haply they be obliged, hath ynough and ynough againe of all manner of courteous usage, in case he be but asked by them, What baine or water he frequenth? or under whose roofoe he lodgeth? And being such grave persons and lovers of vertue, as they take themselves to be, if they once but understand of any man bringing word, there be, either horses or chariotiers comming to towne, from what place soever, they throng about him, and ply him with a number of questions, like as our forefathers with admiration beheld their two brethren **Castor* and *Pollux*, when upon the relation of those victories in ancient times, they filled all the citie with joy and mirth. These mens houses, yee shall have certaine idle talkative fellows ordinarily to haunt, after sundrie sorts and devised fashions of flatterie, at everie word sounding their high fortunes, and praying them: affecting here in the ridiculous conceits and pleasant jests of these smel-feast-parasites in comedies. For, as they use to sooth up vaine glorious souldiors in their proud honor, ascribing unto them as to the demie-gods fellows, the besieging of cities, fighting of battailes, and slaying thousands of enemies: even so these also, wondering at their columnes built arch-wise with stately and lostie fronts, their stone walls also trimly set out with beautifull and glorious colours; extoll noble men above the degree of mortall weights. Otherwhiles also at their feasts, is the ballance called for to weigh the silkes and fowles, yea and *dormice to, that are set upon the boord. The greatness of which delicates oftentimes not without the irksome wearinesse of those that be in place, they make no end of praying, as a strange thing that hath not bin heretofore seene. But most of all, when there stand by readie to number the same, thirrie notaries welneere, with their standishes with pen and inke, and writing tables in their hands, so as a man would thinke there were wanting onely the master

X x ij

him-

*Scow or hot-brook.

*of the Pretorianum.

*run of the clocke.

*Candie.

himselfe to make a shew of a Grammar schoole. Some there be, who in detestation of learning no lesse than very poyson, fall to reading with very earnest studie *Junemall* and * *Martius Maximus*, handling no other bookes in the midst of their greatest leisure than these: what the reason thereof should be, it passeth my simple skill and judgement to set downe; whereas they ought to turne over many and sundry volumes, according to the amplitude of their glorie and parentage; hearing, as they doe, that *Socrates* committed to prison, & appointed to suffer death, requested one who sung excellently in measures certaine verses of the Lyricke * Poet *Stesichorus*, to teach him whiles he had time the like cunning: and when the Musician asked him, What good that could doe unto him, since he was to die the next day: he answered thus: *Even thus I may depart out of this life, learning more than I knew before.*

CHAP. IX.

The reproches of Senaours and gowned men layd open.

Moreover, there be among them so few grave punishers of faults, that if a sinner want be somewhat slow in bringing hot water unto him, commandment is given, That he shall have three hundred stripes: but if wilfully he kill a man (though many there be very urgent to have him condemned) yet his lord or master alone thus farre forth crieth out, *What should a mad man and a lewd knave doe?* Furthermore, this is held a point of civillie among them now adaies, That it is convenient for any one, & even by law in their power, to kill strangers invited by them, if they make default, any excuse notwithstanding. For a Senatour thinketh, that he sustaineth great damage in his very patrimonie, in case one be wanting whom he hath invited once to a feast, after sundrie serious consultations with himselfe thereabout. There be some of them, who if they have gone forth any thing farre to see their lands and possessions, or a hunting by other mens labours, suppose they have equalled the journeyes and expeditions of *Alexander the Great*, or of *Cæsar* yea, or if from the lake * *Avernus* they go by water in their painted barges no farther than to * *Puteoli* or * *Cajeta*, especially if they adventure such a voyage in a hote season: where, if it chauce that among their gilded fannes there settle flies upon the silken fringes, or in case any small Sun-beame pierce through an hole of * the tilt, hanging over their heads, they whine and complaine, that they were not borne among the * *Cimmerij*. Again, when they use to come from the baine of * *Sylvanus*, or the medicable waters of *Mammaeæ*, as any of them being forth of the Bath, doth wipe and drie himself with moist fine linnens, there must be diligent seeking into the usuall preffes for faire and daintie clothes, and that by the helpe of light to chuse them, which are carried at once together so many as are sufficient to serve eleven persons. And at the last being enwrapped or clad in some of them, picked out especially of purpose, he taketh his rings again which he had delivered unto his servants, because they should not take hurt by the hot waters, and so when he hath fitted them just by measure upon his fingers, away he goes. Of these there be certaine, though few, who decline the name of *Aleasures*, i. Dice-players, and therefore are desirous to be called *Tesserarij*, i. Tirlers of square bones; betweene whom there is as much difference as betweene theeves and robbers. Yet thus much I must confesse, that whereas all sorts of friendship at Rome wax luke warme and begin to coole, this onely of Dice-players, as if it were gotten with glorious sweat and travaile, is full of good fellow-

fellowship, & knit most fast and firme with exceeding love and affection. Whence it is, that some there be found of these companies so linked in amitie; that one would take them to be very brethren. And therefore a man shall see an ignoble and base fellow, so he be skillfull in the secret feat of cheators craft, like unto *Cato Percontator* for the repulse of a Pratorship (which repulse was neither suspected before, nor feared) goe with a set gravitie very sad and melancholicke, because at a great feast or assemblie some Proconfular person was placed above him. Some there are that lye in wait for weake and crasse persons, old or yong, it skilleth not, such as have buried their children, or live single, yea, and those also that have wives & children both (for in this case there is no difference observed) enticing and drawing them on by wonderfull wyles and craftie devices to make their Wils: now these folke no sooner have ordained their last Testaments, and left that which they had to those whom they were ruled by in making their Wils, but immediately they peake aside, and die. Another yee shall have, who after some dignitie and promotion obtained, walketh poorly with a big and bolne necke of his owne, and upon such as were of his familiar acquaintance before, he casteth a crooked and overthwart looke, a man would thinke who sees him, that a new *M. Marcellus* were returned from the winning of *Syracusa*. Many there be among them, that denie there is any high power above in Heaven to governe us here, neither goe they forth of dores, nor take their dinner, nor thinke they can bath in safetie, before they have curiously looked into their * *Ephemerides*, where (for example) is the Planet of *Mercurie*, or what degree of the signe *Cancer* the Moone holdeth, as the runneth her course in the heaven. Another, if he perceive once that his creditour calleth hard upon him for debt, runneth presently to a chariotier that dares do any thing very audaciously, and taketh order to have the partie charged as a Sorcerer: wherupon he goes not away, before he hath delivered up the obligation or specialtie, yea, & sustained great losse therewith. Neither is this all. He fetcheth him in voluntarily to acknowledge himselfe indebted unto him, and affoileth him not. On another side, the wife beating night and day (as the old proverbe sayth) upon the same anvil, urgeth her husband to make his Will, and the husband as instantly importuneth his wife to do the same. Then skilfull Lawyers are retained on both parts for coisell, the one in the bed chamber, the other his concurrent in the dining rowme, to handle and debate their controversies. And to the same are brought in and suborned interpreters of bowels and Soothsayers, to calculate their nativities, promising largely on the one side *Prædicts*, dignities, and burials of rich dames, on the other inviting the women (as it were) to the funerals & obsequies of husbands, signifying covertly, that necessities ought to be provided for the same. Neither know they any thing in the world to be good, but that which is commodious and gainefull. Thus love they their friends as they love cattell; I meane, those best of all, from whom they hope to receive the most profit: And when these folke come to borrow any thing, you shall see them as humble and demisse as *Misio* or * *Laches* in the Comædie; but are they forced once to make repayment, so loslie and big, as you would take them to be those tragical * *Heracles*, * *Crestiphon* and *Trememus*.

CHAP.

* an Historiographer.

* Lago di Triper-gola.
* Putzole.
* Caieta.
* or Boe-gæce.

* Remin of Heracles.

CHAP. X.

The sloth, vanitie, and bafe behaviour of the common people.



Hus much of the Senatours degree . Now come we to the idle and bafe commons : Among whom, you fhall have fome going even without fhooes bare foot, yet fine and goodly to beknown by their trim and elegant names, to wit, *Cimeffores, Statarij, Semicupa, and Serapini*, with others befide, namely, *Cicimbricus, Glutrinus, and Trulla*; likewise *Lucanics, Pordaca, Salsula*, and an innumerable fort of fuch. Thefe fpend all their life and living at the wine taverne, and at dice-play, in brothel-houfes alfo, in wanton pleafures, and fecing of delightfome fights and games: the great Crique or Shew-place is their temple and habitation, the very Hall that they frequent, and all the hope they relie upon . And a man may fee every where in the market places, quarrifours, ftreets, and meeting places, or afsemblies, many companies of them gotten together, frapling one againft another *pro & contra*, whiles fome hold this, others thar, as the manner is, Among whom thefe that have lived with greater authoritie than others along time, even to fatietie of yeares, ufe oftentimes to crie out along the Burfes, Lombards and Pawnes, That the Commonwealth and all were loft, if at the games and trials of matters following, he that each one taketh part with, performeth not his race formoft, and gaineth the goale firft. Now, when the wilhed-for day of the chariot-running beginneth to peepe, before the cleare beames of the Sunne appeare, they all make haft abroad, and hiee apace, that with their quicke fpeed they may outgoe the very chariots that are to ftrive for the prize: about the fuccesse and event whereof, a number of them , whiles they fide and wifh favourably divers wayes, in great perplexitie fit up and watch whole nights. Come from thence, to the bafe fports of the Theatre, thofe actors upon the ftage there, are fure to be hiffed out, in cafe they have not with fome money bought the favour of the abject multitude . And if it chauce that one of them miffe the fhout and noyfe of the commons, by way of approbation, then, in imitation of the barbarous people of *Taurica*, out they crie, That all ftrangers and forrainers ought to be expelled; even forrainers (I fay) by whose aid they have at all times beene fupported, and ftood upright: and this doe they in foule and abfurd tearmes, farre different from the affections and minds of thofe ancient commons; many of whose wittie and pleafant conceited fpeeches ftand upon record . For now a dayes this device is found out to ferve in ftead of ftudious refound of their prayfes who be worthe thereof, that by certaine perfons framed and appointed to fpeake in every fhew or fpedacle exhibited, you fhall have them (unto the Enterlude-rhymer, the Baiter, the Charioter, and Stage-player of every fort, likewise unto the Judges and Magiftrats as well the higher as the inferiour, yea, and unto the Dames) come out continually with this bald note, *Let him learne by thee*. But what it is that fhould be learned, no man is able to declare. Among thefe, there be a number given wholly to gourmandife and belly cheare, who like fmel-feafs tracing the fteam and fent of meat, and liftening to the fhriill voices of women , from the very cocke-crow, in manner of Peacocks crying for hunger and emptineffe, tripping a tiptoe lightly upon the ground, are at hand in every great mans Hall, readie even to gnaw their owne fingers ends, whiles the difhes of meat be cooling: others againe looking and

CHAP. XI.

The warre againft the Saxons, daunted with the very fighs and prefence of the Romane fouldiors, afterwards by a wile enclosed, and bewred in pieces every one.



Hiles the Emperours were now the third time Confuls, there brake out a multitude of Saxons; and having paffed through the dangers of the Ocean, kept on their march , and bent their journey into the Romane limits; as who had oftentimes been fed with the flaughter of our men. The brunt of which firft violent excurfion of theirs *Nannius* fustained, who was the Lieutenant appointed for thofe regions: a man approved a long time in the toylefome fervice of warres. But as then having encountered with a multitude refolute to die, when he faw that fome of his fouldiors were flaine, and himfelfe fore wounded, not able to match thofe skirmifhes redoubled upon him, after he had inftructed the Emperour what was to be done, thus much he obtained, That *Severus* colonell of the footmen, fhould come to fuccour his diftressed ftare: Who having the conduct of a fufficient power, when he was come to the place, and had marshalled men into fundry and feverall ranks, before the conflict began, terrified and difordered the Barbarians fo, that they oppofed not their hands to make refiftance, but having their eyes dazeled with the brightneffe of the enfignes and Eagles, craved pardon and peace . And upon long debating and confultation , when this was thought in policie behoofefull for the Commonweale, after a truce concluded, and many tall and ferviceable young men for the warres allowed (according to a capitulation & condition drawne in that behalfe) the Saxons were permitted to depart without let and hinderance, to repaire unto the place from whence they came. For whom, devoid now of all feare, and upon their returne , certaine footmen of ours, fent out fecretly, lay in ambufh within a valley , from whence they might with little adoe affayle as many as paffed by. But it fell out farre otherwife with them than they hoped. For at the noyfe of the Saxons comming, fome of our men being raifed, leapt forth in an unfeafonable time, and being fuddainly difcovered, whiles they make haft to ftrengthen themfelves, were put to flight by the Barbarians, yelling in a dolefull and hideous manner. Howbeit, foone after they callt themfelves in a ring, and ftood to it, and fince extremitie miniftred ftrengh unto them (though the fame was fomewhat impaired) forced they were to fight: and after a great flaughter of them made, they had died for it every one, and not left one man alive, but that a cornet of our horfemen, armed at all pieces, placed in like fort on another fide neere to the paring of the way, for to endanger the Barbarians as they paffed by, moved and ftirred up with the fearefull crie that they heard, nimble fuccoured them. After this, the encounter was much more eage and fharp; and the Romanes with refolute hearts giving the recharge, enclosed them, and with their drawne

drawne swords killed them downe right. Neither could any of them returne to see his native home againe: for, not so much as one of them was permitted to remaine alive after the execution of his fellow souldiors. And albeit some iust and precise iudge of matters, may blame this as a perfidious and foule fact, yet if the case be well weighed and considered, he will not take it indignly, that a mischievous companie of robbers were in the end upon an advantage and opportunitie surprised and cut off.

CHAP. XIII.

Valentinian setteth the Burgundians upon the Alemans, who being gone forward as farre as to the bankes of Rhene, and finding no helpe of Roman succours, returne into their native countrey: But Theodosius setting upon the Alemans dispersed in Rhesia, partly killeth them, and partly sendeth them into Italy for to dwell about the Po.



After these affaires so fortunately performed, *Valentinian* tossing sundrie thoughts in his mind, was verie carefully perplexed, revolving full many wayes and casting about, by what meanes he might take downe and quell the pride of the Alemans, and their king *Macrianus*, who without all measure and end, with restless stirres and broyles troubled the Roman State. For, this fierce and cruell nation ever since the first beginning and rising thereof, how ever they were abated with the varietie of accidents and chaunces, yet growe effoonces so, as that a man would thinke they had not for many ages beene once touched. But as the Emperour had the approving of one counsell after another, at the length he resolved upon this, That the *Burgundians, a warlike nation, puissant for their huge multitude, and therefore dreadfull to all their neighbours, should be rayed up in armes for the rooting of them out. And many times he wrot unto their kings by certaine trustie and secret messengers, That at a fore-appointed time they should sodainely invade and surprise them, promising that himselfe also in person passing over the Rhene with the Roman forces, would encounter them, being once affrighted, and seeking to avoid this unlooked for power of armed men. These letters of the Prince were thankfully and gladly received in two respects: First, for that the Burgundians knew themselves to bee of auncient time an offspring descended from the Romans: and againe, because they contested oftentimes with the Alemans about the salt-pits, and about their bounds: whereupon they sent most chosen and picked bands: which, before that our souldiors were assembled together, being gone forward as farre as to the bankes of Rhene, whiles the Emperour was busily occupied in rayeing of sents, terrified our men exceeding much. Wherefore, after they had stayed a small while, when as neither *Valentinian* came at the day appointed according to promise, nor they could perceive any thing done that was undertaken, they dispatched embassadours to the Court, requiring they might have some ayd sent unto them: intending otherwise to returne home into their owne countrey, least they should expose their back parts naked to the enemies. Which when they perceived by circumstances to be denied, and that the Emperour trifled out the time, they departed from thence with indignation. When their kings and princes understood this, as if they had beene de-

lude,

luded and mocked, they fell into a rage, and after they had killed all the prisoners returned into their native countries. Among these Burgundians the king by a general name is called *Alendinos*, and according to an auncient rite and custome, is deposed from his regall authoritie and removed, in case under his raigne the wars speed not well, or the earth yeeld not plentie of corne; like as the Egyptians are wont to ascribe such chaunces unto their governours. For, the highest priest among the Burgundians, is termed *Sinißus*, and continueth for tearme of life, not subject to any such dangers as their kings be. By this occasion falling out in so fir and opportune a time, when the Alemans for feare of the foresaid nation were dispersed, *Theodosius* at that time generall of the horsemen, did set upon them, and having slaine a number of them, whomsoever he tooke prisoners, he sent by the Princes commandements into Italie, where they had fertile lands assigned unto them, and now are become tributaries, and dwell about *Padus.

*The river Po.

CHAP. XIII.

The mournfull and heavey plight of Tripolis, a Province in Affricke, is here lively described.



Litting from hence, as it were, into another world, let us come to the trouble of *Tripolis, a Province in Affrica, which even Iustice also her selfe, as I suppose, hath bewailed: Whence these broyles grew so to burne like flaming fire, the text ensuing shall at full declare. The barbarous *Asturians bordering hard upon these parts, readie at all times and nimble appointed to make rodes, used also to live upon rapine and slaughter, having for a little while beene at peace, returned againe to their naturall insurrections, pretending this as a serious cause of quarell. One named *Strachas*, a countryman of theirs, in ranging over our Province at his pleasure, committed certaine acts forbidden by the lawes; among which this was notorious above the rest, that he went about by all subtle and deceitfull meanes to betray the Province, as was proved by most true evidences: for which, he suffered punishment accordingly, and was burnt to death. They then alledging for their quarrell, the revenge of his death, as being their neere kinsman, and unjustly condemned, like unto wild beasts enraged, flung out of their owne habitation, even whiles *Iovian* was Emperour: and fearing to approach *Leptis, a citie strongly walled, and as well peopled, sat them downe for three dayes together in a plentiful place within the territorie thereof. And having either killed the rustical people, whom this unlooked-for and sodaine feare had daunted, or else forced them to flee unto caves for refuge, and burned much household goods that could not be carried away, enriched thus with much spoyle and booties, returned; leading away as prisoner *Sihos* likewise, whom by chance they found in the field, a principall man of his ranke and degree. The men of *Leptis, affrighted with this sodaine calamitie, before the troubles and calamities should increase, which these Barbarians in their swelling pride menaced, in lamentable manner craved the ayd of *Romanus* newly advanced to be the Comes or Lieutenant in Affricke. Who when he was come with militarie forces under his conduct, and requested to see cure their distressed state, assured them, that he would dislodge and remove from thence, unless there might be brought together great store of victuals, and some thousand camels provided and put in readi-

*Tripolis de Barbaria.

*of Asturia.

*Napoli de Barbaria.

*Napoli de Barbaria.

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ness accordingly. At this answer, the pitifull citizens being astonied, and avouching they were notable after such waitings and burnings to provide any remedie of their exceeding great losses, by the meanes of such enorme and huge a preparation; the said Lieutenant having spent there after a dissembling sort fortie dayes, without attempting any exploit departed. The Tripolitans disappointed of this their hope, and fearing extremitie, when the lawfull and ordinarie day was come of their parliament, which with them is yearly holden, ordained *Severus* and *Flaccianus* embassadours, to present unto *Valentinian* by way of congratulation for his entrance into the Empire, golden counterfaits, or images of Victories; as also boldly to lay open the lamentable ruines of the Province. Which when *Romanus* understood, he sent out in post a most swift horseman unto *Kemigius* Master of the offices, who was his neere kinsman, or partner rather with him in all his pillages, willing him providently to take order, that by the wil and appointment of the Emperour the inquisition for the full knowledge of this affaire might bee committed unto him as vicar or deputie. Well, the embassadours aforesaid arrived at the court, & having acceffe unto the Prince, by word of mouth shewed what calamities they sustained: and withall exhibited the decrees containing the order and discourse of the whole matter. Which being read, when as credit was given neither to the reports and intelligences of the Master of the offices, who favoured the lewd acts of *Romanus*, nor to those that related the contrarie, the full debate and deciding of this businesse being promised, was deferred after the same maner as the games of some high magistrat are wont to be, namely, when greater employments and affaires be in hand. Meane while that some remedies were expected from the Princes campe, and the Tripolitans stood long doubtfull and in suspence, the bands and companies of the Barbarians came upon them at unwarres againe (as bearing themselves bold of that which was past) and when they had with fire and sword over-run the territories of Leptis and Oea, & laden themselves with mightie heapes of bootie and pillage, departed; having slaine many Decurions, among whom *Rusticus* a Prelat or Clergie man, and *Nicasius* an Edile were chiefe. And this outrage or invasion of theirs, could not be debarred; for, that upon the request of the same embassadours the whole charge of militarie affaires conferred upon the President *Ruricius*, was soone after transferred to *Romanus*: And now by this time the messenger of this new insficted calamitie being dispatched into Gaule, stirred up the Prince more earnestly to looke into the thing. And therefore *Palladius* a Tribune and Notarie both, was sent, as well to give unto the souldiers dispersed throughout Affricke their due wages, as to search faithfully (as meet it was) into the occurrences of Tripolis. Howbeit during the delays this of treatie, and the expectation of answer, the Asturians growne insolent by reason of this twofold success, like unto ravening fowles made more cruell and eage with the taile of bloud that had so fleshed them, flew upon the inhabitants; and when they had killed all save those who by running away escaped the daunger, augmented the booties which beforetime they had left behind them, by cutting up both trees and vines. Then *Nichon*, a certaine noble citizen and a mightie, being taken prisoner in a village neere unto the citie, and slipped away before he was bound, because hee was not able to escape quite, by reason he had the gout in his feet, cast himselfe into a pit without waters, whereby he brake a rib, and being lifted out by the Barbarians and brought neere unto the gates of the citie, for venie commiseration of his wife, hee was ransomed, and being drawne up by a rope to the battlements of the wall, after

two

two dayes dyed. Whereupon these most cruell brigands and robbers growne obstinat in their purpose, gave an assault upon the walls of Leptis, resounding with the wofull weeping and wailing of women, who having never before beene by enemies besieged, were with this unwonted feare much amazed and dismayed. Now, after they had besieged the citie for eight dayes together, when certaine of the assaylants were wounded, without any matter effected, they returned to their owne home verie sad and ill appaied.

CHAP. XIII.

The Court-like practises of *Romanus*, Prefect of the Province, of *Palladius* and others, to worke the destruction of the Tripolitans.



Or which accidents the citizens doubtfull of their lives, and assaying the utmost meanes they could devise, ere that the embassadours dispatched before were returned, send *Irwinus* and *Pancratius*, to give faithfull intelligence unto the Emperour, of what they had seene, and what themselves had endured: who meeting with *Severus* and *Flaccianus*, those former embassadours, at Carthage, understood by them (after question made how they had sped) that by commandement the hearing of their case was committed to the said Deputie and the Lieutenant. Of those twaine *Severus* who was fallen exceeding grievously sick, straightwaies died thereof. Nevertheless, these other embassadours aforesaid made great journeyes and sped them all half to the Court. After this, when the said *Palladius* was entred into Affricke, *Romanus* advertised beforehand for what cause he was come, to the end he might provide for his owne securitie and safetie, gave order to the Principals of the bands, by certaine that were privie to his secrets, that unto him, as to a mightie man, and next unto the chiefe personages of the Palace, they should acknowledge received the greatest part of the wages which he had brought over with him to pay. And this was done accordingly. He then hereby enriched forthwith set forward to Leptis; and that he might the better search out the truth, he led forth with him unto the places which lay wasted, *Erechibius* and *Asistomenes*, two eloquent Bourgeses, and men of good note, who frankly ripped up the miseries of themselves, the citizens and the neighbour inhabitants. Now when they had plainly declared and shewed all, he having onely seene the lamentable ruines and ashes of the Province, returned: and greatly rebuking *Romanus* as an idle and slothfull governour, hee threatened that he would most truly relate unto the Prince whatsoever he had seene. And the other againe in a great chafe and griefe hereat, promised, That hee also shortly would give information, that *Palladius* being sent as an upright and incorrupt Notarie, had interverted and conveyed all the souldiers donative to his owne proper gain. In which regard, having his owne conscience to condemne him for his lewd dealings, he afterwards grew to an atonement with *Romanus*. So being returned unto the Court, by the impious art of lying he deceived *Valentinian*, and reported, That the Tripolitans complained without cause. And therefore sent back he was againe with *Irwinus* the last of all the embassadours (for *Pancratius* was departed this life at Triers) to the end that himselfe with the Vicarius should see into the reason and cause of this second embassage. Besides all this, the Emperour commanded, That the tongues of *Erechibius* and *Asistomenes*, whom the same

Y y ij

Palladius

*against Romanus.

Palladius had intimated to have spoken certaine words * upon spight and envie, should be cut out of their heads. The Notarie, as it was appointed, followed after the deputie, and came to Tripolis: which when *Romanus* knew, he sent with speed a domestick servant of his thither, and *Cacilius* his counsellor, one borne in that province; by whose meanes all the burgeses being circumvented (with money or craftie sleights I wor not) laid great blame upon *Iovinus*, affirming constantly, That they had given him information of no such matters: as he had delivered unto the prince: and thus farre proceeded in iniquitie and indirect dealing, that *Iovinus* also himselfe, to the endangering of his owne life, confessed he had told the Emperour a lye. Which being made knowne by *Palladius* when he was come backe, *Valentinian* (a prince very prone to ire and crueltie) commaunded, That *Iovinus* verily, as the author and principall, but *Celestius*, *Concordius*, and *Lucius*, as privie and partners with him in that false information, should loose their heads: as for *Ruricius* the President, he awarded him also to suffer death: and this moreover made much against him, for that in his certificate given up, there were read certaine over-big words of his, as it was thought: and *Ruricius* verily was executed at Stits; but the rest at Vica had their judgement by the sentence of *Crescens*, the deputie there. Howbeit, *Flaccianus* being heard judicially by the said deputie and lieutenant before the death of those embassadours, as he stoutly pleaded in defence of his life, with the shouts and outcries of the angrie souldiors in their violent heat, and with taunting tearmes was well neere stabbed to death; who objected, That the Tripolitans could not therefore be defended, because themselves refused to find and allow necessarie meanes for the maintenance of an expedition: and hereupon being cast into prison, whiles the Emperour (being asked his advice, What was meet to be done?) was in determining some course, by solliciting (as might wel be thought) his keepers, brake prison, and fled to the citie of Rome; where lying close, by the course of nature he ended his dayes.

CHAP. XV.

The iustice of God calleth for due revenge of these most wicked and ungracious men.

With this memorable end ensuing, Tripolis after it had been fore plagued as well with forraine as home calamities, was appeased, and not left without defence; because the externall eye of Iustice and the Furies revenging the death of those embassadours and the President aforesaid, watched over them. For long after, such an event as this brake out and came to light. *Palladius* casted and discharged from his militarie oath, and deprived of that place which made him swell with pride, went to lead a privat life; and when *Theodosius*, that noble Generall and grand Commaunder, came into Africke for to suppress *Firmus*, who attempted mischievous matters, and according to his commission rised the moveable goods of *Romanus* aforesnamed, among his papers and writings there was found a letter also of one *Meserius*, containing in it these words: *Domino Patrono Romano Meserius*, i. *Meserius* to his Lord and Patron *Romanus* greeting: and in the end, after many impertinent words, *Palladius* the outcast * *sabreth you, who sayst, That for none other cause he was cast out of favour, but for that in the manner of the Tripolitans he made a lye in the Emperours sacred eare*. This letter being

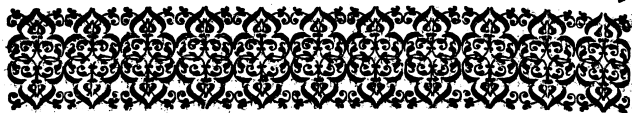
*we commendeth him unto you.

sent unto the Court, and there read, *Meserius* by the commaundement of *Valentinian* being apprehended, confessed, That the Epistle was his: and therefore *Palladius*, commaunded to be brought forth and shewed in place, thinking with himselfe, what a deale of criminall matters he had brewed, in a certaine * station at the beginning of night observing the absence of the keepers (who upon a feastivall day of the Christians lodged all night in the church) knit his necke in an halter, and so throdded himselfe, and died. This overture of more happie fortune being fully known, and the stirrer up of these wofull broyles dispatched out of the way, *Erechthius* and *Aristomenes* leapt out of their lurking holes: who when they were advertised, That commaundement was given to have their tongues (as overlong and lavish) to be cut out of their heads, voided aside to farre remote and hidden corners. And when *Gratian* the Emperour was frankly informed of this lewd and wicked machination (for now by this time was *Valentinian* departed this life) they were sent unto *Hesperius* the Proconsull and *Flavianus* the deputie, to have the hearing of their cause; whose equitie, supported with most just and due authoritie (after that *Cacilius* was examined upon the racke) found thus much by his open confession, That himselfe had given counsell and perswaded the citizens to burthen the embassadours with a lye. After these acts, there followed a certificat, which opened to the full the whole truth of all; unto which there was no answer made. And that this tragickall narration should leave out no part unhandled of so terrible an argument, thus much also came upon the stage, even after the hangings were drawne and taken downe. *Romanus* being gone to the court, brought with him *Cacilius*, to accuse the Commissioners aforesaid, as enclined over-much to the side of the province: and he, received with the favour of *Meroberaudes*, required, That there should be many * of their friends and kinsfolkes presented and brought in place: Who, when they were come to Millaine, and had shewed by probable proofes and arguments, without dissimulation, That for no cause they were drawne thither, were discharged, and so returned home. Yet while *Valentinian* was alive, after the former occurrences which we have told, *Remigius* also being departed from the court to a privat life, strangled himselfe with an halter, and so ended his dayes, as we will shew in place convenient.

*or halting towne.

*necessaries.

THE



THE XXIX. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

After some light skirmishes, there was a truce agreed upon with Sapor. The court of Valens is disquieted with new troubles, by occasion of intelligence given by Palladius. Whiles Valens was alive, inquiry was made in certaine praefages as touching a successor in the Empire.

Vhen Winter was past, Sapor king of the Persians, exceeding arrogant upon the confidence that he had gotten by his former battailes, having supplied the number of his owne forces, and furnished them very strongly, sent his men of armes, archers and mercenarie common foldiers to breake out and invade our territories. Against these forces, *Triarius* a lieutenant and *Vadomarius* late king of the Alemans, went forth with right puissant bands, appointed by commaundement from the prince to observe thus much, rather to keepe off, than to assayle the Persians first. Who being come to Vagabanta, a place renowned for the legions that lodged there, they received the violent charge and brunt of the enemies troupes, rushing and running fiercely upon them full against their wils, and of purpose giving ground and reculing backe, because they would not first wound any of their enemies, nor be deemed culpable in breaking of the league; untill such time as being forced upon extreame necessity, they joynd battaile, and having slaine a number of them, departed with victorie. Yet betwene whiles, after some triall of light skirmishes on both sides, and the same performed with sundrie events, when truce by common consent was concluded, and the Summer spent, the leaders of both parts departed asunder, as yet not well accorded. And verily the Parthian king returned into his owne kingdom, minding to Winter in Ctesiphon, and the Romane Emperour entred into Antioch: who, whiles he maketh his abode there, secured in the meane time from forraigne enemies, had like to have lost his life by intestine practises and conspiracies, as the proceefe of this storie shall declare at large. There was one *Procopius* a busie fellow and of a turbulent spirit, given alwayes to the desire of stirres and troubles, that had accused *Amasius* and *Spudisius* two Palatines (who were commaunded, That what monyes they had intercepted from the common treasure, should be demaunded) for laying wait and practising against lieutenant *Fortunatianus*, that eage and importunate collector: who presently growing from extreame rigour to plain rage and madnesse, by verue of the place and high authoritie which he held,

caused judicially to be convented before the Praefectus Pretorio, one *Palladius*, of most obscure and base parentage, hired as a Sorcerer by the said parties, and *Heliodorus* a teller of fortunes by calculation of nativities, there to be forced for to utter and reveale what they knew. Now, when it came to this point, that the question either of fact or attempt was hotely followed, *Palladius* confidently brake out into this manner of exclamation, That these were but light toyes now in hand, and fit to be passed over: as for me (quoth he) if I may be allowed to speake, I will tell of greater matters, and such as are to be feared indeed, and which being already plotted and well set forward, unlessse better heed be taken, will bring all to confusion. And being commaunded boldly to shew what he knew, he unfolded and layed forth, as one would say, a huge long cable of villanies, avouching, That *Fidusius*, one toward the office of the President, and *Pergamius*, together with *Irenaeus*, had secretly learned by detestable magick the name of him that was to raigine after *Valens*. *Fidusius* straightwaies attached (for his hap was then to be present) and closely brought in to be examined, when he saw the partie that had appeached him, never went about by way of denial to shadow or hide things already divulged, but discloseth the dangerous and hurtfull traine of the whole matter, absolutely confessing, That himselfe, together with *Hilarius* and *Paricium* (of which persons, *Hilarius* served as a souldior about the palace) had sought unto Wizards skillful in prophecies, as touching the Emperour that should be: also, that the Oracle-rolls being by secret arts stirred and set aworke, fore-told both the proper name of an excellent prince, and also to themselves that were actors in this businesse, lamentable and wooll ends. And when they were all at a stand, who he should be in those dayes that so excelled all in vigour of mind and courage, it was thought, that *Theodorus*, now advanced to the second place among the Notaries, surpassed the rest. And verily he was no lesse indeed than the world took him for: For being of a noble and ancient house descended in Gaule, and liberally brought up from the very first rudiments of his childhood, in regard of his modestie, wisdom, countesie, credit, favor and learning right honourable, seemed alwaies better than the office and place that he held: accepted and beloved indifferently both of high and low: and the onely man he was (in manner) of all others, whose tongue not running at random, but well advised what it spake, no feare of danger could ever stop. Over and above all this, the same *Fidusius* being now grievously tormented and mangled to the point of death, went on and said, That upon his report *Theodorus* had learned all which he foretold by *Enserius*, a man of singular skill and learning, and besides a very honorable personage: for why: it was not long before that he had governed Asia as deputie Praefect. When he was once layd up fast in prison, and the scrow containing these matters read, as the manner is, before the Emperour, his monstrous crueltie brake out farther like a most flaming fire, and the same fed still with the foule and shamefull flatterie of many, but principally of *Modestus*, then Praefect of the Praetorium: who, whiles he was daily disquieted with feare of a successor in his rowme, daily playing the jester, under the shadow of pleasant and merrie conceits, divers waies wooon vnto himselfe *Valens*: a man somewhat rude and rough hewen, tearing his unpleasing and rustical words the fine phrases and flowers of *Tallus*: and to compass his vanitie and vaine-glorie the more, bearing him in hand, that the very stars, if he did but say the word, might be brought therein place out of the skie.

CHAP. II.

An infinit number of men apprehended for the said crime: First Theodorus as the head of all. What was done in this businesse throughout by Valens and his ministers: and with what affection of mind.




Hereupon commaundement was given, That *Theodorus* also should with all speed be fetched from Constantinople, whither hee was gone about some household businesse of his owne. Meane while that he was brought backe, by sundrie fore-judgements which were holden night and day there were drawne from most distant regions, persons of good marke, for their dignities and nobilitie. And when as neither the common goales being alreadie pestered full, nor privat mens houses could now hold the number of them that were committed to ward, as being thronged and thrust close together with an hot steame among them, because the most part of them were kept in bonds, everie man fore feared his owne and his neighbours case. At length commeth *Theodorus* himselfe also, halfe dead in manner alreadie, and clad* in mourning blacke: and whiles he was bestowed and hidden in a blind corner of the territorie out of the way, and all those implements were put in readinesse, which the future examinations did require, the trumpets of inward and domestical calamities sounded. And because hee feared no lesse deceitfull, who wittingly passeth over what he knoweth was done, than he that feyneth things never done, wee deny not (for no man maketh doubt thereof) that the life of *Valens*, both oftentimes before by privie conspiracies and then also, was plunged into most exsiccated dangers: and the swords blade by militarie men of his owne traitor sercked to his verie throat, was by the opposition of Destinies put backe, as whom the sayd Destinies had preordained to lamentable perils in Thracia. For, not onely in a certaine woodie place betweene Antioch and Seleucia, whiles he lay sweetly asleepe after noone in the shade, he was layd at by *Salustius*, then one of the Securarij, and oftentimes else forelayd by others: yet escaped he, for that the limits of his life set downe unto him from his verie nautivie, bridled those horrible attempts. Like as it happened other whiles unto the Emperours *Commodus* and *Severus*, whose life was most forcibly oft assailed, in so much as after many and sundrie intestine daungers, the one within the lists of the Amphitheatre, as he should enter in to behold the fights and games, with a spud or dagger was wounded almost to death, by *Quintianus* a Senator, and a man of unlawfull and unbeseeming life: the other in his verie later daies, as he lay in his bed-chamber, through the counsell of *Plautianus* the Prefect, had bene unawares surprisid and stabbed by the hands of *Sarninius* a Centurion, but that his owne sonne, a young gentleman, came in to helpe and rescue him. And therefore, *Valens* also might well be borne withall and excused, in case with all waite circumspection that might be, he fought to defend his life, which peridous wayours hastened to take away from him. But this was in him a fault inexcusable, that in the proud humour of an absolute king, with one and the verie same course of law, as if there were no difference of deserts, he by way of mali-

cious

cious pursuit proceeded in all hast against offenders and innocent persons indifferently: So that, whiles the crime remained still doubtfull, yet the Emperour made no doubt of the punishment, in so much as some heard they were condemned, before they understood that they were suspected. Now, this inflexible purpose of his grew the more confirmed through the covetousnesse both of himselfe, and of those also who converted then in the Court, gaping still for more, and never laying their chawes together, which did set him on and pricke him ever forward: who if there were any mention made (and that was verie seldome) of humanitie and courtesie, teamed it timorous dulnesse: who also with their bloudie flatteries corrupting the mind and intent of the man (that carried death in the tip of his tongue) and turning it to the worst wayes, with boysterous blasts of unseasonable whirlewinds violently blew upon all, hastening to overturne from the verie foundations, most wealthy houses and families. For, exposed he was and lay open to the access of as manie as sought the undoing of others, as being dangerously attached with two vices: First, for that he was intolerably angrie, and then most, when he should have bashed to be angrie: Againe, looke what he had heard by secret whisperings and suggestions, through the advantage and opportunitie of privie admittance, in the swelling pride of a Prince, forbearing to examine whether the same were true or no, he entertained the same for undoubted truthe. Hence it came to passe, that under a pretense of clemencie many innocent persons were thrust out of doores, and driven headlong into exile: whose goods being gotten together and sequestred into the common treasure, himselfe also reduced to his owne proper gaines: in so much as condemned folke were faine to beg their bread and live of almes, fore crushed with the miserable straits of dreadfull povertrie: for feare whereof *Theognis* an auncient Poet and a wise, giveth us counsell to sling our selves with the head forward even into the sea. Which proceedings of his, say that some man would graunt to have bene lawfull, yet the verie excessive rigour thereof was hatefull. Whereby this is found to be a sentence well and truly set downe, *That there is no doome more cruell than that, which whiles it seemeth to spare, is indeed more rough and rigorous.* When as therefore the principall men of place together with the Prefect of the Protorium were assembled together, unto whom the hearing and determining of these matters aforesaid were by commission graunted, then were the racks* stretched and bent, the leaden weights or plumbets brought forth, the string-torments also and the whips put in readinesse: then rung everie prison among the jengling sound of chaines with horrible and cruell notes, whiles the ministers and executioners of sorrowfull offices did nothing but crie, *Hold, slow, fraine and hide.* And for as much as we have scene many after dolorous and grievous punishment condemned to dye, summarily and briefly we will shew what we are able to call to mind, because such was the confuse handling of all matters (as it were) in horror of darknesse, that the record of such things as were done most secretly within, hath passed by our knowledge.

CHAP. III.

Pergamius is put to death. Salia sodainly periseth. Patricius and Hilarius reveale the whole order of the presages and cursed Divination.

 The first calling in, *Pergamius* after some slight and small questions, being detected by *Palladius* (as hath beene said before) to have foreknown some matters by the meanes of art-Magicke and wicked imprecations; (as he was a man passing eloquent, & desperately given to cast out perilous words) whiles the judges were in doubt what should be examined first, and what afterward: he boldly began to speak: and keeping a great noyse approached stil without any end many thousands as privies and accessories, calling and requiring to have some presented there in place, even from as farre welneere as the utmost mountaine *Atlas* to be charged with grievous crimes. When he was put to death, as one who packed together such matters as were over hard to bee tried, and others after him by whole companies executed, they came to the cause of *Theodorus* himselfe, as it were, to the spacious field of some Olympicke Game. The same day among many other accidents, there fell out this fearefull chaunce also, namely, that *Salia*, Treasurer not long before in *Thracia*, as he was led forth of prison and bonds to have his cause heard, in putting foot into his shoo, sodainly stricken with the object of some terrible affright, yeelded up his vitall breath in the verie armes of those that had hold of him. When as the court therefore was set, and the Lawyers shewed the prescript words of the law, howbeit readie to handle everie point and title of causes according to the will of their soveraigne Lord, all that were in the place assembled, fell into a fit of fearefull quaking. For, the Emperour *Valens* swerving wholly from the rule of equitie, and now better instructed how to doe mischief, like unto one of these wild beafts of the Shew place, if one brought hard to the cage, chanced to run away and escape, fared as if he had beene borne madde, *Patricius* therefore and *Hilarius* being presented before them, commaunded also to unfold the order and manner of every thing as it was done, when as at the first they began to falter and varie in their words, after their sides were thoroughly turned, and the three-footed table which they used brought into the Court, driven at length to extreme straits, open the whole truth of the matter, ripped up even from the verie beginning. And *Hilarius* first: *We framed* (quoth he) *my Lords and right honorable Judges, after the patterne of that Oracle table of Apollo at Delphos, in a cursed and unlucky houre, this unfortunate little table made of hay stiggies, which see here do lie, and upon which many an imprecation and execration, by way of secret charmes, as also with a number of long complements we had ceremoniously consecrated it, we stirred & set it to worke at length. Now the order of stirring or moving the same, so often as we sought for answer about secret and doubtfull matters, was in this wise. Placed it was in the mids of an house purged cleane, and perfumed with the sweet odours and spices of Arabia, and thereupon a charger round on everie side neatly set, and the same made of divers metale: In the utmost ring or compass whereof the characters or formes of the twentie foure letters in the Alphabet, being drawne out and engraven cunningly, stood one from another with certaine spaces betwene them precisely set out. Then one arrayed in white*

Cabo d'Algoer.
Mencar, A pro-
mouetic in
Affricke.

*or Delphick
three-footed pan.
Corine Delphice.

*or Delphice.

linnen vestments, and shod likewise with linnen pumpe, who also had a little wreath compassing his head round, and carried in his hand the leaves of some fruitfull tree, having by certaine formall charmes obtained the favour of that divine power which is the author and president of Divination and Prescience of future things, according to the ceremoniall skill thereto belonging, standeth above the sayd table, possing a pendan little ring platted or woven close and fast of the fine *Carpathian* threed, and the same consecrated with mysticall disciplines: which ring lighting by iumpes and leapes with distinct pauses betwene on certaine letters one after another, seeming to stay and hold the same, maketh *beraicke* verses answerable to the questions demaunded, and those fully composed according the Rhythmicall numbers and measures: like unto those *Pythicke* verses which we read, or such as are delivered by the Oracles of the *Branchida*. There shew, as we asked who was to succeed in this present Empire, for that it was said he should bee one everie way accomplished; the ring as it happened and there quickly made up two syllables, with the addition of the last letter of all in the end: Then one there present cryed out that it was *Theodorus*, who by the prescript appointment of all necessitie was means and afore-fignified: member was there any farther inquirie made into this businesse: for, we were sufficiently resolved, that this was the verie man whom we sought and called for. Now when he had so expressly layd open the full knowledge of the whole matter to the eye of the Judges, he added moreover and gently laid, That *Theodorus* was utterly unacquainted therewith. Being after this demaunded, Whether by the faithfull answer of these Oracles which they practised, they had any foreknowledge of such torments as they had sustained: they uttered those most notable verses, which plainly shewed that this their labour and paines which they tooke in searching after these high secrets above their reach, should shortly cost them their lives: yea and that the Furies threatned neverthelesse both the Prince himselfe and his agents also, calling for vengeance by bloudshed and fire upon their heads: Of which verses it sufficeth to put downe onely these three last.

*On se d'esperance Cor iorum alios, si duntis
Tempera Regulatus ignemque cruci duntis,
Et multum Miguere duntis cruci duntis.*

*Not unrevenge'd shall thy blood long remaine:
For why? that fell and angry Furie she,
Tisiphone, will worke them deadly paine
In distant fields, where they shall burned be.*

Which when they were read, after they had beene fore tormented with clawes, they were parted one from another by this time in manner breathlesse and dead.

Z z ij

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

When Theodorus, Eusebius, and Paspiphilus were diligently examined, Simonides the Philosopher, after execution of an infinite number, was burnt to ashes. After whom follow Maximus and Diogenes, when Alypius and Hierocles his sonne were sundrie wayes man-
gled and tormented.



After this, to the end that the fabrick and worke-house of this designed wickednesse might be evidently set open, there was brought in a companie of honourable Senatours, among whom were the heads and very principall persons of the State. And when everie man seeing none but himselfe, was readie to shove his owne imminent mischiefe upon another, at length by leave and permission of the Inquisitors, *Theodorus* beginning to speak, at the first lay prostrate before them, and craved pardon; then afterwards, urged more forcibly to make his answer, declared, That he had knowledge indeed of all this by *Eusebius*; but that he should not give intelligence thereof to the Emperour, as divers times he went about to doe, he was debarred by him, who avowed, That by no unlawfull desire of aspiring unto regall dignitie, but by a certaine course of inevitable destinie, that which was hoped for, would of the owne accord come to passe. Then, as *Eusebius* being under the hand of bloudie tormentors, confessed the very same, *Theodorus* was by his owne letters convinced, which he had written by way of oblique circumlocutions unto *Hilarinus*, implying thus much, That since he had already conceived assured hopes from the Divinors and Prophets, he stood not now upon the substance of the thing, as doubting it, but was earnest to know the circumstance of the time, when his desire should be effected. After these points knowne, when they were had a way and sequestred apart, *Eutropius*, who at that time governed Asia as Proconsull, was drawne within danger, and judicially indicted as privie and partie to this faction: but he went away without harme as unguiltie; for that *Paspiphilus* the Philosopher acquitted and cleared him: who notwithstanding he was cruelly tortured to this end, that by fastening some lye upon him, he might defame and subvert him quite, could not be removed from the state of a constant and stout mind. After these commeth in the Philosopher *Simonides*, who verily in regard of his yeares was but a yong man, howbeit for his carriage the gravest and precisest person within our remembrance: who being informed against, for that he had taken knowledge of this businesse by the means of *Fidusius*, and perceiving, that the matter was weighed, not according to truth, but the will and direction of * one, pleaded for himselfe, and said, That he had heard indeed of these things aforesaid, but when they were imparted unto him, in a constant resolution concealed the same. All which matters being throughly from point to point examined, the Emperour in a correspondencie to the counsell of the Commissioners, under one sentence and warrant commaundeth they should all be put to death: and so, in the sight of an infinite number of people, who scarcely could behold so abominable a spectacle without horror of mind, but filled the heavens againe with moanes and complaints (for the miserie of each one seemed to be the common case of them all) brought they were forth together, and in pitifull manner had their throats cut, all save *Simonides*, whom onely that cruell * doome-giver (growne enraged at him for his grave

* Tullius the senator, or the Emperour himselfe.

* Valens the Emperour.

constancie) caused to be consumed with fire: who running from this life as from a furious mistresse, and scorning the suddaine fals of worldly things, endured the flames, and never quetched: following the example of that famous Philosopher *Peregrinus*, surnamed *Proteus*; who being fully determined to leave this world, at the Quinquennall solemnitie of the Olympicke games, in the sight of all Greece leapt up to that funerall fire which himselfe had made, and there was burnt to ashes. And after him, for certaine daies following, a multitude almost of all sorts and degrees, whom by name to reckon were a difficult piece of worke, driven within the dangerous toile and snares of false imputations, made worke for the hangmen and executioners untill they wearied them out, after they had beene maimed and lamed before with stretching upon the racke, with the weightie pells of plumbets, and the smart lashes of the whip. And some there were that suffered death without any breathing time or respite graunted, even whiles it was in question, Whether they should be executed, or no? So there was nothing but carnage and slaughter scene in every place of the citie, as if so many beasts had beene slaine by the butchers knife. After this, to allay the envie and displeasure of the people for such a bloudie massacre, an infinit number of bookes and many heaps of volumes were gotten together, and before the Iudges burnt: such as were fetched out of sundrie houles, as if (forsooth) they had beene unlawfull and prohibited; whereas indeed the most part of them were Tables and Indexes of the liberrall Sciences & of the [civile] Law. And not long after, that noble Philosopher *Maximus* (a man of great name and renowne for his learning, out of whose most plentiful discourses, *Julian* the Emperour became sufficiently furnished for skill and knowledge) was charged to have heard those verses of the Oracle aforesaid: and having graunted indeed, that he knew thereof, (howbeit, in consideration of his profession blabbed not forth such things as were to be concealed, but voluntarily foretold, that the seekers of this Oracle themselves should surely suffer and die for it) was led to Ephesus, the place of his nativitie, and there cut shorter by the head: he found and learned by this last experience at his death, That the iniquitie of a Iudge & Commissioner is more heavey than any crime whatsoever. *Diogenes* also intangled within the snares of impious falsitie (a man defended of a noble house, for his wit, eloquence at the barre, and sweet behavior, otherwise excellent, late ruler of Bithynia) to the end that his rich livelode and patrimonie might be rancked and taken from him, was put to death. And now behold, *Alypius* also, late deputie of Britannie (a man of quiet carriage and pleasant demeanure, after a privat and retired life led in repose, because injustice thus farre had stretched forth her hand, being tossed and tumbled in most sorrowfull plight) was cited and indicted for the feat of * poysoning, together with his sonne *Hierocles*, a young man of good towardnesse, upon the evidence and testimonie of one *Diogenes*, a base fellow, and but himselfe alone: who after he had beene tormented in all butcherly manner, that he might utter words pleasing the prince, or rather his accuser, when his lims would not serve to endure more painfull punishments, being condemned to be burnt quicke, *Alypius* also himselfe, after the losse of his goods, commaunded to goe into exile, by a certaine good hap recovered his sonne againe, as recalled from death, notwithstanding he was in pitious wife led to execution.

* Tullius the senator, or the Emperour himselfe.

CHAP. V.

The most wicked and abominable practises of Palladius, the worker of all these former troubles and calamities, to put oyle into the fire. The wittie wyles also and craftie feschies of Heliodorus, who together with Palladius framed all these mischiefs, are described: whereupon ensue new tragedies.

DVring all this time, *Palladius*, that plotter and worker of all miseries, whom we said at the first to have bene attached by *Fortunianus*, and one for his very baseness of condition even in the lowest degree, ready to enter rashly into any action, by heaping one calamitie upon another, had filled the whole State and Empire with teares and sorrowfull lamentations. For having gotten licence to nominate whom he would, without respect of calling and degree, as tainted with unlawfull and forbidden arts, like to an hunter skillfull in marking the secret tracts and muges of wild beasts, enclosed many a man within his lamentable net and toyle: some, as stained with the skill of poysoning and sorcerie; others, as privie and accessarie to those that plotted and practised treason. And to the end, that not so much as the very wives might be allowed and have leisure to bewaile their husbands miseries, straightwaies there were certaine suborned and sent out: who being come to some speciall houses of marke, rising the household stuffe, and perusing the writings of any one condemned to suffer, should privily foist in some old wives charmes, or ridiculous love-spells & enchantments, devised and forged to bring innocent folke to mischiefe. Which being read in court before the Iudges, where no law, no religion, or conscience, no equitie made difference betweene truth and lyes, without pleading in defence of themselves, they had their goods taken from them, yea, and without touch and attaint of any fault, young men and others indifferently, after they had bene lamed in all their lims, were had away in chaires to execution. Hence it came to passe throughout the East Provinces, that all men for feare of the like, burnt their libraries and closets, such a generall terror possessed every one. For to speake more plainly to the purpose, we all in those daies crept as it were in Cimmerian darkness, fearing and faring for all the world like to those guests of *Demis* the tyrant of Sicillie, who whiles they crammed themselves full with viands, more ikefome and unpleasant than any hunger whatsoever, quaked to fee from the embowed roofes aloft of the rowmes wherein they sat at meat, swords fastened onely to horse haire, & hanging just over the napes of their neckes. Then it was also, that *Bastianus* (by birth of a noble house, by calling a Notarie, and by his place serving in the warres with the formost, called into question, as if he had gone about to fore-know high matters of State, although himselfe avouched, that he sought onely whether his wife should be delivered of a boy or giile: how ever he escaped death, through the great and earnest suit of his friends that stucke close unto him) was stripped out of a rich live-lode and inheritance that he had. Among the crashing noises of so many ruines and overthrowes of mens estates, *Heliodorus* that divellish deviser and framer (together with *Palladius*) of all mischiefs, the Mathematician or Astrologer (as the common people tearmeth him) being wrought and made sure aforehand by close conferences out of the Emperours house, put forth now his poysonfull and deadly thing, egged on by all procurements and allurements of courtisie, to utter what

he either knew or could forgoe: for both cherished he was right charily with the finest food, and also money good store he got by way of contribution, to bestow liberally upon his harlots and mistresses; yea, and every where as he went, he carried up his head, I warrant you, with a surly and stately looke, dread of all men: but bearing himselfe more big upon this affiance, that to the stewes and brothel-house, which (as himselfe would) was kept with much libertie, he used to come openly and continually, being Provost over all the offices belonging to the bed chamber, bringing with him the writs and writings of the publicke father of the countrey, like to breed sorrow and griefe ynough to many. And by the meanes of him as an Oratour and advocate at the barre, *Valens* was taught and instructed before hand, what he should place in the formost parts of his Oration, that he might thereby proceed and profit more easily, as also with what figurative devices he should give the attempt upon brave and goodly places.

CHAP. VI.

Eusebius and Hypatius, two brethren and Consuls, through the sly devices of Heliodorus fall into divers dangers, and are commanded with their personall presence to comenace and honour the funerals of Heliodorus.

AND because it would aske a long discourse, to tell what this mischievous villaine, worthie to be hanged, wrought and brought to passe, this one thing I will for example deliver, although in his bold and headie confidence he shooke the very chiefe and principall pillars of the **Patrician* degree: who taking exceeding much upon him, by reason (as hath bene sayd before) that he had secret communication with those of the Emperours house, and for his own beggerly baseness ready to entertaine any action for mony, informed against that singular good couple of Consuls, *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, two brothers germane, and neere allied unto the Emperour *Constantinus* in times past, namely, That upon an aspiring desire to higher estate, they had both projected and also practised somewhat as touching the Empire; adding moreover unto this way, faintly devised for the making up of a lye, That *Eusebius* had imperial robes also made ready for him. Which informations and suggestions being gladly received, the prince in a great chafe fretting and menacing in furious wile: he, I say, who ought indeed to have done nothing at all, because he thought he might doe all, were it never so unjust, made no more ado, but when all those prisoners were brought in from the farthest part of farre remote countries, whom the accuser, exempt from all lawes, in the height of retchlesse audacitie had given order peremptorily to be sent for and fetched up, commanded there should be holden a judiciall inquisition and strict triall of the case. Now, when as for all the difficult and strained enforcements, grounded (forsooth) upon equitie (which was a long time pretended) and the wretched varlets standing stiffly still in vouching the thing, no grievous torments were able to wring out any confession of the parties, but that the truth it selfe cleared these honourable persons, and declared them farre removed from all knowledge and privitie of any such matter; yet the false accuser verily for his part was much made of, and honourably regarded, as before time: but the other, punished with exile, and put to grievous fines, within a while after were called home againe,

gaine, had their pecuniarie mulct repaid them, and were restored to their dignities and places fully as before. Neither yet after these foule and repentable acts, was any thing done by the Emperour in more stayed manner, or in modest wife; whiles, mounted thus as he was to that exceeding high pitch of power and authority, he never considered with himselfe, that for such as be well minded and framed aright, it is not becoming to run so rashly into voluntarie delinquencies, no not with the hurt of verie enemies: and that there is nothing so unreasonable, as when the high spirit and pride of a soveraigne prince, is accompanied also with the bitterness of his owne nature. But when *Heliodorus*, I wot not whether by sickness or by some devised violence, was dead (loth I am to say so much, would God the thing it selfe could not speake it) when his corps was carried forth to be buried by the biere-bearers, many honourable personages went before it, as mourners in blacke: among whom were seene those *brethren also, who had bene Consuls. And even there and then was the whole corruption of his folly, who ruled an Empire, verie openly detected and published to the world: Who being earnestly requested to *forbeare considering this aduersé hap admitted no remedie or consolation, stiffly continued inflexible, so as he seemed to have stopped his eares with waxe, as if he were to passe by the Sirenes rocks. Howbeit, overcomeat length with importunat prayers, he yielded, and commaunded, That many should attend on foot bare headed, yea and some also with hand in hand, and fingers clatched croffe one within another, to goe before the cursed corpse of this bloudie villain unto the grave. My heart yerneth and trembleth to thinke how many right honourable personages in this uncleanly and disorderly manner were debased and brought to vaine bonet, such especially as had bene Consuls, after they had borne their ivory staves and rich robes, ensignes of that high place, yea and after the monuments of their inrolling upon record in the yearly Kalender, to the view of the whole world. Among all whom this our *Hipatus* for the groweth and prooffe of his beautifull vertues right commendable excelled all other, a man of a quiet and peaceable disposition, weighing (as it were) to the plumb line & level the honestie of mild behaviour: who both was a glorious ornament to his noble aunccestors, & also honoured his posteritie by his wonderfull acts in two Prefectures that he bare.

CHAP. VII.

The unrighteous clemencie of Valens, saving cruelly as he did against offenders and innocent persons alike, so Pollentianus an impious wretch, and guile of reason. The iudgements and revenge of God in so many massacres. Festinus Proconsull of Asia, following the steps of Maximinus (of whom mention is made in the 28. booke) cruelly proceedeth against those in Asia.

Spoken against
his cruelty by
the consular.



His also at the same time made up the roll of *Valens* his other *vertues, That whereas toward others he was so infect and cruell, that he could not well endure any lingering torments to end with death, yet one *Pollentianus*, a certaine Tribune, who for wickednesse exceeded, being convicted at the same time, and confessing how he had ripped up a womans belly alive, taken forth the untimely fruit before the birth, rayed up infernall spirits, and

prelu-

presumed to conferre with them as touching the change of the Imperiall government: in regard of his familiaritie (notwithstanding all states muttered at and repined thereat) he commaunded to goe his way without any hurt sustained, keeping his life still, his exceeding wealth and place in warfare entire as before. But o thou lovely information and endowment of learning, by the heavenly gift of God granted unto blessed and happie weights, which haft oftentimes reformed even corrupt and vicious natures, how great enormities hadst thou in that myke mist of those times redressed, if *Valens* might have had the grace by thee to have knowne, *Thas an Imperiall dignitie, as wise men define it, is nothing else, but a care of other folkes good and safetie: That it is the part of a good Governour to restraine and keepe in his absolute power, to withstand covetous desire of having all, and to bridle the passion of implacable wrath: yea and to know (as Cæsar the Dictator sayd) I have the remembrance of crueltie committed, is but a poore helpe and comfort to old age: and therefore he that is so give sentence, as touching the life and spirit of a man, who is a part of this universall world, and accomplisheth the number of living creatures, ought much to deliberate and pause a long time, and not to be driven with a rash and headie affection to that, which being once done is irrevocable: according to that example so well knowne unto antiquitie. There was a certaine dame of Smyrna, who before the Proconsull of Asia, *Delabella* confessed, That she had by poyson made away her sonne and husband, for that she knew by manifest prooffe, that they had murdered a sonne of hers by a former husband: and her tryall being adjourned for certaine dayes, when the Counsell and Court unto which, according to the custome, she was put off, stood perplexed and doubtfull what should be set downe and determined, in this case, being of a middle nature betweene a revenge and a wicked act, sent she was unto the *Areopagites*, those severe Athenian Iudges, whose equitie, by report, had decided the debates of the gods. These having duly heard and examined the cause, awarded, That the woman together with her accuser, should make apparance an hundred yeares after: least they should either acquit the woman of poysoning, or punish her for revenging the murder of her deere sonne. So, That is never thought late, which of all things is the last. After these parts aforesaid committed in sundry sorts of injustice, and marks imprinted shamefully upon the bodies of free persons that survived, the never-winking eye of Iustice, that judgeth and punisheth at all times injuries, diligently watched. For, the Furies, revengers of those that were thus slaine, stirred up with most iust recitall of continuall complaints one in the necke of another, kindled the flames of *Bellona*, to the end that the truth of the Oracle might be confirmed, which foretold, That none of these foule acts thus perpetrated, should passe unpunished. Whiles these iniquities above related, during the cessation of the Parthian warres, are by intestine calamities spread abroad in Antioch, all the dreadfull sort of infernall Furies, after manifold misfortunes which they had displayed and sent abroad, departing from the same citie, settled upon the necke of all Asia throughout in this manner. One *Festinus* of *Trent, a man of base and obscure parentage, beloved of *Maximinus* as his companion, and taken into the bond (as it were) of brotherhood, and by the appoyntment and decree of the Destinies, went over into the East Empire: and there having governed Syria, and gone through the Office of Master of the *Rolls, left behind him good examples of mildnesse and honour: Whereupon, after he had begun to rule Asia in place of a Proconsull, he set sayle (as they say) gently forward, and*

*Iulius Cæsar.

*Tridemius.

*see Records.

held on his course toward the port of glorie. And hearing that *Maximinus* wrought mischief, and sought the overthrow of the best men, hee reproveth otherwhiles his doings, as pernicious and detestable. But when he understood againe, that the man without any desert was come up to be Prefect, and all by the meanes of their funerals whom he had wickedly done to death, he also grew to have an hote desire for to doe and hope the like: and so all on a sodaine, like unto a player changing his part, and conceived with an ardent affection to doe mischief, he went stately with staring and sterne eyes, supposing yet it were long that a Prefectship would fall to him, in case he also had embred himselfe with the blood of innocent persons. And albeit there are many and sundrie parts which he acted (that I may use a mild tearme) most rigorously, yet it shall suffice to recount a few of them that are notorious and commonly divulged, which were committed by him in imitation of those examples that were shewed at Rome. For, the verie same reason there is of things done well or ill, even there also, although haply for the greatnesse thereof which is unlike, there be some defect in the comparison. A certaine Philosopher named *Caronius*, a man of no small desert, he killed with excessive and most cruell torments (whose death remaineth unrevenged) for that in a familiar letter of his written unto his owne wife, hee put in the end this postscript in Greeke, *ὅτι δὲ νῦν, ἡ σὺν τῷ νόθῳ, ἡ ἀποβίβασις*, a proverbiall speech commonly taken up, that when one heareth it, he may take the deeper knowledge and impression, that some great matter is to be done. A simple and silly old woman there was, who used with a gentle charme to heale intermittant *agues, comming by fits, her hee put to death, after that she had cured a daughter of his, notwithstanding she was sent for with his owne privitie. Among the papers of a certaine worshipfull *Bourgesse, which by commaundement were searched upon some businesse in controversy, there was found the *Horoscope of one *Valens*. And when he was charged often thus farre, namely, Why he had calculated the constellation of the Prince: the partie whom it concerned, notwithstanding that, to refell such false slaunders, he promised to shew by good and evident proofes, that it was his owne brother *Valens*, and that he was a good while since departed: yet without waiting for evidence of the truth, all torne and mangled he was cruelly slaine. There was a yong man seene within the baine to lay the fingers of both hands upon a marble stone, and his breast, by turnes one after another, and therewith to have numbred and recited the seven¹ vowels, taking this to be a good remedie for the paine of the stomacke, hereupon he was judicially convented, and after torture had his head smitten off by the sword.

CHAP. VIII.

Ammianus Marcellinus turning his pen to the state of the West Empire, rehearseth certaine cruell proceedings of Valentinian, made more fell by Maximinus Prefect of the Pretorium.



Y reason herof turning my pen toward Gaule, I also meet with the order and course of the affaires there troubled and confused, finding among many and fearfull occurrents, *Maximinus* now become *Prefect, by reason of his large power and authoritie a perillous firebrand to incense the *Emperour, who with the majestic of his high fortune intermingled his

*Prætor.

*Valentinian.

his licentious will. Whosoever therefore considereth what is said, may ponder also and weigh all the rest that is concealed, and in his wisedome pardon me, in case I comprisenot everie particular which the maughtinesse of Iudges and their assiduous by aggravating crimes, and making them worse, hath committed. For, *Valentinian* naturally of himselfe fierce and fell, as rigour (enemie unto all righteous proceedings) grew more and more, after the comming of the said *Maximinus*, whiles there was none either to advise him better, or to hold him backe in a certain swelling current (as it were) of waves and stormes, was carried through a sea of rigoros acts; in so much as many times in his fits of anger his verie voyce, his countenance, his gate and colour would change. Which, to be true, sundrie evidences there be, and those most certaine that doe testifie, of which it shall suffice to set downe a few. A well growne youth, one of these whom they tearme *Page-gogianos, being appointed in a place, for the better marking of the hunters game, to hold a Spartane hound, chanced to let him slip before the set time, for that the dogge whiles he strived to be gone had assayed and bitten him: For which, he had by his commaundement the bastinadoe, untill he dyed therewith, and was buried the same day. The master of a certaine forge or worke-house, who had presented unto him a curace most workemany polished, and therefore looking for his reward, he commaunded to be killed, for nothing else but this, that the sayd peece of yron armour was somewhat lesse in weight than the pattenne which he had given him. *Constantianus* the horse-choofer, because he was so bold as to exchange some of those horses of service, for the^m allowing of which he had bene sent into Sardinia, by his commaundement also was stoned to death. *Athanasius* a chariotier, and favourite then of his, whom he had in suspicion for some vulgar levitie, in so much as he gave commaundement he should be burnt quicke, in case he attempted any such thing: notwithstanding that not long after hee had (by report) done him pleasurable service, without any pardon at all vouchsafed to this artificiall deviser of his delights and sports, was by precept from him consumed to ashes. *Africanus*, a well practised Advocate and defender of mens causes in the citie, after he had governed a Province, aspired to the rule of another: unto whose friend and mediator *Theodosius* captaine of the horsemen, who sued in his behalfe for the said preferment, he returned this churlish and rude answer, *Go thy wayes Lieutenant* (quoth he) *and change his head, who desireth thus to have his Province changed.* And by this warrant-parol the eloquent man lost his life, whiles he hastened to greater preferments, as many doe. A certaine fellow for his verie base condition contemptible, accused *Claudius* and *Sallustius*, who from out of the band of the Ioviani were advanced to the dignitie of Tribunes: for that when *Procopius* sought to be an Emperour, they had given out some good words in his behalfe. But when there could appear no matter of substaunce against them, by any examinations upon the racke, the Prince never gave over to give the captaines of the horsemen, who had the hearing of their cause, in charge, That they should banish *Claudius*, and pronounce sentence of death upon *Sallustius*; promising therewith, That when he was had away, and haled to the place of execution, he would recall him backe againe. Now when according to appointment they ever looked and waited for this deliverie, neither *Sallustius* escaped death, nor was *Claudius* freed from this heave-plight of banishment, before the death of the said *Valentinian*. when as they were verie often tortured. After many inquisitions therefore by torments holden one after another, and some examinations through excessive and dolorous

tortures killed, there were not found so much as any presumptions of those crimes which were layed against them. In this businesse, the *Prothegores, sent to exhibit and bring the persons in place, are said to have (against all custome before time) given them the Bastinado. My heart quaketh, and withall is afraid to reckon up all, least I should be thought of purpose to have searched into the vices of him, who otherwise was a very good prince, and studious of the Weale publike. Howbeit this one thing it is not meet either to be over-passed or concealed, namely, that having two cust and cruell shee Beares, that used to feed of men and womens flesh, the one named *Golden Mica, and the other *Innocentia*, he carefully tooke order to place their cages neere unto his owne bed-chamber, and to set trustie keepers diligently to see that they wanted nothing, nor had nought that might offend them. As for *Innocentia*, after he had sene many burials of dead bodies rent and dismembered by her, he suffered her, as having well deserved libertie, to goe her waies without any harme done unto her, into the forrests.

CHAP. IX.

Valentinian raiseth warre upon Macrianus king of the Alemans, and without effect returneth to Triers. After this he causeth Hortarius a peitie king to be burned for treason.



And verily these are most true proofes of his bloudie behaviour and cruell intent. But of his prudent purpose about the Commonwealth never digressing . . . If any of the enemies was discovered from above out of the watch-towers or barbacans once to stirre, he was overwhelmed. Now among many and sundrie cares, this above all other he first and principally cast in his mind, how by open violence or privie traines he might catch alive and carrie away king *Macrianus*, growne among so many changes of successions to be rich and mightie, and now by reason of his puissant forces rising up in armes against our men: like as long before *Julianus* had intercepted *Vadomarius*. But this businesse required both fore-sight and also time. When it was knowne therefore by that which the fugitives told, where the foresaid king, who looked for no such thing, might be taken; as closely as possibly he could (for feare that any should hinder the framing and setting together of a bridge) he made a passage over the Rhene with ships. And *Severus*, who had the conduct of the Infanterie, being gone before just against *Mattiace Aquæ, considering full well how few our souldiors were, was affrighted and stood still, fearing least not able to make resistance, he should be borne downe with the mightie power of the enemies Squadrons, rushing violently upon him. And because he suspected, that they (who brought with them certaine buffons as slaves to be sold) who by chance they found there, would by speedie riding out give intelligence of that which they saw, those he spoyled of their commodities, and slew them all. By the comming therefore of more forces, the captaines being animated, and having pitched their tents for a very short time, because no man had either packe-horse nor pavilion but the prince, whose carpets of tapistrie served for his tabernacle, after they had stayed a small while by reason of the darke night, no sooner was the Moore risen, but in order of battaile they marched on farther, having for their guides such as were skillfull in the waies. . . . with a great stirre and noise of his own people he was hindered; whom for all that he charged continually to forbear burning and spoiling, yet could he not prevail.

For

For by reason of the crackling that the fire made, and the dissonant cries beside, the Pensioners and Squires of *his bodie were rayled, who suspecting that which happened indeed, mounted the king up into a most speedie chariot, and in a narrow entrie within the hills which were round about broken, bestowed him. Thus *Valentinian*, defrauded and disappointed of this glorious exploit, through the default neither of himselfe nor of his captaines, but through the unruly intemperance of the fouldiors, which oftentimes hath cost the Romane state grievous losses, after he had fired the enemies land fiftie myles forward, returned to *Triers with heavie cheare: where fretting and grinding his emptie jawes, like unto a Lyon, for the losse of a Stag or Roe-bucke, whiles the scattered ranks of the enemies were affrighted, he ordained *Fraomarius* in stead of *Macrianus* to raigne over the *Bucino-bantes, an Aleman nation just against *Mogontiacum: *Fraomarius* (I say) whom shortly after, because in a late rode the same territorie had bin quite wasted, he sent over into Britannie, and made Tribune and Colonell over a regiment of the Alemans, which for number and valour in those dayes was renowned. But *Bikeridus* and *Hortarius*, principall men likewise of that nation, he commaunded to have the charge of fouldiors under them. Of which two, *Hortarius* detected by the meanes of *Florentinus*, duke of Mogontiacum, to have written somewhat against the State unto *Macrianus* and other nobles of the Barbarians, after the truth was by torture exprest and fetched out, were burnt for it.

CHAP. X.

Firmus a prince of Mauritanian raiseth troubles and commotions, which Theodosius Generall of the Horsen endeavoureth to appease.



From hence, among . . . these occurrences that followed next, I thought good should be delivered in one continued narration, least while in businesse and places farre distant other matters be inserted, there ensue of necessitie a confused knowledge of many things. *Nibel* a petie king, as it were, through all the nations of Mauritanian right puissant, departing this life, left behind him sonnes, both legitimate, and also base begotten of his concubines: One of these named *Zammæ*, well accepted and in favour with the lieutenant named *Romanus*, being secretly by his brother *Firmus* murdered, gave the occasion of much discord and warre. For the said lieutenant making hast with all earnest desire to revenge his death, wrought many meanes, and those very dangerous, to the utter overthrow of the foresaid privie murderer. And as it was by sundrie rumors reported, great diligence and labour hereabout was employed in the Emperours palace. And verily, the relations made by *Romanus*, which cast many and grievous imputations upon *Firmus*, were willingly entertained of the prince, and read before him, whiles there wanted not many besides favourably to second the same. But on the contrarie side, looke what *Firmus* impieaded, and oftentimes by his friends alledged in defence of himselfe and of his life, the same, how ever it was received, did remaine a long time smothered, by reason that *Remigius*, master at that time of the Offices, allied by marriage, and a friend unto *Romanus*, constantly always affirmed, That among many weightie and important affaires of the Emperour, these so frivolous and superfluous matters ought not be read unto him, but at some convenient and seasonable time. Which when the Moore perceived to be a practise for to overthrow his defence, trembling now for feare of extremitie, least haply when those allegations which he pretended and pleaded were cast aside, he might

*Souldiors of the Guard.

*Mina arca.

*Macrianus.

*For nauke.

*Triers.

*Weibaden.

*Hortius.

*Moguntia.

*Martyr, as some thinke.

might be condemned as one pernicious and contumacious, and so put to death, renounced his allegiance unto the Empire, and rebelled: and such helpees . . . for feare least by encrease of his power he might grow to be an implacable enemy, to the suppressing of him, with the helpe of some few souldiours attendant about the court, was *Theodosius*, Generall of the Horsemen, sent: whose vertues in those dayes, as of great efficacy, above the rest shone forth, being like for all the world to those ancient knights *Domitius Corbulo* and *Lusius*, whereof the former under *Nero*, the other under *Traiane*, Emperours of Rome, were renowned for many valiant acts. Being departed therefore from ** Arles* with most luckie and fortunat auspices, and having passed the sea with that fleet whereof he had the conduct, without any rumour going before, hee arrived at the shore of Mauritania Sitifensis, which the inhabitants call ** Igilgitanum*: and there finding by chance *Romanus*, and speaking gently to him, he sent him to set in order the centinels & fore-guards, with little or no rebuke at all for those things that he feared. Who being gone away to [Mauritania] *Casariensis*, he sent *Gildo* the brother of *Firmus*, as also *Maximus*, to reforme *Vincinius*; who whiles he was lieutenant of *Romanus*, became partaker of his uncivill behaviour and his thefts. When he had therefore received his souldiours, late though it were, who made the longer stay by reason of the maine and wide sea, hastening to Sitifis, he gave order, That *Romanus* with his domestical attendants should be committed unto the safe custodie of the ** Protectores*. And whiles he abode within the towne, distracted he was with doubtfull thoughts and cares, casting and tossing in his mind, by what way or by what device he might either through hot and scorched countries lead his souldiours, accustomed to frosts, or take the enemy prisoner, that used to make suddaine rodes, and trusted more upon secret ambushes than any set battailes. Which when it was knowne unto *Firmus*, first by running rumours, and afterwards by plaine and open intelligences given, sore affrighted at the coming of a most approved and expert capitaine, he confessed his error, and craved pardon of all that was past, both by Orators whom he sent, and also by letters which he wrote; shewing and declaring, That he brake not forth of his owne accord to that fact which he knew to be wicked, but by reason of unjust dealing, which grew to licentious outrage, as he promised by demonstration to prove. Which missives being read, and pardon promised upon the receipt of hostages, the capitaine *** afore said went forward to take a review of the Legions which defended *Africke*, unto a station named *Panchariana*, whither as to the *Rendex-vous* by commandement they were to repaire. There having with honourable and wise speeches confirmed all their hopes, he returned to Sitifis, and assembled the souldiours there inhabiting, together with those whom he brought with him; and impatient of farther delays, he made hast to exploit some warlike service. Moreover, among many and notable parts of his beside this one thing mightily encreased the love of the country unto him, in that he expressly forbade, That the provincial inhabitants should find the armie any victuals giving out, and that with a brave & confident spirit, That the harvests and hoords of the enemies were the garners of our valorous men.

* Arlate.

* Giggell.

* Guard. souldiours.

* Theodosius.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

Through the trecherous and deceitfull dealing of Firmus, it came to passe, that upon a battaile fought, wherein the Barbarians were discomfited, Firmus in the end was glad to crave peace and pardon: which being obtained, Theodosius repaireth to Casarea.



These things thus ordered with joy of the ** Land-holders*, he marched forth to *Tubusuptus*, a towne adjoining to the mountaine *Ferratus*, where he rejected the second embassage of *Firmus*, which had not brought according to appointment the hostages with them. From whence, when he had warily viewed and searched all, as the time and place would give leave, he sped himselfe away toward the nations of the *Tyndenes* and *Masinisenes*, furnished and well appointed with light armour, whom *Masizel* and . . . *dius*, brethren of *Firmus*, had the leading of. Now, when these enemies, nimble and deliver of lim, were within view, after discharge of shot and casting weapons on both sides, there was stricken most sharpe and cruell battaile; and among the groines, deaths, and wounds, was heard lamentable yelling and weeping of the barbarous people, taken prisoners and slaine: And when the fight was finished, many of the territories were forrayed and fired: Among which the miseries of the ** Burgade Petrensis* exceeded, as being utterly rased and destroyed: which place the lord thereof *Salma-ces*, brother to *Firmus*, had built in manner of a citie. The conquerour lifted up with this good successe, with wonderfull celestie possessed himselfe of the towne *Lamfordense*, situate among the nations above said: where he caused great abundance of victuals to be layed up, to the end, that if as he went more inward into the country, he should find scarcitie of food, he might give order to have it fetched neere at hand. In these traine of affaires, *Masizel* having repaired his forces, with the aid-souldiours of the nations bordering upon him, joined battaile with our men, wherein after many of his part defeated, himselfe through the swiftnesse of his horse with much adoe escaped the danger of death. *Firmus* wearied with the adverse fortune of two battailes, and chafing at the very heart root, because he would not omit the utmost means that were, sent certaine Christian bishops with hostages, to treat for peace. Who, because they were courteously entertained, and upon promise of victuals sufficient for the souldiours, according as they had in charge, brought backe a joyfull answer, the Moore himselfe sending his presents before him, very confidently went forth toward the *Romane* Generall, mounted upon a courser, meet for any doubtfull chaunces that might betide him. And when he drew neere, being stricken amazed at the glittering ensignes, and the terrible countenance of *Theodosius*, he alighted from his horse, and bowing downe his head, stouped almost to the very ground; and so with teares blamed his owne rashnesse, craving pardon and peace: who being received with a kisse (for it was thought behoofestull to the Commonwealt) and now full of good hopes, furnished us with sufficient food: and so leaving some of his owne kinsfolkes behind in lieu of the hostages, departed, with a purpose to redeliver the captives, as he promised, whom in the very beginning of the troubles he had caught up and carried away: and within two dayes after, without any longer delay, he rendered back,

* Terrans, Farmers, or Lords themselves. Possessors.

* or Borough.

accos-

*Orano, Nig.
Acet, Cathala, call-
ed Icosium, of the
ambassadors there-
of. Solim.
Tate, Mercat.

according to commandement, the towne *Icosium (the founders whereof I have before related) the militarie ensignes also, and the Sacerdotal crowne, with all the rest that he had intercepted. From hence, when our General after speedie and great journeyes entred into *Tipasa, unto the embassadours of the Mazices, who had combined themselves with *Firmus*, and now in humble manner besought pardon, he answered thus with an high spirit, That forthwith he would warre upon them, as perfidious rebels. Whom being dismayd and cast downe with feare of imminent daunger he commanded to returne home into their owne country; and so he marched toward *Caesarea, a wealthy and noble citie in times past, the original whereof likewise we have fully shewed in the description of Affricke. Being entred into it, when he saw it in manner all burnt and consumed with the fiers that spread all abroad, and the flint stones of the streets covered and grey all over with ashes, he determined to bestow there for a time the first and second legions, that whiles they were casting up at one side the heapes of dead embers, they might keepe a garrison there, least by a second assault of the Barbarians it should bee wasted againe. Which newes being carried divers wayes abroad by true rumors, the rulers of the Province and *Vincensius* the Tribune came forth of their lurking holes wherein they had bestowed themselves, and at length without feare repayed with speed unto the Generall.

CHAP. XII.

Firmus starting from his promised allegiance, forsoeth Theodosius to take armes. Certaine horsemen of the Romanes, who had revolted to the rebels, are thrust downe to the lowest degree of warre-service. Afterwards Theodosius executeth others with losse of their heads. And then, by occasion that the enemies were with many overbrowes brought upon their knees, and weakened, he perswades to delivereth out of daunger a small companie of his owne men.



Hom when *Theodosius* had scene and received with joy, making his abode still at *Caesarea*, upon verie diligent search made for the truth of everie thing, he understood for certaine, that *Firmus* under colour of a well-willer and suppliant, in a covert policie reached at this, to come in manner of a sodaine tempest upon our armie feasting no hostilitie, and to put it in disaray. The Generall therefore turning from hence came to a free borough towne named *Sugabarritanum*, seated upon the rising of the mountaine *Transcellensis*: where he found the horsemen of the fourth cohort of archers, which had revolted unto the rebell: and to shew that hee was content with some mild punishment, he thrust them all downe to the lowest degree of war service: and both them and also part of the Constantian footmen, he commanded to come to *Tigaviz* with their Tribunes; one of whom had done upon the head of *Firmus* a chaine for a diademe. Whiles these things are doing, *Gildo* and *Maximus* returned, leading with them *Belles* a Prince of the Mazices, and *Erasmus* Prefect of that nation, who had ayded the faction of him that had troubled the common peace . . . to produce them bound. Which being performed

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according to appointment, himselfe went forth at breake of day, and finding them in the atmie enclosed round about, *What thinke yee* (quoth he) *my devoted fellowsouldiers, ought to be done with these wicked traitors?* and when they cryed all with one voyce and required, That they who served among the¹ Constantiani, should loose their life-bloud for it; he following their desire delivered them, after the old manner, unto the souldiers to be massacred. As for the principall of the archers aforesaid, he cut off their hands, the rest he beheaded after the example of *Curio*, that most fierce & valiant captain, who by this kind of punishment made an end of the Dardaniens stoutnesse, which after the manner of the^m *Lernæan* serpent otherwhiles sprung up new againe. But malicious backbiters, as they commend that aunient fact, so they condemne this, as cursed and ever rigorous; saying, That the Dardaniens were mortall enemies and justly deserved those punishments that they sustained, whereas the souldiers serving under their colours, when they all happened to fall into one errour, should have bene dealt with in a milder kind of correction: Whom, I knowing that I doe, answer and give to understand, That this cohort both by fact and example were rebellious. As touching *Belles* and *Fericus* aforesaid, whom *Gildo* brought, as also *Curandius*, Tribune of the archers, he commanded them to be killed in this regard, for that neither himselfe in person would ever encounter with the enemies, nor exhort his souldiers under him to fight. And in this wise proceeded *Theodosius*, considering this sentence of *Tully*, *That wholesome rigor and severitie surpasseth the vaine shew of clemencie*. After this he went forth, and came before a fort named *Gaionatis*, having a strong wal round about it, which was the most safe & sure place of refuge for the Moores: with violent push of the Ram this he cast down, & when he had slain all the inhabitants therein, & laid the wals even with the ground, he went forward to the castle *Tingitanum*, & by the hill *Ancorarius* set upon the Mazices assembled there together, who now also discharged darts backe again, that flew as thicke as haile: & when as on both sides they had skirmished, the Mazices not able to abide our hot charging so violently with men & munition (a warlike nation though they were and fierce) thus beaten down in sundry slaughters, in a foule fright brake shift to escape, by humble suit afterward obtained pardon & peace, which the time so requiring was granted. *Suggenath* their leader . . . who succeeded *Romanus*, appointed to goe into *Mauritania* *Stifensis*, there to take order for the placing of garrisons, himselfe lifted up still with these accidents past, marcheth against the nation of the *Mulones*, whom their owne privitie and guiltinesse of robberies and murders had gathered together to joine in action with *Firmus*, who as it was hoped would shortly attaine unto greater maters. And when he was entred wel forward on his way, neere unto the burrough-towne *Adensce*, he had certaine intelligence that a number of nations, how different soever they were in fashions and language, yet in one accord of heart agreed to rayse and begin cruell warre: whereto they were incited and encouraged with verie great hope of rewards from a sister of *Firmus*, named *Cyris*; who abounding in wealth, and in a wilfull resolution of a woman, purposed with all her power and endeavour to helpe her brother. *Theodosius* therefore fearing to adventure himselfe upon an unequal match, and least if encountering an huge multitude with a few (for he was but three thousand and five hundred strong) he might loose them all, keeping a meane betwene shamefull flight and eager fight, gave ground and retired softly, by reason that the multitude pressed sore upon him, and so gat away. Upon which

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event

overt the barbarous people taking an exceeding good heart . . . and lost hee had them all to the last man, but that those nations seeing the ayds of the Mazices, before whom marched certaine Roman corporals, were mightily troubled and affrighted: and supposing they had bene many battailons, readie with violence to charge upon them, tooke them to their heeles, and so opened the passages and wayes for our men to get out, which before were quite stopp'd up.

CHAP. XIII.

Theodosius by a wise policie and militarie holding off assailing his enemies, forceth Firmus by flight to shift for himselfe, abandoning his campe that was ransacked: followeth him in chase: and when he had vanquished the Isafenses, who received and harboured him, and put certaine of the principall enemies to death, bestoweth his owne people in safetie.

*or Bugle.



When Theodosius afterward leading his souldiours safe, was come to a Burgade named Mazucanum, after he had burnt up some few revolters, discombred and maimed others after the example of those archers who had lost their hands, he came in the month of Februarie to Tipata: Where making his abode a long time, like unto that aunient and warie *temporizer, he consulted as the businesse did require, intending if he might haply spie his advantage and opportunitie to vanquish the warlike enemy, by dint of dart and weapon invincible, rather by stratagems and policie, than by daungerous encounters in plaine field. Howbeit, he sent continually certaine persons skillfull in persuading, unto the nations round about, namely, the Baiura, the Cantorians, Avastomates, Casaves, Devares, and other borderers, one while by feare, otherwhiles by faire promises inducing them to an association, yea and sometime by promising them pardon for their malapert folly, purposing so to vanquish the enemy who much abated his violent forces, by such faire fetches and delays, like as Pompey in times past overcame Mithridates. For which cause, Firmus declining a mischiefe so neere at hand, although he was well strengthened with great guards about him, leaving the common multitude of souldiours whom he had levied and assembled with great wages, taking opportunitie of the still night to be unfene, reached as farre as to the mountaines Caprarienses, which were farre off, and by reason of broken and craggie rockes inaccessible. Upon whose secret departure the multitude being scattered, slipping and dropping away one after another, now that they were without a leader, ministred vnto our men good and readie means to enter upon his campe. Which being ransacked, and those slaine that made resistance, or else upon their yeelding taken to mercie, when he had wasted the greatest part of those countries, like a most prudent and politique captaine, he set over those nations which he passed through, Prefects and rulers, men of approved trust and fidelitie. The enemies terrified with this unlooked-for pursuit of Theodosius accompanied with some few servants, minding by quick departure to save himselfe, to the end he might not be hindred by any let or encumbrance, threw away the packs of precious wares and commodities which he had brought away with him. For, his wife, wearied out with continual & vey dangerous labor . . . Theodosius sparing none, when the souldiours were refreshed with sweet food, & cheered with wages, after that the Caprarienses the & Abbanna their neighbours, were in a light battaile defeated,

defeat.

defeated, made hast to the Burrough towne . . . ense: and being by true messengers advrtised, that the Barbarians were already possessed of the hills, which on everie side, with winding in and out, mounted up aloft, and were passable for none but the inborne inhabitants that knew the wayes verie well, in his returne backe gave the enemies good means, during a truce (though it lasted but a while) to make themselves stronger, with passing great ayds of the Ethiopians neere adjoining. Who with a menacing noyse rushing in by whole plumpes, without any regard of themselves to fight, forced him to turne backe as affrighted with a terrible sight of inestimable troupes: but straightwayes taking heart againe, he returned, bringing with him plentifull store of victuals: and with his men cast round into a ring, and shaking their shields after a terrible kind of gesture, made head against them. Albeit therefore that the bands of furious enemies with their Barbarian armour clattering one against another, and making an hideous and fearefull kind of noyse, were at the point to give the charge, yea and themselves also knocked their bucklers against their knees, yet like unto that *warie warrior and politique souldior aforesaid, distrustful his small forces, boldly marching with a square battaillon, hee turned his way without any feare to a citie named Conensis, where Firmus for fear of our men had, as in a remote and high fort, beset his folke. And so after he had recovered all his owne souldiours, he sharply punished (as his wonted maner was) the traitors and the guard of Firmus aforesaid. As he most happily was in achieving this exploit through the helpe of his great name, advrtised he was by a true discoverer, that Firmus was fled into the countrey of the Isafenses. For the demanding of whom together with his brother Mazuca, and other neere kinsfolke and deere friends he entred thither; but seeing he could not have the delivered, he proclaimed open war against the whole nation. And upon the joining of a cruel battaile against the Barbarians, who beyond all measure braved & behaved themselves most fiercely, he opposed his battaile shaped after a round fashion: And with the forcible violence of mightie troupes and squadrons, the Isafenses were so driven to the worst, that many of them lost their lives: and Firmus himselfe as hardie as he was, and running oftentimes headlong upon his owne mischiefe, was with his horse carried quite backe out of the field, as having bene used nimble to run over rocks and craggies: but Mazuca his brother deadly wounded, was taken prisoner; who being by order appointed to be sent to Casarea, where he had left cruell and durable memorials of most wicked deeds, in the opening of his wound dyed: howbeit his head severed from the rest of his bodie, with great joy of as many as came to see it was brought into the citie aforesaid. After this, the noble Generall having vanquished the nation of the Isafenses that withstood him, plagued them (as justice required) with many losses and calamities. And there he caused to be burnt Evassus a mightie Bourgesse, with his sonne Florus, and some other openly convicted, by their secret conferences to have assisted the breaker of peace. And then marching therewithin the land, in a brave mind and powerfull courage, having invaded the countrey Tubalena, where he heard say that Nubel the father of Firmus was borne, being put backe with high mountaines and winding crooked straits, hee stayed his journey. And although by setting upon the enemies and killing many of them he made himselfe way to passe forward, yet fearing the lofty hill toppes most meet for ambushments, leading his souldiours in lastie hee returned to the fortress Audense: Where the Isafenses, a savage people, yeelded themselves, promising voluntarily to furnish him with aid-souldiours and victuals.

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CHAP.

*Felix Maximus Consulter.

CHAP. XIII.

When Firmus was returned to the Iſſalenſes, Theodoſius goes to meet him, and with a ſmall power ſeuereth upon the enemies: and in the end, after a doubtfull battaile, diſcometh and ſlaierh them. Which done, he ſo courſerh the Iſſalenſes.

ſer, that Firmus in deſpaire of himſelfe, enderh his life with an halter: whereby the Province recovered quietneſſe.

IN Or theſe and the like glorious achievements, this moſt noble captain taking great joy and contentment, with a puiſſant power fought to be meet with the principall troubler himſelfe of peace: and therefore making his abode a long time neere to a fort named Medianum, after many and politicke debates of means projected, good hope he had that he might be betrayed unto him. But whiles with perplexed thoughts and deepe care he did forecaſt how to compaſſe this, he underſtood for truth, That the enemy was returned again to the Iſſalenſes, whom without any farther delay, as before, he marched againſt with ſpeed. Vnto whom, their king named *Igmazen*, a prince in thoſe tracts of high reputation, and famous for his wealth, advancing forth and boldly affronting him: *Whence art thou* (quoth he) *and what buſineſſe haſt thou, that thou art hiſher come? Anſwere me.* Vpon whom *Theodoſius* in a reſolute mind looking wiſly with a ſterne countenance: *A Lieutenant I am* (ſayth he) *unto Valentinian, Lord of the whole earth, ſent to ſubdue a bloudie and cruel robber: and unleſſe thou render him out of hand, according as the invincible Emperour hath determined, thou and the whole nation which thou ruleſt ſhall utterly periſh.* Which when *Igmazen* heard, after many reviling taunts that he let ſlie againſt the Generall, much troubled with anger and griefe together, he went his way. And the next morning betimes the armies on both ſides advanced forth in moſt menacing wiſe, readie to encounter and joyne battaile. On the Barbarians ſide there were 20000 very neere, marſhalled in the very front of the vanguard; behind whoſe backs were beſtowed ſecretly the ſquadrons of auxiliaries for ſupply, who riſing up by little and little, might ſhew themſelves, and with their multitude encloſe our men ere they were aware. Beſides theſe, there came in many of the Iſſalenſes as aid-fouldiors, who (as I ſhewed before) had promiſed our men helpe and proviſion of victuals. On the other ſide, the Romans, although they were very few, yet bearing valiant hearts, and liſted up with precedent victories, having ſet their flanks thick together, & ſitted their ſhields cloſe one to another in manner of a fence-roufe, ſtood their ground and reſiſted. And when from the Sunne riſing unto the end of the day the fight had continued, *Firmus* a little before the evening was ſcene mounted upon a tall courſer, & diſplaying forth a good way from him his red coat armor, with lowd cries to move and exhort our ſouldiors for to deliver up *Theodoſius* betimes (tearming him cruel, deteſtable, & a bloudy deviſer of torments and executions) in caſe they were deſirous to be rid from the extremities which they endured. Theſe words of his unlooked for, incited ſome of them more eagerly to fight, but inticed others to forſake the field. And therefore, ſo ſoone as the ſtill time of night was come, whiles both ſides were enwrapped within wandering darkneſſe, the Roman Generall returned to the ſortreſſe Duodienne, and taking a review and muſter of his ſouldiors, looke how many of them cowardly feare and the words beſide of *Firmus* had turned from their purpoſe of fighting, he puniſhed

ſhed ſundry waies with death; ſome by cutting off their right hands, others by burning alive. And moſt carefully keeping watch & ward, ſome of the Barbarians who adventured after the Moone was downe, when they could not be ſeene, to ſet upon our campe, he either diſcomfited, or elſe if they ruſhed in very audaciouſly, took the priſoners. After this, departing from thence a great pace, he courſed the Iſſalenſes (as a people hardly to be truſted) through crooked lanes, where he was little looked for, and afflicted them ſo, as he brought them to extreame penurie: and being returned by the townes of Mauritania Caſarienſis to Sitifis, after he had racked and tortured even to death *Caſtor* and *Martinianus*, partakers with *Romanus* in all robberies and ſoule facts, he burnt them. After this, the warre began afreſh with the Iſſalenſes: and in the firſt conflict, when many of the Barbarians were beaten backe and ſlaine, *Igmazen* their king (who heretofore was wont ever to be a winner) diſtracted & terrified with this preſent diſtreſſe, and ſuppoſing that if he ſhould beare himſelfe obſtinately ſtill, when commerce and traffique were once prohibited, there remained for him no hope at all to live, as warily & cloſely as poſſibly could be out of the battaile he brake forth alone, and eſpying *Theodoſius*, humbly beſought him to command *Maſſila*, a chiefe Peere of the Mazices, to come unto him. By whom, being ſent at his requeſt, in ſecret conferences he adviſed the Generall, who of his owne diſpoſition was no ſtarter, but conſtant and reſolute, That to give him means whereby he might bring more eaſily his purpoſe about, he would preſſe hotly upō thoſe of his owne nation, & by continuance of fight turne them to feare, who verily were readie enough to aſſent and favour the Rebelle, but wearied out with many loſſes, *Theodoſius* gave care & conſcended to his words, & with often ſkirmiſhing foyled the Iſſalenſes ſo, that whiles they fell downe like ſo many beaſts, *Firmus* privily ſlipped aſide, and whē he had bin confined a long time within ſtaring holes out of the way, whiles he conſulted there how to ſlie and eſcape, was ſtaied & kept in ward by *Igmazen*. And for as much as he was informed, what had bin underhand & ſecretly practiſed by *Maſſila*, ſeeing now in this extremitie & deſpaire of his eſtate, there was no remedie left but one, he determined by a voluntarie death to tread under foot all deſire of life: and being for the nonce full of wine, till his ſkin ſtruted againe, himſelfe lay awake for terror of the miſerie hanging over his head, whiles the warders having their load likewiſe of headie wine, lay ſound aſleepe in the dead time of the night. Then leaving his bed, and creeping on all foure without making any noiſe, he ſeeverd himſelfe apart farre off, and having found a cord, which to end his life happened to be readie for his hand, he hung it upon a nayle or ſpike that ſtucke in the wall, and ſo knitting his necke within it, without any lingering torments ended his life. Which accident *Igmazen* taking grievouſly, and groning againe, that he was diſappointed of his glory, in that it was not his good hap to lead this rebellious enemy in bonds to the Romane campe, after aſſurance made of ſafe conduct by the meanes of *Maſſila*, himſelfe carrying the dead bodie of him thus murdered, upon a Camell, when he approached the tents of the armie, pitched under the ſort Subicarenſe, he ſhifted it upon a packe-horſe, and preſented it unto *Theodoſius*, who joyed & triumphed thereat. And calling together as well the armed ſouldiors as the common people, he asked, Whether they knew that viſage? and when without any delay or circumſtance made, he underſtood certainly it was his face, after he had remained there a little while, he returned to Sitifis in triumphant manner, and was received ſolemnly with the favour of all ſorts of age and degree.

CHAP. XV.

Valentinian warreth upon the Quadi: whose king Gabinus is by the wicked plots of Maximinus murdered.



Hiles the * Generall aforesaid is thus painfully employed within Mauritania and Africke in the warres, the * Quadi rose up in armes upon a suddaine, a nation now little to be feared, but wonderful full it is, how warlike and puissant they were before time, as their speedie exploits doe shew; for that by them and the * Marcomanni, Aquileia was on a suddaine besieged a long time, * Optergium raced, and many bloudie exploits performed with quicke dispatch, whiles * Maricus the principall (of whom I have spoken before) by breaking through the Alpes Iuliae was hardly able to withstand them: and in truth (as Barbarians) just cause they had to quarrell & complain. For *Valentinian* burning in a desire (glorious I must needs say and generous, but excessive and immoderat) and that from the beginning of his Empire, to fortifie the limits, commanded garrison castles to be built beyond the river Hister, upon the very lands of the Quadi, as if the same had bin already under the Roman jurisdiction: whereat the inhabitants much discontented, & wisely looking to the main chance, so farre forth as they might, partly by embassage, and partly by secret murmurings hindered the same for a time. But *Maximinus* greedily set upon all mischiefe, & not able to mitigate his inbred humor of pride, which was puffed the more by his Praefectship, blamed and rebuked *Equitius*, * Generall of the Forces at the same time throughout Illyricum, as one obtinate, headie and slothfull, for that the said worke was not yet finished, which was appointed to goe forward with all expedition: and he said moreover, as one tendering the common good, That if his little [son] *Marcellianus* were once made * Generall of the Forces in Valeria, the fort would be erected without more ado, or any allegation to the contrarie. Both which soone after came to passe accordingly. For he being promoted to that place of command, was no sooner gone forth & arrived in those parts, but swelling with pride unreasonably as his own sonne right, without winning of them by any talke and conference, who the fained furnishes of that desire and designe which was never attempted, caused to avoid their owne countries, setteth in hand again with that worke, which a little before was begun, and by meanes of some entreate granted, had been forelet for a time. And at the last, when king *Gabinus* in modest tearmes required there might not be any new alteration, *Marcellianus* under semblance of courtseie, as if he would confidend unto him, invited him, with others, to a feast; whom in his departure, after his good cheare, whiles he feared no harme, with breaking most wickedly the religious bond of hospitality, he caused to be murdered. The rumor of whose horrible fact being incessantly spread abroad divers wayes, set both the Quadi and the nations seated round about them all in a rage; and bewailing the kings death, they assembled themselves into one place, and sent out companies in armes to raise booties and spoyle all before them: which being passed over Danubius, what time as no manner of hostilitie was looked for, assailed the countrey people, busied in their harvest: and when they had killed the greater part of them, whatsoever remained, they had away and carried home, with numbers of cattell of sundrie sorts. And verily, at the same time there had like to have happened an inextinguishable mischiefe, to be reckoned among the dishonourable losses of the

Romane

Romane State. For it went within a litle, that the daughter of *Comitannus* taking her repast in a certaine mannor, which they call *Pistrensis, what time as shee was brought to be wedded unto *Gratianus*, had beene taken prisoner, but that by the faire grace of God, *Messala* governour of the Province being present, mounted her into a swift post-chariot, and with a maine pace rode away, and brought her backe to Sirmium; which was six and twentie myles from thence. By this good and fortunate hap, the royall virgine and damosell being delivered from the danger of miserable servitude (whose captivitie, unless the might be ransomed, would surely have brought much miserie upon the Commonwealth) the Quadi, together with the Sarmatians, ranging and spreading themselves farther abroad (as nations most meet to spoile and rob) drave before them booties of folke, both men and women, of cattell also; rejoycing in triumphant wise to see the ashes of villages burnt, and the wofull miseries of inhabitants lying slaine, whom they tooke on a suddaine, and killed without pitie and mercie.

CHAP. XVI.

Probus, Praefect of the Praetorium, a base minded man, is not able to abide the violence of the Quadi. Two Legions are put to the sword. Theodosius the younger, Emperour afterwards, a young gentleman of most approved valour, valiantly represseth the Sarmatians, making a tumultuous broile. The inundation of Tiberts, resembling so many deluges.



He feare therefore of the like calamities being dispersed over all parts, *Probus* the Praefectus Praetorio abiding then at Syrmium, a man not acquainted with any terrors of warres, but astonied with the wofull sight of such strange and new occurrents, and scarce able to lift up his eyes, was doubtfull a long time, and to seeke what to doe: and when as he had prepared swift steeds, and purposed the next night to flie, being advised by better counsell, stayed still and stirred not. For advertised he was, that straightwaies upon his flight, all they (who were enclosed within walls) would follow after, to shrowd and hide themselves in commodious lurking places: which if it had happened, the citie undefended would have fallen into the enemies hands. Wherefore his feare being somewhat allayed, he took a good heart and courageously set in hand with such matters as were urgent and needfull; hee scoured the ditches that were choked up and filled with rammell; and, as he was inured in an humor of building, he quickly brought up the greatest part of the wals (which through long peace lay neglected and subverted) as farre as to the bartlements of high towers. And by this meanes the worke was quickly finished; for that he found sufficient money to effect that which he hastened forward, layed up erewhile to defray the charges of building a Theatre. And to this approved policie he adjoined another of right good consequence, in that he sent for the cohort of the * Archers from the next station and standing ground, readie to be assistant, in case there had happened a siege. By these barres, as it were, the barbarous enemies, put backe from assailing the citie, as who were little acquainted with these stratagemes of warre, and besides encumbered with bag and baggage which they had gotten by pillage, betake themselves wholly to hunt after *Equitius*. And when they had learned by intelligence

*on horsebacke.

*Theodosius.
*Praefectus Praet.
*Valens.

*The people of
Optergium, Iulia
*Quadi, Marcomanni.
*Quadi, Marcomanni.

*Maximinus
*Generall of the Forces
*in Valeria, the fort would be
*erected without more ado, or any
*allegation to the contrarie.

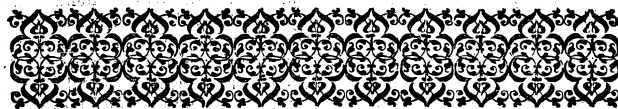
*at Sirmium.

*part of Pannonia.

*or Squalorum.

gence given them from those whom they tooke prisoners, that he was gone aside into the farre removed parts of * Valeria, thither they hyed them apace, fretting and fuming; for this verie reason fully bent to cut his throat, because they thought the innocent king aforesaid was by his meanes circumvented and made away. Against whom running on end forward with a bloudie mind, there advanced in the verie way two *legions *^a Pannonica and *^a Moesiaca, a warlike and puissant armie: which if they could have joyndly agreed, no doubt had gone cleere away with victorie. But whiles they in all hast severally set upon the said robbers, the devell cast a bone among them, so that they fell at variance, and (which sore hindered their service) strove for honour and dignitie: Which when the Sarmatians (as they were passing wittie) perceived, not expecting any solemne signall of battaile, charge upon the Moesiack legion first. And while our souldiors were somewhat slacke in this tumult, to arme and make readie their weapons, they slew the most of them: and herewith more emboldened, they brake through the Pannonian legion, and having broken the ranks with mere might and maine, they had redoubled the charge, and put them in manner all to the sword, but that some of them made so quicke shift that they escaped the daunger of death. During this disastrous daunger and heavey losse, the marquess of Moesia, *Theodosius* the younger, a young gentleman (whose beard began but then to bud forth, and who afterward proved a most politique and experienced Emperour) divers times drave out and fore annoyed, yea and with many skirmishes one in the taile of another crushed the free Sarmatians (so called for difference from the rebellious bondmen) that from another side invaded our confines, and so defeated whole multitudes of them confloing together, and resisting right manfully, that the most part of them most justly slaine, satisfied the bloudie ioules and ravenous wild beasts. Whereupon the rest, now that their swelling pride was fallen and well abated, fearing least the same captaine, a warrior of expedite prowess, as it appeared, and quicke dispatch, would either beat downe or put to rout the troupes that made rodes, even in the first notice of the borders, or else beslow ambushments secretly along the woods; after many offers and attempts of breaking through, made from time to time in vaine, casting aside all trust in fighting, craved a tolleracion and pardon for all that was past. And thus being overcome, for a time entred into no action contrarie to the covenants of peace graunted unto them: as being most of all cubed and kept downe with this feare, for that there was come a strong power of the * Gallicane souldiors to the defence of Illyricum. While these occurres so many and of such fort, by way of continuall troubles do passe, in the time that *Claudius* governed Rome citie, the river Tiberis which running through the mids thereof, together with many sinkes, sewers and riverets abundant interminglth himselfe with the * Tyrrhene sea, swelling bigge and overflowing with outrageous fall of raine, and pouring shewers, and spreading now beyond the termes of a river, welneere surrounded all. And for as much as all parts of the citie besides, seated upon an even and levell place, were all a standing poole, the hills onely and what great houses built apart by themselves were mounted upon the higher ground, saved themselves from the present fearefull daunger. And least a number of the people should pine and perish for want of food (considering the water was so great, that it sufficed no man to go forth any whither) with boats and wherries there was plentiful store of meat brought unto them. But when as the tempestuous weather was appeased, and the river by breaking those barres that held it in, returned to his wonted

courte all feare was done away, and no more trouble afterwards expected. This verie Prefect carried himselfe in his place verie quietly, as having endured and tasted of no sedition upon any just cause of quareland complaint: and besides, he redified many buildings: among which hee reared a mightie gallerie or walking place hard by the baine of *Agrippa*, which he named, *The Baine of good evenes*, by reason that there is seene neere unto it a temple bearing this name.



THE XXX. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Para King of Armenia taken by a vile, and wrong fully detained by Valens, wittily maketh meanes to escape.



Mong these dangerous troubles which Generall *Pertinax* ray-fed after the King of the Quadi was treacherously slaine, there chaunced an execrable fact to bee committed in the East, by the murdering of *Para* King of Armenia, by villainous and secret traines: of which matter upon an impious intent conceived, this we know to have beene the originall cause. Certaine persons there were, having shrewd and unhappie wits of their owne, fed and maintained many times with the losses of commonweale, who before *Valens* comploted and packed against *Para*, being as yet but a young Prince, divers imputations, aggravating the same in the worst manner: Among whom was *Teremius* Lord Warden of the Marches, one that walked lowly, and alwayes somewhat heavey and sad, but so long as he lived a perillous sower and stirrer up of dissentions. Who having taken into his societie some few people, such as for their lewd and hainous offences stood in doubtfull teames of feare, by writing to the Emperours Court and Counsell, ceased not to reiterate the death of *Cylaces* and *Arabanus*: adding moreover, That the said young Prince, reaching and ayming at proud deeds, became exceeding hard and cruel to his subjects. Whereupon the said *Para*, under a colour, as if he should be made partaker of a treatie then to be holden, as the instant affaires required, called after a roial fort, and under a pretense of serviceable courtesie attended at Tarsus in Cilicia, when as he neither could be admitted into the Emperours campe, nor yet know the cause of this urgent apparance of his, for that everie man held his tongue, at the length

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by

*that lived in
Gaulle.

*Mar Tofco, Le-
and.
Mar de Mar cille,
Vincent, Luper.

by a secret intling given unto him, he found, that *Terebin* by his letters advised the Roman Emperour, to send straightwayes another to be lading of Armenia, least in hatred of *Para*, and for feare that he should returne, this whole nation, of such importance to us, should revolt and become subject unto the Persians, who were hot upon the getting of it either by force, or feare, or flatterie. Which when he the said king revolved in his mind, he prelaged that some grievous mischiefe hung over his head. And being now ware of this deceitfull plot, and finding no other meanes to save himselfe but by a speedie departure, at the persuation of such as he had affiance in, he having gathered about him three hundred of his traine, who had followed him forth of his *countrie, upon most swift horses, when the greatest part of the day was spent, more adventurous than advised (as commonly it is seene in great and daungerous frights) he went forth in manner of a pointed battalion, and hastened away fearelesse. And when an officer belonging to * the * Moderator of the Province, who warranted the gate, much troubled to see him make such hast, found him in the suburbs and quarters neere unto the citie, he befought him verie earnestly to stay; and seeing he could not prevaile, turned backe for feare of being killed. In like manner a little after, the legion also that pursued, and now approached neere unto him, himselfe together with the forwardest of his companie galloping backe, and shooting arrowes that flew as thicke as sparkes of fire, but missing them for the nonce, put to flight, so that all our souldiours together with their Tribune terrified, retired backe againe to the walls more lustily than they came forward. Then freed from all feare, after he had for two dayes and two nights together endured the painefull labour of journeyes, when he was come to Euphrates, and for want of ships could not at any foord passe over the river, full of gulfes and whirlepits, as a number of them not skilfull in swimming were afraid, so himselfe most of them all held off and adventured not. And verily remained he had behind, but that (as everie man cast about sundrie shifts) he was able to find out this meanes of evasion, which at the verie point of necessitie was most safe. Such little beds as they found in the villages, they supported with two leather bottles or budgets apeece, whereof there was good store neere at hand in the fields where wine was made. Vpon everie one of which, a chiefe peere and the Prince himselfe sitting severally, towing and haling after them their horses, by winding passages that they made, declined the high waves and billowes of the water, surging full against them. And by this device, at length after extreme perils, came to the banke on the farther side. All the rest riding upon their horses that swum, and oftentimes by reason of the streame dashing round about them, dowed under the water, and tossed to and fro, after they had bene weakened with this dangerous wet that they tooke, were cast upon the bankes against them: where after they had refreshed themselves a little while, they marched more speedily lightly appointed than they did the dayes past. When the Emperour heard newes hereof, much troubled at the sight and escape of the foresaid *Para*, who he thought now being out of the snare, and at libertie, would breake his allegiance, he sent out *Daniel* and *Barzimeres* with a thousand light and nimble Carabines, for to fetch him backe, the one a Lieutenant, and the other a Tribune of the Scutarij. These trusting upon their owne perfect knowledge of the wayes, for that he hastening away as he did, like a stranger and one unacquainted with the countrie, made many winding turnes and fetched a compasse, prevented his journeyes, going the

* Armenia.

* Corregior, or Governor.

next way through the valleys: and having parted betweene them their forces, beset the two next passages, which were three miles a funder, that as he should passe by either of them, he might be intercepted yet he was aware. But this device and project of theirs came to nothing, by such an accident as this. A certaine way-faring man making hast on his journey, to a place on this side, espying the hill full of armed men, for to avoid them, going aside by a crosse backe lane in the middle, chanced upon the Armenians all wearied: and being brought unto the king, informed him in secret talke alone what he had seene, and so without any harme done unto him was there detained. And soone after, without any semblance or shew made of feare, there was sent out an horsleman secretly to the right side of the way, to provide lodging and victuals: When he was gone a little forward, another likewise had commaundement to goe most speedily to the left tract for to doe the like, who knew not that the other was sent another way. These things thus ordered to a good purpose, the king himselfe with his followers returning backe againe with the way-faring person himselfe that shewed him the way through the bushes by a rough beaten path, and little ynough for an horse laden to passe, gat away and left our souldiours behind his backe: who having caught his ministers sent out to cast a mist (as it were) before their minds that wayted for him, looked in manner with hands reached forth to catch an hunters prey. And whiles they looke still for him when he would come, he having in safetie recovered his kingdome, and with exceeding joy of his people being received, continued firme and fast in the same true and assured loyaltie, putting up with silence all the wrongs that he had sustained.

CHAP. II.

The same king is by a new plot of deceitfull treacherie set upon as a feast, and by the commaundement of Valens murdered.



Daniel after this, and *Barzimeres*, when thus deluded they were returned to the Court, being with reproachfull tearmes reviled as dastards and cowards, faring like unto venomous serpents, which with the first blow are astonished, plucked up their spirits and whetted their deadly chawes, purposing as soone as possibly they could if it lay in their power to be meet with him that thus escaped their hands, and to doe him mischief: and so partly to extenuate this their owne offence, and partly to excuse themselves that they were over-raught in their owne policie, they charged *Para* with false slanders and imputations in the eares of the Emperour, most apt to entertaine all rumours: devising, That he could skill of the witchcrafts and enchantments of *Cice*, to transforme and enfeeble folkes bodies wonderously: saying thus much moreover, That by such juggling trickes, a myst being cast before their eyes, he was changed in the shape of divers other things, and passed by them invisible; and would (no doubt) woike much woe and teene, in case he should remaine alive after this cornetull illusion. Hereupon an inexplicable hatred of the Emperour was encreased against him, and craftie meanes were wrought from day to day, to take his life away, either by open violence or secret practise. Which designe by writing closely under hand was com-

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mitted unto *Traianus*, abiding then in Armenia; and having the charge of the martiall forces and affaires there: Who going about to compass the king by alluring sleights; one while delivering unto him the letters of *Valens*, shewing his gracious favour and affection toward him; another while bidding himselfe to his feasts; at length upon a mischievous plot he invited him also in modest and reverent soite to a dinner: who fearing no evil toward, came and sat him downe at the table in the most honourable place allowed for him. Now, when there were exquisite and daintie viands served up to the board, and the house rung againe with the sound of stringed and wynd instruments, fingered right artificially, when the wine also went merrily about, whiles the master himselfe of the feast was gone forth of the roome under a colour of some urgent businessse of nature, one steps stoutly into the place, with a sterne and grim looke, a barbarous and rough hewen fellow, one of those whom they tearme Supra, shaking a drawne sword in his hand, in menacing wise readie to run the young prince through, who was now so pent in, that he could not leape forth from him. Whom, when the said prince saw, sitting forward, as it fell out, on the farther side of the dining * pallet, and upon this discoverie of treason rising up to defend himselfe by all the meanes he could, was stabbed through the breast, and so lay a long like a beastly sacrifice, fowlely and shamefully mangled with many a bloudie stroke. And thus his credulitie being villanously deceived, by this fraudulent device, in the midst of a feast, which with reverence is regarded even in the Euxine sea, in the very sight of the ^b Hospitall God, the blood of a stranger spurring upon the rich table-clothes and carpets, and foming againe, gave all the guests their fill, who by this time, in exceeding horror, were disperfed. Now would that noble *Fabritius* ^c *Luscinus* grone and weepe (if folke departed have any fence of griefe in them) at this arrogant and desperate act, knowing, as he did, with what courage and magnanimitie he rejected *Demochares*, or (as some write) *Nicias* the kings minister, promising by way of a secret pailey, That he would in a cup of wine poyson king *Pyrrhus*, who then plagued and wasted Italie with most cruell warres, and wrote withall to the said king, That he should take heed of his inward servitours and attendants neere about him: such a reverent regard in that time of aunient justice carried the Genialitie, even of an enemies table. But this late unexampled and shamefull fact was excused (forsooth) by the like precedent of ^d *Sertorius* his death; and that by flatterers (ywis) who happily never knew, as *Demosthenes* (that everlasting ornament and honour of Greece) affirmeth: *That whatsoever is argued and obiected, as done otherwise than rightfully, can never be answered and assayed by the like precedents or impunitie of another crime.* And thus much of the memorable occurrences that passed in Armenia.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The Embassages of Sapor and Valens thatooke no effect. The horrible death of Remigius, who had acted not the least part in the Tragedie of Trispolis, described in the 29. booke.



Ut *Sapor*, after the former overthrow and slaughter of his men, having certaine intelligence of *Para* his death, whom he earnestly endeavoured to combine with, was stricken with grievous sorrow; and, as the cheerefull courage of our armie still encreased his feare, hee projecting greater designes unto himselfe, sent *Arfaces* in Embassage unto the * Emperour, and gave advice, *To have Armenia (the continuall cause of all troubles) to be utterly destroyed:* And in case that motion were misliked, he required another thing, namely, *That the division of Iberia being annulled, and the garrisons of the Romanes side from thence removed, Atpacures might bee permitted to raigne alone, whom himselfe had made Governour over that nation.* Whereunto *Valens* returned answer to this effect: *That he could not foredoe ought of the capitulations and articles by consent confirmed, but was right willing and carefull to maintaine the same.* To crosse this glorious purpose and resolution of his, when as the Winter now was at an end, the kings letters were brought, alledging vaine and arrogant reasons. For he constantly avouched, That the occasion of discord might not possibly bee stocked up by the rootes, without the presence of those that were privie to the peace covenanted with *Iovianus*, some of whom he understood were departed this life. After this, the Emperour, as his care grew greater, and tooke deeper impression, beeing better able to chuse, than to devise good counsels, and supposing this to be expedient for his affaires, commaunded *Victor*, Generall of the Horse, and *Priscus*, Marquess or Warden of the marches of Mesopotamia, to goe with all speed, carrying with them an absolute and uniforme answer, *That it little became a iust Prince, consenting himselfe with his owne (as the king usually gave out of himselfe) thus wickedly to cover Armenia, considering the inhabitants thereof, by his owne agreement, were permitted to live at their owne will: and unlesse the garrison souldiers, imparted unto Sauromaces, returned without faile and les in the beginning of the yeare following (as it was ordered) he should against his will accomplish those articles, which of his owne accord to doe, he omitted.* Which verily was a plaine and francke Embassage, had it not swerved in this one point, That without any direction or commission in that behalfe, these Embassadours accepted of those small countries in Armenia that were offered. Which Embassage being returned, there arrived *Surena*, chiefe in authoritie under the king, offering the very same parcels unto the Emperour, which our Embassadours had boldly taken. Who being liberally and honourably entertained, but sent backe againe without obtaining that for which he came, great preparation there was and furniture for the warres, considering that the Emperour, so soone as the rigour of Winter was abated, minded with three armies to invade *Perfis*, and therefore with all expedition levied and waged aid souldiers of the *Scythians*. *Sapor* therefore missing of those

*Valens.

*or table.

those matters, which in a vaine hope he had conceived, and chafed more than he used to be, for that he had intelligence, That our great Commandeur and Ruler prepared for an expedition, yet biting in his anger, gave *Suren* in charge, to dayme and recover by force of armes, those pieces which Lieutenant *Vitor* and *Vibicius* had received: and in case any man made resistance, that the soldiers also, which were appointed for the garrison and defence of *Savromaces*, should be plagued with extremitie of miseries. And for these designs quickly put in execution; as he had ordained, there was no remedie nor meanes to crie quittance, because the Romanes were beset with another feare of all Gothia, which in licentious manner had violently broke into Thracia: The dolefull and lamentable events ensuing whereupon, may then bee summarily set downe, when we shall come to handle those affaires also. These were the proceedings that passed along the East tracts, within the traine whereof, the powerful vigour of eternall justice (which though it be divers times slow, yet is a curious and precise Commissioner, to enquire into things well done, or otherwise) tooke revenge of those miseries of *Africke* and the Embassadors of *Tripolis*, whose manes and ghosts as yet were unrevenge, and wandered without rest: which fell out in this sort. *Remigius*, who (as I sayd before) had favoured and countenanced *Romanus* in spoiling of the Provinces, after that *Leo* in his rowme was entred into the mastership of the Offices, giving over now the affaires of State, betooke himselfe to countrey businesse, neere unto *Mogontiacum*, in his owne native countrey. Whom, making his abode there in great securitie, *Maximinus* the Praefect *Pratorio* despising, as one returned to a private and quiet life, studied and sought how by all meanes possibly he might hurt; as he was one, that like unto some contagious and pernicious plague, used to infect and worke mischief still, where ever he came: and to the end that he might search out more matters still that lay hidden, he attached and by way of bloudie torture examined *Casus* (before time one of his domestickall guard, and afterward the Princes Notarie) to know of him, What *Remigius* had done? or how much he had received, to helpe and further *Romanus* in his wicked acts: Which when *Remigius* understood, whiles he remained yet (as hath beene said) in a retired place, either for that he was pricked in conscience for his lewd parts committed, or that the feare (occasioned by slanderous accusations) overcame his reason; he made no more adoe, but knit his necke fast in an halter, and so strangled himselfe to death.

CHAP. IIII.

Valentinian making hast as an unreasonable time against the Illyrians, is drawne backe. An amitie is concluded and established with *Macrianus* king of the *Alemans*: and then returneth the Emperour to *Triers*.



N the yeare next following, when *Gratianus* was Consull, and had taken unto him for companion in office, *Equitius*; as *Valentinian* after the waisting of certaine territories in *Alemaine*, was building a fort neere unto *Basile*, which the neighbour inhabitants call **Robur*, there was pre-

presented unto him the certifiat of the Praefect *Probus*, giving intelligence of the losses and calamities of *Illyricum*. Which when he had with good adviement read, as became a captain, that made no great hast in his affaires, but loved to take good leisure, being astonished with carefull thoughts, he sent out his **Notarie Pater-*
mannus, and by him sought precisely into the businesse. And soone after, when as by his means he had received the true report of what was done, he hastened forthwith to take the field, readie in person with the first stirre and noyse of armes (as he had before intended) to suppress the Barbarians, who dared to rob and spoyle our limits. And because now in the latter end of Autumne there were many difficulties to hinder this project, all the nobles and principall officers of State about the palace endeavoured hard so persuade him for to hold off untill the beginning of the Spring, alledging first, That the wayes hardened with frosts (where could be found neither grasse well growne for pasturage, nor other things meet for use) were not passable: then, pretending the crueltie of princes, neere neighbours unto *Gaule*, and above all others, of *Macrianus*, as one in those dayes much dread, who as it was for certaine knowne, if he were left behind unreconciled, would attempt the very siege and assault of the walled cities: By these allegations and other motives put therto, tending to his good and profit, they reduced him to a better mind, and presently (as it made for the good of the Commonwealth) the said king was sent for courteously to come neere unto *Mogontiacum*; who also was of himselfe forward ynough (as it appeared) to entertaine a league. And wonderfull it was, with what and how great pride puffed up he came, as one that should be the superior Iudge of peace: and at the day before appointed for the parley and conference, he stood bearing his head aloft on the very banke of the *Rhene*, with a clattering noyse of his countrey shields resounding on either hand. On the other part, the Emperour embarked in certaine river-barges, being guarded also himselfe with a multitude of warlike companies for his more safetie, approached the bankes, all goodly to be seene, with a brave shew of glittering ensignes. Now when the unseemely gestures and rude noyse of the barbarous people were at length allayed, after words passed to and fro on both sides, there was peace and amitie concluded, and the same ratified with an oath. These things thus finished, the king, who made all these troubles, departed well pacified, and became our associate from thenceforth, and afterwards, unto his dying day, gave by his noble exploits good proofe of his constant mind, embracing concord. But after this, his hap was to die in **Francia*: which whiles he greedily invaded, and with fire and sword wasted, befor he was by a traine of the warlike king *Mello-baudes*, and so slaine. Howbeit, after this league, with solemne rites and complements concluded, *Valentinian* departed to *Triers*, there to Winter. These were the affaires in *Gaule* and the North quarters.

editio in compositum gaudet, sed et in seipso editio non minus
inordinabilis. Deinde editio in seipso. **CHAP. VI.** *Of the
The lamentable plight of the East Provinces under Valens detested by his Courtiers, and
making much of these sprawling Lawyers and petty-foggers. Wherein is set in
opposition the felicity of former ages.*



BVt in the East parts (whiles all was hush and quiet abroad) an inward mischief increased, by means of the friends and favourites of *Valens*, with whom profit was of more reckoning than honestie. For, great care and diligence was employed, that the man of a rigorous disposition, and desirous to heare causes and controversies pleaded, should be reclaimed from all devise of deciding and judging them, least as in *Julians* dayes, while innocencie gat a breathing time by lawfull defence, the swelling pride of mightie persons should be abated, which by taking of libertie was wont to breake out and range at will abroad. For these and such like respects, when as with one consent and accord many dehorted him, and especially *Modestus* Prefect of the Pretorium (a man wholly made and squared to the pleasure of the Princes Eunuchs, and one with a forced countenance deceiving his rude and rusticall nature not polished with reading of any antiquitie) bearing him also in hand, that these small and trifling privat causes were farre inferior to his Imperiall dignitie, he supposing (as he said) that the examination and hearing of causes was a device to take downe and humble the highnesse of his Majestie, forbore wholly to sit in judgement, and so did fet open the doores of pilling and extortion, which grew strong everie day more than other, through the wickednesse of Iudges and Advocates both, agreeing together, and drawing in one line: who setting to sale the suits and causes of meaner persons unto militarie men and managers of martiall affaires; or to such as were mightie in Court, gained thereby either much wealth or great honours. This profession of Oratours and pleading Barresters, that noble *Plato* defineth to be *voluptuous people*, *i. the image or shadowe of some part of civilitie*, or more truly, the fourth part of flatterie: But *Epicurus* naming it *κατασκευασμένη*, reckoneth it among bad arts: *Cicero* and with him *Leontinus Gorgias*, faith, it is the worke-mistresse of persuasion. Which being thus by old writers defined, the subtile craft of some Easterlings hath brought it, to be hated and detested of good men: whereby also it is bridled and restrained by the reines of a set and prefixed time. After therefore that I shall deliver some few words, as touching the indignitie thereof, which I found by experience conversing in those parts, I will returne to the intended course of those matters which I have begun. Then, and never else, flourisheth the Tribunes with pleading patrons of auncient elegancie, when as Oratours of quicke and pregnant eloquence, seriously given to the studies of learning, for wit, faithfullnesse, copious words, and many ornaments of oratorie excelled, as for example *Demosthenes*; who, whensoever he was to make an oration, there was wont to be a great concourse of people out of all parts of Greece, to heare him, as we find in the Atticke records: also *Callistratus*, whom at the time that he pleaded that noble cause as touching Oropus, a place in Euboea, the same *Demosthenes* followed, leaving the *Academie* together with *Plato*. Likewise *Hyperides*, *Aeschines*, *Andocides*, *Dinarchus*, and that famous *Aniphon* of Rhamnus, who was the first of all others, as aunci-

ancient hystories make report, that tooke a fee for the defence of a cause. Semblably among the Romans also, the ** Rustij*, *Galbe*, and *Scavri*, men for their life, behaviour, and frugalitie approved: and after them for sundrie yeares together of the age ensuing, many that were Censors and Consuls in their time, yea and had triumphed, to wit, the ** Crassi*, *Antonij*, the *Philippi*, and the *Scavole*, with a number more beside, after most fortunat conduct of amies, after victories atchieved and trophies erected, flourisheth in the performance of civile offices betweene citizen and citizen, even for their stipends: and gaining by their goodly prizes plaid, the laurell garlands of the Barre and Common place, enjoyed glorious honours in the highest degree. After whom *Cicero*, the most excellent of all, who oftentimes with the thunderbolts of his commanding speech, delivering some that were oppressed and cast downe out of dangerous flames of judgement, affirmed, *That men haply might be undefended altogether without blame and reproofe; but negligently defended without a sinfull act they could not possibly be.*

CHAP. VI.

A little table representing to the life these ravenous Harpyes, and a sorting or division of them into certaine formes or ranks.



BVt now adayes, you may see throughout all those tracts divers in that kind verie violent and most ravenous men, such as goe swooping and flinging over all the Courts and Halls of justice, yea and cloieley do beset rich mens houses, who like unto hounds of ** Spartar* or ** Crete*, by following with a quicke sent everie cause, as it were by the tract and footing, come at length to the verie dennes thereof. The first companie of these are they, who by sowing sundrie controversies and quarels, have their hands in a thousand actions & bonds for appearance at the Law-day; haunting the doores of widowes, and entries of childlesse parents. These desirous to entertaine privie grudges betweene friends, kinsfolkes and allies, that are at variance, for some small matters of no moment and importance, goe about to make them hate and detest one another. And in these their vices they waxe not more calme and mild (as others doe) by proceesse of time, but get greater head, and grow stronger: who also among the unsatiable extortions of the poore, for to envenge and deceive by their subtile orations the integritie of Iudges (whose name sprung of Iustice) draw forth the keene blade of their wits. In this their obtrinar course of dealing, their rashnesse seemeth to resemble libertie, their headie boldnesse constancie, and a certaine vaine flowing tongue of thiers, eloquence: through the violent force of which arts, as *Tully* affirmeth, a foule shame it is that the upright conscience of a Iudge should be deceived. For thus he faith: *And whereas there ought nothing to bein a Commonwealth so pure and sincere, as the giving of iudice, or the sentence of a Iudge, I cannot see how he that hath corrupted the same with a peece of money, should deserve punishment, and be that doth the like with eloquence goe away with iudice: And verily in my conceits he seemeth of the ravenous to doe more harme, who corrupteth a Iudge by his eloquence speech, than he that doth it by plaine brotherie: for that no man is able to corrupt a wise man with money, but with eloquence he may full well.* The second sort of these men, are they who professing skill of sight and law; which the difference of statutes and ordinances opposeth one unto another hath quite swayed their

** Rustij, Galbe, and Scavri: i. e. a kind of Hell-nime, whereto this author is wretched once a little, though he were in La. u. c. * The like Helles nime: end by necessity.*

** Mithra, &c. i. e. a kind of Hell-nime.*

** As boxes of writings &c. i. e. writing receptacles.*

Ddd their

their mouthes were muzzled and made up, with their continuall silence, are like their owne shadowes. These resembling them that calculat and foretell folkes destinies by their nativities and horoscopes; or wisards that expound *Sibyls* Oracles, composing their grave countenance to a sad and solemn habit, make even their drowsie yawning and supine negligence saleable. And these fellows, because they would be thought to have a deepe insight into the lawes, have altogeth in their mouthes *Trebatus*, *Cassellius*, and *Assenus*, and their whole talke is of the lawes of the Aurunci and Sicani, such as long since are growne out of knowledge, and many hundred yeares ago, even with *Evanders* mother buried. And if thou shouldst devise and say, That wilfully thou hadst murdered thine owne mother, they are readie to beare thee in hand, and promise, that they have read many hidden booke-cafes and presidents, that afford meanes to acquit thee: provided alwayes, that they perceive thee to be well moneyed. A third crew there is of those, who to the end that in this turbulent profession they may get a name, whetting their mercenary tongues to the beating downe of truth, by their shamelesse foreheads and base bawling make open way for themselves to passe whither they list: who taking the opportunitie of the Iudges cares, in many matters distracted, linking and entangling causes with insoluble quirkies and quilts, endeavour by long demurres to have controversies depending still, and by their intricate questions that of purpose they foist in, hold off, and delay judgements: which when they proceed well and fall out aright, they are the verie shrines and temples of equitie: but if they be wrong and unjust, they are both deceitfull and blind pits; whereinto if any man fall and be caught, he shall not be able in many* five yeares together, to get forth, sucked drie in the meane while even to the verie marrow.

CHAP. VII.

The last sort of them that uphold his profession of Lawyers, impudent, forward, wilfull, and unlearned, is here in two colours depainted.

HHe fourth and last ranke is impudent, overthwart, stubborn, and with all unlearned, those I meane, who having broken loose over-soone from the Grammer schoole, run to and fro in all corners of cities studying for scoffes, and frumping flours, not for meet pleas to helpe any cause: who also haunting rich mens houses, lay sort to get part of exquisite dainties at their suppers and meales. Who when they have once betaken themselves to secret and privat gaines, and given their minds to get money everie way, it skills not how, set any innocent and hamelisse persons together by the eares, and make them for nothing goe to law: and being admitted into the court (and that seldom happeneth) for the defence of a cause, at the verie instant time when they should come to plead at barre, they are faine to be instructed from the verie mouth of the client that is defendant, what is the name and nature of the cause that he hath taken in hand: And these are so full of their confused circumlocutions, that a man would thinke he heard *Thersites* with a frumping and bawling clamor to come on with a mishmash and hotchpotch of most distastfull and unavovie & wife. But when they are once driven to a non plus, and want matter to maintaine their allegations, then come they all their speech to an unbridled libertie of rayling and soule speaking: in which respect, for their reproachfull and reviling termes, which continually they would

would give even to honourable persons; they have divers times beene condemned, And of these there be some so rude, that they cannot remember they were ever masters of any lawe booke. And if at any assembly or meeting of learned men, there happen to be mention made of some auncient author, they suppose it to be some forraigne name of a fish or dish of meat. And, in case any stranger chance for example sake to aske for *Marcianus*, an Oratour, whose name they were not before acquainted with, straightwayes they imagine themselves all to be named *Marciani*. Neither do they set any right now before their eyes, but as men sold unto covetousnesse and possessed wholly with it, they know nothing at all but an engrafted licentious libertie of craving and getting. And looke whom they once catch within their toile, they ensnare him with a thousand nets, under pretence of sicknesse forsooth, lingring for the nonce, and making delays with this and that, one after another by turnes: and for the proceeding of one reading of a vulgar and common law, they prepare seven vendible entrances and returns, plotting and plating as long examinations as possibly they can to protract the time. Now, when as there have fo many dayes, monethes, and yeares gone over the parties heads that are in suit, that they become stript bare of their money, at length when as the matter in controversy is growne stale and thoroughly worne in continuance of time, then are the verie principall heads and great doctors admitted and let in: who being entred bring in with them other dumbe shewes of Advocates. And when they are come within the enclosure of the barre or raile, and the whole estate or life of some man begins to come in question and tryall, what time as all endeavour should be used to keepe either the edge of the sword from an innocent, or put by losse from a poore and miserable person, with frowning foreheads on both sides, and armes composed after the gesture of actors on a stage (so that there seemeth nought wanting but *Gracchus* his pipe behind their backs, by which he was woont in his orations to temper his voice) they stand still along time on either hand: And at last, out of some premeditate flourish, there comes forth by him who is the bolder of the twaine and more confident of speech, some pleasant and delightfull exordium or beginning of speech, promising as it were the Rhetoricall ornaments, resembling those of the famous orations pronounced either for *Cluentius* or *Cresphion*: and when all that heare it are desirous to have an end made, the matter groweth to this conclusion at length, that the patrons (forsooth) after a shew made of a three yeares suit depending in the court, alledge for excuse, that they be not yet sufficiently instructed and prepared: and so when they have obtained a longer time still of adjournment, as if they had already wrestled hard with that old *Amew*, they cease not to call earnestly for their fees, in regard of this their dangerous conflict and doubtfull combat performed. Howbeit, things being so, these Advocates are not without many inconveniences, which a man of worth that would live in good fashion could not well endure. For, being fleshed with the baits of idle gaines comming in with sitting still, and doing little or nought, they are at daggers drawing among themselves, and breaking forth into a malapert humor of railing, as hath been said, they offend and displease many: Which bitter humor of theirs then doe they discharge and rashly disgorge, when as they are not able with all their stout speeches and orations to cover and protect the weakenesse of their causes. And otherwhiles they have for their Iudges such as have learned *Philistinus* or *Esope* frumping scoffes or fables, rather than those that have come forth of the schoole either of that just *Aristides*, or of grave *Cato*, who having purchased with round summes of money publicke offi-

ces of state, like unto busie and treblous creditors, prying and searching straitly into the wealth & estate of all sorts of men, whatsoever they be, fetch booties perforce out of other mens bosomes. To conclude, the profession & practise of these lawyers hath among many other things this one mischief grievous and fearfull, for that as many almost as go to law, are of this nature, that whereas controversies and suits by a thousand chances do miscarrie, looke whatsoever falleth out otherwise than well, they suppose the same lay in the power of their patrons and advocats; and what if sue ensueth upon any variance and contention, they are wont to impure & ascribe the same even to them, and in no wise are they angry either with the defect of their matters, or the iniquitie otherwhiles of the Iudges, but only with the defenders of their causes. But now returne we whence we hither digressed.

CHAP. VIII.

Valentinian going to the Sarmatians and Illyrians, neglecteth those things that belong to his charge, giveth no audience to the complaints of the Provinciall inhabitants, neither duly chastiseth the Prefects and Governours, who a long while abuse their publicke authoritie.



When as now the prime of the Spring was come, *Valentinian* remooving from *Triers*, marched apace through the knowne wayes wherewith he was acquainted: and as he approached the countries that he went unto, there was presented unto him an embassage of the *Sarmatians*: who lying prostrate at his feet, besought him by way of peaceable prayers, to come among them with a propitious and gracious mind, as who should find their countrey men neither partie nor privie to any wicked and cruell act. Vnto whom, as they still iterated the same petition, thus farre forth upon good advisement and considerat deliberation he made this answere, That these matters were to be enquired into upon most true and certaine evidences, yea, and to be punished accordingly, in the verie places where it was said they were committed. And when after this, he entred into ** Carnuntum*, a towne of the *Illyrians* (forlome now (God wor)& in wofull plight, yet of great importance to the leader of an armie, whensoever either good fortune or politicke reason ministred any advantage and opportunitie) from out of the next station he repressed the attempts & invasions of the barbarous enemies. And albeit he stricke a terror into all men, whiles it was looked for and feared, that (as he was quicke and sharpe) he would shortly give commandement, That the judges and rulers should be condemned, through whose trecherie or departure fro their charge, one side of *Pannonia* was laid naked; yet when he was thither come, he became so calme and coole, that he neither made enquire into the death of king *Gabinus*, nor searched narrowly to know, by whose permission, connivencie, or slacke dealing those wounds and losses came which had bin deeply fetled in the common weale: just according to his wonted maner, which was, to be sharpe & severe in correcting those of the common sort, but over remisse in rebuking such as were in high place, so much as by way of rough and bitter words. Howbeit *Probus* was the only man whom he courted and pursued with an hatefull & malicious mind, never from the time that he first saw him giving over to menace him, or growing to be any whit appeased with him; whereof the causes were neither small nor unknowne. This *Probus* being then newly entred upon his Praefecture of the *Pratorium*, and very desirous to continue the same a long time by many meanes (and would God they had bin

bin direct and reasenable) farre otherwise than the nobilitie of his descent & parentage taught him, regarded glosing flatterie more than modest honestie. For obler-ving well the purpose of the prince, who sought all the waies every where to get money by hooke or crooke, without any difference or respect made of right and wrong, reduced him not, thus wandering out of the right way, unto the path of equitie, as oftentimes sober and peaceable Governours have done, but himselfe also followed him, winding atoe side and going crosse: Whereupon ensued the heave haps and grievous chances of the provinciall subjects, and the mischievous names and articles of entituled causes provided aforehand, enfeeble and cut in twain the sinewes of mens estates, as well rich as poore, and that by means stronger every one than others before, according as the long practise of doing hurt could devise. In the end, such were the grievous burdens of tributes and the exactions of customes and imposts so much enhanced and multiplied, that some of the peeres and nobles disquieted with the feare of extremitie, were forced to change their habitations & void the countrey: yea, and certaine persons there were, so overlaid with the rigorous and bitter dealing of under officers and ministers, calling still for more, that when they had not for to give them, they became perpetuall tenants of prisons: of whom there were some, who being now wearie of their lives, and not desirous to see the light of this world any longer, ended their daies by the wished for remedies of hanging themselves. And thus verily went matters without all regard of giving content or of humanitie, as the constant rumor blazed it all abroad. But *Valentinian*, as if his eares had bin daubed up with wax, as one greedie to get and gaine indifferently, he passed not how, even out of the least things that were, was ignorant hereof, thinking of nothing else but that which was offred and presented to his hand: yet peradventure he would have spared *Pannonia*, if he had known before, these wofull and lamentable meanes of gaine, who too too late learned then by such a chance as this. According to the example of the rest of the provincials, the *Epirots* also compelled by the Prefect to send embassadours for to give him thanks, forced one *Iphicles* a Philosopher, a man of approved courage and resolution, against his own will & accord to go forward to the performance of this office: who when he had seene the Emperor, after knowledge taken who he was, being demanded the cause of his comming, answered in Greeke: and as the Emperor very diligently inquired of him, Whether they that sent him embassadour, thought from their hearts well of the Praefect: like a Philosopher and professor of the truth; *Groning* (quoth he) *and against their wills*. With which word of his he being stricken as it were with a dart, curiously searched like some quicke senting beast into his acts and doings, questioning with him in his naturall language about that which he knew not, namely, where was such an one (for examples sake) that in honor and name excelled his neighbours or where was such a rich man? or another, the principall and chiefe of his ranke? And when he understood, that one perished with an halter, another was fled beyond sea, and another killed himselfe, or lost his life with plumbets of lead, he grew into an exceeding passion of indignation: and evermore his wroth was fed by *Leo*, then master of the offices (o shamefull villany) who himselfe also, in case the other, now aloft, should once fall downe from the rocke, was readie to step into his Praefecture: which if he had gotten and managed, surely the government of *Probus* had bin extolled up into heaven, in comparison of those parts which he would have played.

CHAP. IX.

Valentinian invadeth and warreth upon the Quadi. He is terrified with many strange sights, denouncing his end: He receiveth the Quades embassadors, and as a speech of theirs is so forcibly stricken, that with the losse of his voice, having a dead sweat coming all over him, he died within a while after.



Now, whiles the Emperour abode at Carnuntum, for three Summer moneths together, he provided himselfe of armour and victuals, ready (if fortune were any thing favourable unto him) with the first opportunity to invade and overrun the Quadi, authors of an horrible tumult and commotion. In which towne, *Fausinus* the sisters sonne of *Vivimus* Praefect of the Praetorium, serving in qualitie of a Notarie in the warres, was after torture executed by the hangmans hand under *Probus*, who had the hearing and determining of his cause: called into question and indicted he was, for that he had slaine an asse, thereby to practise secret aits, as some averred, who layd that to his charge: but as he vouched himselfe, for to stay the falling and shedding of the haire off his head, another matter also was mischievously framed against him, namely, That when one *Nigrinus* desired him by way of mirth to make him Notarie, he laughing at the fellow, cried out and sayd: *Make me Emperour, if thou wouldest leave that at my hands*. And this meere jeast being untowardly and in a wrong fence expounded, cost both *Fausinus* himselfe and *Nigrinus* also, with others, their lives. But to proceed, after that *Merobaudes* was sent out before with a warlike power of footmen, whereof he had the conduct, for to waite and burne the Barbarian territories, with whom was joynd in commission Lieutenant *Sebastian*, *Valentinian* removed his campe forward neere to **Acinum*; and when he had set his ships together, against what suddaine chance might befall, and with all the quick speed that might be planked them over in manner of a bridge, he passed over another way into the countrey of the Quadi, who lay verily in espiall waiting for his coming from the high craggie mountaines, whither most part of the countrey, uncertaine & doubtfull what accidents would happen, together with their wives and children, leife and deare unto them, were retyred; but altogether amazed and astonied, when contrarie to their expectation they saw the Emperours ensignes displayed within their countrey. Having therefore advanced forward with a forced pace, as occasion served, after he had killed up the people of all ages indifferently one with another (whom as they stragled then abroad this suddaine rode surprised) as also burnt their houses, he returned with the sacie of all them whom he led forth with him: And in like sort, when he had made his abode in *Acinum* in the latter end of Autumne he sought convenient Wintering harbours along those tracts, which were wont to be frozen all over with the coldness of the weather: neither could he meet with any convenient feat but **Sabaria*, although it was a place at that time of no strength, and with continuall calamities from time to time sore afflicted. Whereupon abandoning the towne for a while, although it was of great importance, he thence removed lustily, and coasted along the rivers banke: and when he had fortified the castles and forts with a competent garrison, he came to **Bregio*, and there fatall destinie, framed long agoe for the princes rest, denounced unto him his last end, with many a prodigie betokening the same. For very few dayes before, the

blazing starres burned forth, which commonly are fore-runners of the fall of princes, the originall cause whereof I have declared already: and at *Sirmium*, the lightning, with a suddaine clap of thunder shot out of the clouds, set on fire part of their Countsell-houise and Palace. Likewise at *Sabaria*, whiles himselfe as yet there remained, an Owle sitting upon the top of the kings Baines, and singing out in a dolefull note, could by no expert hand of those that shot arrowes and slung stones, be made to fall, albeit they layd hard at her, striving a vie, who should do the feat. Semblably, when from the citie aforesaid he marched to give battell, he would needs goe forth at the same gate by which he entred in, to the end that he might gather some good prelage of his speedie returne backe againe into *Gaul*: also, when the place that lay forelet and neglected with heapes of rammell therein, was scoured and made cleane, an yron dore happened to fall downe, which made up fast the passage out of it; and a multitude of people laying all their power and strength thereto, was not able to remove it: and so while he spent a day thereabout in vain, upon constraint he was faine to goe out at another gate. And that very night which went next before the day that should bereave him of his life, he saw (as men commonly doe in their sleepe) his wife, being absent, sitting with her haire loose about her eares, and clad in poore and mournfull array: which was imagined and esteemed to be his owne torture, now ready to depart from him in foule attire and habite. As he was setting forward from thence in the morning betimes, somewhat sad and with a frowning countenance, when the horse which was brought unto him, would not suffer him to get on his backe, but contrarie to his manner rose up with his forefeet aloft, his inbred cruelty: was soone up, and (as he was by nature fell) he commaunded the right hand of the fouldior, that was yeoman of the Stirrop, to be cut off, which had put him beside, as he was ready to mount his accustomed beast; and died for it in dolorous manner had the innocent young man, but that *Cerealis*, Tribune of the Stable, with the danger of himselfe, put off and deferred to cursed an act. After this came the embassadors of the Quadi, in humble wife requesting pardon, with the finall abolishing of all that was past: which that they might obtaine without any barre or impeachment, they promised both their young trained fouldiors, and some behoofefull things also for the Romane State. Whom, because it was thought good to receive and entertaine, yea, and to suffer for to returne, with graunt of truce which they required (for, any longer to trouble and molest them, neither want of victuals, nor the adverse time of the yeare would permit) they were conducted by *Equitius*, and admitted into the Consistorie. And when enfeebled for feare and daunted, they stood with their bodies bowing and stooping forward, after they were commaunded to deliver their errand, they averred constantly those usuall and ordinarie shewes of excuses, and bound the same also with an oath, protesting. That no trespass had beene committed against out part by common consint or counsell of the nobles of the land, but looke what had beene rudely and uncivelly done, the same happened by the means of certaine out-lying robbers in the borders, and confining upon the river. This moreover they added, avowing the same to be a sufficient reason to assoyle them of all that was done, in that the fort which was begun and going up neither justly nor conveniently, did set the hearts of the rusticall and wild peasants on fire, and made them so fierce and stout as they were. Herat the Emperour in a mightie passion of anger, and as he began to make answer thereto, puffing and swelling very much, all to rated and in a high strain of chiding reprooved the whole nation,

*Carnuntum.

*Duro Varadin
Nigr.*Strin or Scizian
Angin.*Bregio, or
Bregia.

bla-

nation as unmiadfull of benefits received, and unthankfull : but being by little and little pacified and enclined to milder tearmes, behold, as if he had bene shot into his vitall parts with a dart, and bereft at once of his speech, he was seene all on a light fire : and sodainely the bloud being pent and restrained, as he stood all in a cold and deadly sweat, for feare he should sinke downe and fall in the fight of excited persons, the servants of his privie chamber came running together about him, and so he was led into an inward parlor. Where being laid upon a bed drawing yet some small remaines of vitall breath, without any empairing at all of his intellectuall facultie and power, he knew all that stood by him, such as his chamberlaines had with great celeritie gotten together about him, least any man might suspect that he had bene secretly murdered. And for as much as by reason of the excessive heat of the midriffe that knit his bowels together, there was of necessitie a veine to be opened, there was not a Physitian or Chirurgian to be had, upon this occasion, that he had sent them all sundrie wayes scattering abroad to cure the souldiors which lay sicke of the pestilence : yet was there one found, who notwithstanding that he had pricked his veine once or twice, yea and oftner too, could not draw forth so much as one drop of bloud, so scorched were his inward parts with excessive heat : or as some thought, for that his bodie was dried up, by reason that certaine passages therein, which now we tearme ¹ Hæmorrhoides, were closed up and growne to a verie hard cruft, they were so bound up with cold. Well, such was the violent and infinit rage of his disease, that he perceived the prescript houre of his death was now come, and as he assaied to speake somewhat, and give something in charge, as the yex that often shooke his flanks and small guts, the gnashing of his teeth, and the moving of his armes, laying about him as if they had bene fighting at hulebats, plainly shewed, being now overcome and speckled here and there with ^k wan and blew spots, he yeilded up his ghost, after it had long strugled for life, in the five and fiftith year of his age, and when he had reigned 12 years lacking too dayes.

CHAP. X.

The birth and rising of Valentinian: His growth and progresse: His acts and whole course of life briefly run over.



Now is it time to unfold, as divers times we have done, and from the nativite of this Princes father, by way of a briefe collection to discourse of his acts even to the death of himselfe : not leaving out the distinct difference of his vices or good parts, which his high place and dignitie shewed, that is alwayes woont to lay naked the inward dispositions of the mind. *Gratianus* the elder was borne at ^{*}Cibalæ a towne in Pannonia, of ignoble and base parentage, firamed from his verie childhood *Furarius*, because that he, as yet but a stripling, as he carried a rope about with him to sell, shrunke not five souldiors, that with great endeavor were in hand to snatch the same violently from him : following herein *Milo¹ Croniastes*, from whom as hee held many times and clasped close either in his right hand or his left any apples, no man was ever able with might and maine to wrest them away. For the cleane strength therefore of his mightie bodie, and the skill he had in wrestling, as the manner is of souldiors, being verie well knowne unto many, after the dignitie borne

borne of a Protector and a Tribune, he managed in Affrica the office of ^{*}*Comes reitastrens* : whereupon being touched with the suspicion of theft, and departed thence, long after in the like place he had the rule of the Britaines armie ; and at the last discharged honestly of his militarie othe, returned home to his privat house : and notwithstanding that he lived farre remote from all stirre and noyse of the world, yet was he fined by *Constantinus* with the losse of his goods, for this cause, that in the heat and broyle of civile warre, he was said to have entertained and lodged *Magnentius*, as his guest, what time as by his lands and possessions hee made hast to his intended designs. In regard of whose defects, *Valentinian* [his sonne] from the verie prime of his youth commendable, with the helpe also of a long traine of his owne vertues, being adorned at Nicea with the investure of Imperiall Majestie, tooke his brother *Valens* unto him as fellow Emperour : who in respect of brotherhood in the whole blood, sorted and accorded most joyntly with him ; a ^{*}man that carried himselfe in a meane betweene reproachfull and prayle-worthy acts, which I will in convenient place declare. *Valentinian* therefore after many dangerous troubles past, whiles he led a privat life, was no sooner entred upon his Empire, but he visited the castles situate neere unto great rivers & violent streames, as also Gaule, that lay exposed to the Alemans rodes and invasions, who began the more boldly to revive and stirre againe, upon knowledge of the Emperour *Julians* death, whom onely of all the men in the world they stood in awe of. And for this good cause also was *Valentinian* much dread, because he both reformed his armies with strong supplies, and also fortified Rhene on either side with high castles and fortresses, that the enimie making rodes & breaking out upon our province, might no where be undiscovered. And to let many particulars passe which he did by the authoritie of a staied and well grounded governour, as also what abuses he reformed either by himselfe or his industrious captaines, after he had assumed his sonne *Gratian* into the societie of his power and high place, he privily stabbed (because openly he could not) *Vithigabius*, a king of the Alemans, the sonne of *Vadomaricus*, a young prince in his verie flower and full downe of his cheekes, for stirring up the people to insurrections and warres. Also in a battaile against the Alemans neere unto ^{*}Solicinium, a place where he was forelaid and like to have lost his life, he might have put then to the sword everie man of them, but that by vantage taken of the darke night some few of them made quick speed and escaped. And yet among these politike and warie exploits, by a treacherous stratagem (I must needs say) but advantageous to him, he slew the Saxons, that now were growne to fearefull outrage ; a nation at all times making fodaine rodes and invasions, and then arrived at the Maritime tracts, with the spoyles whereof they were returned almost laden : these robbers, I say, and brigands then by force defeated, he stripped of all their bootie and pillage. And in like manner the Britaines, who were not able to endure such troupes of enemies overrunning them, he restored to their libertie and quiet peace, with hope of better dayes, suffering not one in manner, of the foresaid brigands to returne home into their country. With semblable valour, and fortunat successe, whereas one *Valentinus*, a banished person in Pannonia, went about in these provinces to trouble the common peace, he suppressed him, before his plotted designe grew to any strong head. After this he delivered Affricke out of great dangers, being much troubled with a fodaine mischicfe, what time as *Firmus* not able to abide the greedinesse and pride of the militarie men, raised the nations of Mauritania, who upon everie small gale are forward ynough to enter-

taine all commotions and discords. And with like fortitude he had revenged the lamentable losses and calamities of Illyricum, but that prevented by death he left that serious businesse unfinished. And albeit these atchievements which wee have related, were performed by the service of his excellent capitaines, yet full well it is knowne, that himselfe also, as he was of a quicke and nimble conceit, yea and thoroughly grounded with long experience of warfare, atchieved many acts beside, among which this might have more notably appeared, in case he could have taken alive king *Marcianus*, who in those dayes was verie terrible, according as with great industrie he had assayed, after he understood with sorrow and griefe that he was escaped to the Burgundians, whom himselfe had annexed unto the Alemans. Thus much may serve for a briefe discourse as touching the acts of this prince.

CHAP. XI.

His vices are at large described.

VPon assured confidence now, that posteritie enthralled neither to feare nor foule flatterie, is wont with an uncorrupt and single eye to behold things past, we will summaily reckon up his vices, and afterward shew also his good deserts. He pretended sometime an outward shew of clemencie, whereas by heat of nature he was much inclined to crueltie: forgetting, I assure you, this lesson, *That a King and Emperour ought to avoid all excessive courses, no lesse than so many steepe and craggie rocks*. For, never doe wee find that he tooke up with any mild correction and punishment, but commanded otherwhiles bloudie examinations to be multiplied one upon anothers when as some after cruell interrogatories were tormented even to the danger of their lives. And so much given he was to do mischief, that he was never knowne by a mercifull note of his subscribing to have saved any one person from death, were he once condemned to dye; whereas otherwhiles even most cruell princes have done so much: And yet might he have beheld as in a myrrour, many precedents of his aunccestors and forefathers, yea and imitated as well foraine as home examples both of humanitie and of pietie (which vertues wise Philosophers define to be cofin Germans) whereof it shall be sufficient to set downe the following. *Araxerxes* that most puissant Monarch of the Persians, who for the length of one joynt was called **Macrocheir*, by a naturall lenitie of his owne correcting and abridging those sundrie sorts of punishments which that cruell nation alwayes practised, in stead of certaine malefactors heads did chop off their tuffes or turbants onely: and for that he would not crop off mens eares, as kings used to do for some trespasses, he did cut away the strings or cordons onely that hung downe from their hats. Which temperat behaviour of his, caused him to be so well beloved and reverenced withall, that with the helpe and assistance of all his subjects he atchieved many wonderfull acts, renowned by the Greeke writers. The Pretor upon a time of Prænet, who in a certaine warre of the Samnites, being commaunded to make hast unto the garrison, came late, to wipe away this offence was presented and brought in place: *Papirius*, **sir* named *Cursus*, for the time being Dictator, caused the **Lictor* to make readie the axe, and when the man casting aside all hope and confidence to purge himselfe, stood all astonied, *Papirius* chaunced to espie a shrub hard by, and caused it to be grubbed up, and so having by this kind of pleasant conceit chastised the partie, let him free: neither was he therefore despised, but esteemed

*Long hand, or Long-arm.

*the officer, or bagman.

med sufficient to make his part good with *Alexander* the Great, in case hee had come upon Italian ground in his dayes. *Valentinian* perhaps ignorant hereof, and nothing at all considering, *That the mercifull mildnesse of Princes yeeldes alwayes solace to an afflicted State*, by fire and sword made executions more grievous: which the pietie of our forefathers devised as the utmost remedie in adverse fortune, according to that excellent Oratour *Isocrates*, who used alwayes to teach and say, *That otherwhiles a Ruler and Generall vanquished in battaile ought to be pardoned, not knowing how just asking is*: Whence I suppose *Tully* was moved to pronounce this notable sentence, what time as he defended *Oppius*: For so be able (quoth he) to doe much for the saving of another, hath bene honourable to many: so have bene of small abilities to bring another to mischief, hath bene dishonourable to none. A covetous desire to have more and more still, without respect of right or wrong, as also to hunt after divers gaines by the wrecke and overthrow of other mens lives, exceeded in this Prince, and grew hotter every day than other: which some assayed to excuse and make good, pretending the example of the Emperour *Aurelianus*, pretending thus much in his behalfe, that like as he, when the Treasure was emptied after *Gallienus*, and the lamentable calamities of the Commonweale, came violently in manner of a swelling streame upon the rich men; even so this Emperour also after the overthrowes and losses sustained by the Parthicke warre, wanting money to defray his great charges, that the broken bands of the souldiors with fresh supplies might be made up, and contented with pay, joynd with crueltie a greedie desire to heape up an excessive masse of money, making semblance that he knew not thus much, namely, *That there be some things which although they may, yet they ought not to be done*. Farre unlike unto that *Themistocles*, who after the battaile fought with the Persians, and their forces defeated, when as he walked up and downe at his pleasure, he espied a paire of bracelets and a collar all of gold, lying on the ground, *Take up these things* (quoth he, speaking to one of his companie that stood neere unto him) *show that are not Themistocles*: as one that allowed not all manner of lucre in a noble minded captaine. Of like examples in this kind of continencie there is plentifull store among the Roman captaines: but to leave them, because they are not the signes of perfect vertue (for, not to take other mens goods away, is not ywis such a commendable part) I will set downe out of many one onely iure and constant proove of innocencie in this felicitie, even of the common people in the old world. What time as *Adarius* and *Cinna* gave unto the commons of Rome those weaklie and rich floored houses of them that were proscribed for to be rancked, those rude minded commons, and such as were wont to regard worldly pelfe, forbore to ruffle the labours of other men: so as there could not be found any so needie, or of so low condition, who found in his heart to lay hand upon that commoditie and bootie graunted unto them, arising from the wofull fall of any citizens. Moreover, this our Emperour aforesaid, was inwardly tainted and scorched with envie, and knowing as he did, that the most part of vices are wont to carrie a resemblance of vertues, he used evermore to say, *That spight was the companion of vertues, and envie the assaius of disolate power*. And, as commonly those that are placed in high places of honour, are of this mind, That they may doe all things, and bee over forward to traduce their opposites, and to thrust out their betters and superiours, he hated all such as were well clad, were learned, were rich or nobly descended. Those that were valiant he despised and detracted, that he alone might seeme to excell in all good parts: of which

disease we read, that the Emperour *Hadrian* was sore sicke. This selfsame prince found fault many times with those that were timorous, calling such, stained and spotted persons, foule and filthie, yea, and to be made no reckoning of, but to be thrust downe under the base sort of people; whereas himselfe used otherwhiles in abject manner to change colour, & wax pale at vaine feares, & inconsiderately to be affrighted where nothing was to be feared: *Remigius*, master of the Offices, knowing wel ynough, whē he perceived him upon some occurrents in his heats of anger, among other matters would buzze into his eares, that there were some insurrections and commotions among the Barbarians: Which no sooner he heard (for quickly he was daunted with feare) but he became as meeke and calme as *Antoninus Pius*. He never of purpose chose any bad and wicked judges, but after they were promoted once to the place, if he understood that their proceedings were rigorous and extreame, he would make his boast, and say, *He had met with Lycurgi and Cassij, these principall heads of iustice in old time*: and in his letters he exhorted them from time to time sharply to punish even light offences. Neither had poore distressed persons any refuge or succour in the princes gracious goodnesse, which alwayes had beene a desired harbour and haven open to receive those that were tossed in the surging and troubled seas: *For the end of a iust and lawfull rule (as wise men teach us) is thought to be the profit and safetie of the subjects.*

CHAP. XII.

His vertues. The personall presence and feature of his bodie, and his funerall. His sonne Valentinian a child foure yeares old, is admitted to the Empire, and in the absence of Gratian his brother, who afterwards loved and brought him up, styled Augustus.

Requisit it is after all this to come unto his deeds, which to men of a right judgement are to be followed and approved; wherewith if he could have tempered the rest of his doings, he had lived like unto *Traianus* and *Marcus*. Very respectiue he was in sparing the provinciall tributaries; mitigating in all places the heauie burthens of their tributes: a founder in good and convenient time of townes and limits: a singular Censor of militarie discipline; erring onely in this point, That whereas he punished the light escapes and delinquencies of the common souldiors, he suffered the foule faults of great capitaines and leaders to grow to a mightie head; diuers times giving no care, but thicke of hearing, when complaints were made against them: whence it was, that the troubles in Britannie, the losses in Affrick, and the wasting of Illyricum, arose. His bodie he kept cleane and chaste every way both at home and abroad, distained and defiled with the contagion or privity of no foule and filthie demeanour; no wantonnesse or uncleane behaviour was he acquainted with: and for this cause, as it were, with reines and bits he bridled the loose wantonnesse of the court, for that he could easily keepe himselfe chaste. Nothing passed he by graunt unto his neere friends or deere kinsfolke, whom he either kept under in private estate, or else ingenuely aduanced to honours, unless it were his owne brother, whom he took to him (compelled thereto by the freight necessitie of the time) as parent, of his imperiall greatnesse. Very precise and scrupulous he was in bestowing of high offices and dignities: neyther during his raigne was there any banker

that

that had the rule of a province, nor any office sold under him, but at the first entrie into his Empire; as commonly some lewd parts are wont to be committed, in hope of being unknowne through the businesse of the time, or else of escaping with impunity. In making of warres both offensive or defensive, most politicke and warie he was, hardened with the laborious practise of martiall toyle: a passing wise adviser to goodnesse, and as prudent a dissuader from badnesse: most curious and exquisite in marshalling and embartailing his armie: he wrote a faire hand: he painted and cast counterfeits right properly and with a fine grace: he devised also new kinds of armour and weapons: a good memorie he had: and for his speech, readie he was ynough in quicke deliverance; but sildome came his utterance neere unto pleasant eloquence. He loved to have all things neat and trim; taking delight not so much in sumptuous and lavish fare, as in fine and daintie diet. Finally, for this moderate carriage of himselfe during his Empire he was much renowned; and namely, in that among sundrie sorts of religion he stood as one indifferent: neither troubled he any man for his conscience, nor commended either this or that to be observed and kept: he yet with menacing edicts and injunctions forced he his subjects to bow necke and stoupe unto that which himselfe worshipped, but left these points as cleere and untouched as he found them. His bodie was well brawned, musculous & strong, the haire of his head shining bright, the colour of his complexion cleere and faire: he had with his gray eyes a skew cast at all times, and looked sterne. The goodly presence of his stature, together with a due knitting and proportionable making of his bodily lincaments, accomplished the full beautie of a royall maiestie. Well, after the complements and last obsequies performed of this Emperour, and his corpes bestowed in a coffin readie for sepulture, that being sent unto Constantinople, it might be entered among the reliques of other Emperours of sacred memorie, by reason of the instant warre depending, feared it was, what doubtfull and dangerous event thereof would be, by reason of the cohorts serving in Gaule: which being not alwayes devoted to yeeld allegiance unto lawfull princes, as if they were to make and chuse Emperors at their pleasure, were feared, least they would when time serued attempt some innovation: and this was no small helpe to such as aimed at an alteration, that *Gratian* as yet ignorant of that which happened, abode then at Trier, where his father, when he went forth in his expedition, appointed him to remaine. Things standing thus upon these ticklish and streight tearmes, and when all those who being, as it were, embarked in one shippe, were like to take part of the same dangers, if aught should happen, and feared the same troubles, by counsell of the principall officers of State thought good it was and resolved upon, That having plucked the bridge in pieces, which upon necessitie had beene framed and set together before, when invasion was made into the enemies land, *Mero-baudes* by warrant from *Valentinian*, as then living, should immediately bee sent for: and he (as he was a man of quicke note and conceits) supposing that indeed which happened, or instructed peradventure by him who was sent to call him, and suspecting that the souldiors in Gaule would breake the lawes of concord and unitie, fained, that there was a warning word and privity token sent, to returne with him, for guarding and looking to the banks of Rhene, as if the furious rage of the barbarous enemies were broken out afresh: And as he had with advice secretly given him in charge, hee sent farr out of the way

Saba-

Sebastian, who as yet knew not of the Emperours decease, who verily was a quiet and peaceable man, howbeit borne up aloft with the favour of the souldiors, in which regard at that time especially to be dread. When *Merochaudes* therefor was returned, with deepe forecast and providence propounded it was in counsell, That young *Valentinian*, the sonne of the Emperour late departed, a child then of foure yeres old, should be sent for and called to assume the imperiall diademe, who then was an hundred myles of, and remained with his mother *Lustina* in a certaine village called * Murocineta. Which being by a generall accord of all that were in place ratified, *Cerealis* his uncle by the mothers side was sent with all speed, and brought the said child in a litter into the campe. Thus the first day after his fathers death he was lawfully proclaimed Emperour, and in solemne manner styled *Augustus*. And albeit whiles these things were thus in contriving, men thought that *Gratianus* would take it to the heart, That without his permission there should be set up another Emperour, yet afterwards, when the feare and care was past, they lived in more securitie: for that he, a prince both kind and politicke also, loved his *brother exceeding well, and brought him up in all tender affection.

* Murocineta. Correll, who's call it a cure.

* half brother to val, by the fathers side.



THE XXXI. BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Presaging signes and prodigious fights in the East, portending hurt unto Valens. The originall cause of his destruction, and of divers calamities. The nation of the Hunnes exactly described.



MEane while the swift wheele of Fortune making at all times an alternative change of prosperitie and adversitie, armed *Bellona*, together with the Furies, her *associats continually, and brought over sorrowfull events into the East; against the comming whereof, evident presages and strange signes gave true warning. For after many other accidents, which by way of Soothsaying the Prophets and Augures foretold, dogges leaped and frisked when the wolves howled, the night-birds also in groning wile founded forth a moncfull and lamentable note; and the mournfull rising of the Sunne dimmed the cleare light of the morning. Likewise at

his mother's side.

at Antioch, in every brawle and tumultuous fray among the common sort, a by-word was usually taken up, that as any thought himselfe to suffer violence or abuse, he would in licentious manner cry out, *Vivus ardens Valens*, i. *A light fire catch Valens quick*. Besides, the Cryers were heard continually to call and charge, That there should be wood gotten together, for to set on fire the Baine * Valentinum, which the prince himselfe with great desire and diligence had built: all which put together, spake out in manner and plainly shewed, That this kind of death was toward him. Over and above, the pale and dreadfull spectre representing the king of *Theodorus* were put to death, appearing by visions in the night time, and skreaking out certaine horrible and dreadfull verses, disquieted many folke in their sleepe, and put them into terrible frights. A * little Goat was seene after the throat thrust through to lye along dead, the death whereof shewed very great and notorious calamities of publicke funerals. To conclude, as the old walls of Chalcedon were in pulling downe, for to build up a Baine in Constantinople, when the raunge and course of the stone-woke was loosened, upon a foure square stone which lay couched in the middle of the worke, these Greeke verses following were found engraven, opening fully the future events.

*ΑΑΐ σπύλον Νόμισμα δεινότητις ἔσται
Ταυτοῦδε, σπυρίοντος ἡρώδου Ὀδύσει,
Καὶ σπύλον λαοῦ πανόχλου (αὐτοῦ) δόλῳ
Δὲ πῦρ Ὀδύσει πύλας πολυπολεμίας Νεμεῖας
Ἰσὺν καυαλῶντες ὡς πύργου καὶ δόλου,
Καὶ λυθισσὺν ἴδμεν πύργον ἐν Μυρσίᾳ πόλει,
Πάλιν δ' ἰσοπέδῳ οὐκ ἔκλυτον πανόχλου
*Ταυτὴ ἐν σπύλῳ τῷδε ἐν δόλῳ ἡρώδου.

*Trapeus or undecentl functioning left out in the text, and take [Trapeus] for a weapon, to this fence, That time women or living creature of the female sexe having the throat thrust through with a casting dart called Trapeus, was seene &c. And this is the context of Metell. Dmatus.

* αὐτὸν ποτὶς, Hist. 1912.

That is,

*But when new wives and damfels fresh, in daunces that delight,
Shall raunge along the citie-streets, with quirlands gayly dight,
And when the wall with many a grone shall downe, to mound a Baine,
Then shall the Hunnes by multitudes breake forth with might and maine:
By force of armes the winding streame of liſer they shall crosse,
To Scythicke ground and Myſian land working much scene and losse,
They shall borb* Paons horſemen brave, and furious Gaulois ſlay,
Nor but wiſh losse of life and breath, their fight ſhall ever ſlay.*

Now the feedneſſe of all miſchiefe, and the originall of ſundrie calamities, which the furie of *Mars*, by making a confuſion and combuſtion of all, after his wonted manner, firſt raiſed, we find for certaine to have riſen upon this cauſe. The nation of the Hunnes, little or nothing knowne by any ancient records, ſeated along the frozen ſea, beyond the mariſhes of *Maotis*, exceedeth in ſelneſſe and crueltie beyond all meaſure: where (for that their infants cheekes from their very nativitie are deeply gaſhed with a knife, that by reaſon of the rived and wrinkled ſkarres, the yong haire, when it ſhould bud forth in due ſeaſon, might be checked and kept downe) they grow untill they be old all of them beaſtleſſe, without any favour or beautie at all, like unto gualded Eunuches. Generally, their limbs be well knit and ſtrong, and by reaſon of their fat chuffe-necks they are monſtrouſly deformed and *bending in the backe, that a man would take them for two footed brute beaſts; or elſe reſembling thoſe image-like poſts, which in the borders and ſides

*I ſuppoſe by Paons here meant Pannonians, who we now tearme Hungarians, who are thought to have taken this name of the Hunns. As for Paonia, that is a part of Macedonia, it was ſome out of their walke, & not neere the river Danube or liſer. And I find in Authors, Paonia and Pannonia conſuſtly put one for the other.

*hog-backs.

sides of bridges, are ill favouredly hewed and shaped in forme of men. Semblably, in their manner of life, they seeme to be so rude and rough, that they need neither fire nor favourie and seasoned meats, but feed upon the rootesid weeds, and the flesh of any cattell halfe raw, which being thrust betwene their owne thighs and their horses backs, they keepe warme, and give a short heat unto. Never come they under any rooſe, but all houses they no lesse decline than if they were sepulchres standing out of the way and apart from any common use; for there cannot be found among them so much as a cottage thatched over head with reed. But ranging here and there over the mountaines and the woods, they are enured from their verie cradle to endure both hunger and thirst. When they travel abroad into other countries they come into no house but upon exceeding great necessitie: For they do not think themselves secured and safe under any rooſe. They are clad all over in garments made of linnen, or else patched up of wild beaſt skinnes: neither weare they one kind of apparell at home, and another abroad; but come there once over their head a coat of some over-worne colour, it never goes off nor is chaunged, before that with long wearing it be over-rotten and run to ragges and tatters. They cover their heads with hats shooting out and bending forward; and goats skinnes serve for stockings and hose to cover their haire legges: And their shoes not made fit by any last, hinder them for setting their feet forward at libertie, and going at ease. For which cause they are not well appointed for service on foot in the warres: but being locked fast (as it were) to their horsebacks, which are tough and hard (I must needs say) but yet mishaped and ill favoured; and otherwhiles sitting upon them sidelong as women do, they follow and performe their ordinarie businesſes. The fashion is throughout this nation, for everie one sitting still on horsebacke, all night and all day long to buy and sell, to eat and drinke, yea and leaning forward and couching himselfe upon the narrow necke of his horse, to fall sound asleepe untill he have had a sort of sundrie dreames. And in this manner also sit they all in counsell together, consulting deliberately upon serious affaires propoſed. Now, directed they are by no regall authoritie, but contenting themselves with the tumultuarie conduct and leading of their principall Potentates, breake through they do whatsoever stands in their way. Sometime also they maintaine defensive warre, and fight when they be provoked, but they begin bataille by plumps and companies one after another, setting up divers noyses, founding after an hideous manner. And as they are for quicke dispatch of service verie light, and doing all of a sodaine, so also as sodainly for the nonce they disperse themselves and fall a wailing; and then when the battell chargeth full upon them, they ride all abroad, with committing much slaughter: and so neither entring upon the rampier and trench, nor rising their enemies tents, for the most part they decide the quarell. And in this respect a man may well say, they fight like most sharpe and eage warriors: for that a farre off with casting weapons, with sharpe poynted bones in stead of heads, and those fastened and fitted with wondefull cunning, but neere at hand laid here and there with yron and whiles their enemies ward and observe the mischievous venues of their pointed weapons, they entangle and bind them fast within cords that they sling from them, to the end that when their limmes as they make resistance be thus enſnared, they might bereave them of all power either to ride or goe. There is not one among them that eareth the ground, or at any time layeth hand to the plough taylor: For all of them, without any set habitation, without house or home, without

out law or settled order wander here and there, like alwayes to those that are in flight, together with their wagons in which they dwell. Wherein also the wives weare garments of haire wooll, and lye with their husbands. Aske any among them, Where he was borne, there is not one of them can directly answer, as being in one place begotten, borne in another farre off, and brought up yet farther. In truce-time treacherous and unfaithfull, inconstant, upon everie gale of rumor ready to rise, and upon new hopes passing mutable; in one word, putting all upon the issue of most violent furie: Like unto inconsiderate and unreasonable creatures, utterly ignorant of what is honest or dishonest: doubtfull, double, and darke in their speeches. Awed at no time with reverent regard either of religion or superstition: burning exceedingly in greedie desire of gold. So variable and prone to anger, that in one and the same day, at severall howers they will many times revolt from their allies, without any quarell and provocation; and in like sort be pleased, reconciled, and become friends againe without the mediation of any to mitigate their mood. This kind of men so quicke and nimble, so untamed and unreclaimable, burning in monstrous desire to rob and spoyle forrainers, after they had by spoyle and slaughter of the neighbour inhabitants made foule worke and havock, went on as farre as to Achaia.

CHAP. II.

The Massagets, Nauri, Vidini, Geloni, Agathyrsi, Melanchlenae, Anthrophagi, and Alani, who they were, and their manners.



OW remaine the *Massagets, who whence they are descended, or what lands they doe inhabit (because the course of our storie is devolved upon them) meet it is to declare. The ambiguous Geographicall description being shewed, which a long time many and sundrie found out at length the inward secrets of the truth After flowing with a bigge streame of strange waters running into him, passeth by the *Sauromate, reaching as farre as to the river Tanais, which boundeth Asia from Europe. When you have crossed over it, there inhabit the desert wildes of *Scythia (stretched out an infinit way) the *Alani (so called after the name of the mountaines) and having by little and little in many victories vanquished the nations bordering upon them, brought them at length to be edenized and naturalized in their owne name, like as the Persians also did. Among these the Nauri possesse the mid-land places, dwelling neere unto those high topped hills, which being steepe up-right, and frozen all over, are subject to the nipping *North-east wind. Beyond them are the Vidini and Geloni, verie fierce and savage nations: these use to flea off the skinnes of those enemies whom they have slaine, and thereof make for themselves garments, and for their horses caparisons: a warlike people I assure you. Confining with the Geloni are the Agathyrsi, the skinnes of whose bodies, also their haire, is speckled all over with blew coloured spots. And verily the manner sort have markes of that kind, small and standing here and there thin: but the noble men and gentrie, broader, with a colour set upon them, and thicker one by another. Next beyond these, we have heard that the Melanchlenae and Anthrophagi dwell scattering in divers places: these use to live by eating the flesh of men and womens bodies, whom all the borders forsooke for this abominable feeding,

*or conceived.

*Chasidae, Lernei, Abasidae, Therui.

*Russians and Tartarians, Ornel.
*Cassian and Tataria, Ornel.
*Thales of Licca, 10, 11, 12, 13.

*Agathyrsi, or Naurians.

feeding, and went farre from them into the remote parts of the land. And therefore the whole tract that lyeth North-east untill you come unto the Seres, is become inhabitable. In another quarter neere unto the place where the Amazons are seated, dwell the Alani mounting East-ward, and those be spread into mightie and great nations, bending and bearing toward the tracts of Asia: which people (as I have heard) stretch out in breadth as farre as to ^{*Ganges, Caspian, Merced, Qualges, Tereus,} Ganges, a river that cutteth the Indian land through the mids, and carryeth his streame into the South sea. And there the Alani being divided into both parts of the world (the sundrie nations of which people it skilleth not now to reckon up) albeit they keepe a great way asunder, and wander like unto the Nomades, in those enoime and huge cantons, yet in proceffe of time they grew into one name, and generally they be all termed Alani. In their manners, custome and meanes of savage living they be in manner all one. For they have no cottages at all, nor any care to handle the plough, but live of flesh and plentie of milke, sitting upon ^{*or cars.} waines, which being made of the bended covers of barks they carrie with them along the desert wilderness, that holdeth on still without end. And when they are come to any places of Greene grass, placing their carres in a round forme, they fall to their vituals, and feed as wild beasts doe: Now when their food and forrage is spent, they cary (as one wold say) whole cities upon those carts: and above in them their males and females engender together: in these are borne their infants, in these they have their breeding and education. These and no other have they for their habitations continually, and whither soever they goe, there they take to be their native dwelling and home stall. As they drive their herds and flocks before them, they let them have their pasturage; but especially of their horses they have an extraordinary care. The fields there be evermore Greene and full of grasse, with places here and there betwene set thicke with trees bearing apples and other fruit: and therefore what way soever they goe, they are at no default either for food or fodder: the reason hereof is the moist ground, and the courses of many rivers running hard by. All those therefore that for age or sex be not serviceable in the warres, keepe about the verie wagons or carts aforesaid, and are busied in easie kind of worke: but the lustie youth, that have growne up from their verie childhood in the practise of riding, thinke it a base thing to goe on foot: and they be all for militarie knowledge expert and politique warriours. Whereupon the Persians also, who by their first originall are Scythians, be most skillfull fouldiors. Now the Alani in manner all be tall of stature, and faire of complexion, their haire meetly yellow, with the cast of their eyes, that yeeld a temperat sternesse, terrible, and by reason of their light armour swift and nimble. Equall and futable to the Hunnes in all respects, save that in their feeding and apparell more civile they be than they in swimming and hunting, ranging over the countries as farre as to the meeres of Mæotis, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, Armenia likewise and Media. And like as quiet and peaceable men take pleasure in rest and ease, so delight they in dangers and warres. Happie is that man reputed there, who in battaile hath lost his life: For such as dye by age and other accidental death, they revile and reproach with bitter taunts, as base and cowardly. Neither is there any thing that they glorie and vaunt more of, than the killing of some man or other. And in stead of glorious spoyle, when they have slaine any, off go their heads: the skinnes they flea and use them in stead of trappings for their great horses of service. There is not a temple or chappell to be seene among them,

nor

nor a shrines; nay, a man shall not see there so much as a cottage thatched over head with straw. But after a barbarous rite and ceremonie, there is a naked sword sticking fast in the ground, and the same in lieu of Mars the President and Prelate of those countries which they range about, they adore with much devotion. A wonderfull device they have to presage and foreknow things by: For the women gathering the straightest wands and rods they can get, and looking wistly upon them, at a fore-set time (and with certain secret charms and enchaunments) know evidently what is imported. All of them, as descended of gentle blood, in times past knew not what servitude meant. And even at this day, they chuse those for their Iudges and Rulers, who for their long practise and experience in the warres, be of approved worth. But now returne we to that which remaineth of our intended historie.

CHAP. III.

Sundrie nations of the Gothes, through the puissance of the Hunnes partly vanquished and driven out of their native habitations, and partly smitten with feare, having seized the bankes of Danubius, crave ayd of Valens, and quiet habitation.



Ell then, the Hunnes after they had over-run the countries of the Alani (who confining upon the Geuthungi, are by custome called Tanaitæ) and both slaine and spoyle many, upon a faithfull covenant of concord and unitie, joynd in league and confederacie with the rest: and thus presuming more confidently upon their association, they boldly and with sodaine violence brake into the goodly large and plenteous territories of Ermenrichus, a most warlike king, and for his many and sundrie valiant exploits dread unto the neighbouring inhabitants. Who being stricken with the force of this unexpected storme, although he held out a long time, as one resolved and able to abide, yet considering there went a brute commonly abroad, that made the terror of imminent calamities more and more still, the feare of so great dangers he quieted and ended with voluntarie death: after whose decesse *Vishimiris* created king, withstood for a while the Alani, as trusting upon the ayd of other Hunnes whom for money he had waged to side with him. But after many overthrowes and losses which he sustained, his fortune was by fine force to be vanquished in the field, and there to end his life. The charge of whole little sonne named *Viderichus*, *Alathus* and *Saphrax*, experienced captaines, and for their valiant and trustie hearts well knowne, undertooke as guardians and protectors. Who being prevented by the straitnesse of time, when they had cast from them all hope and confidence of resistance, departed and came to the river Danastus, which runneth a great way along the champion fields, betwene Ister and Broythenes. Then *Athanaricus* the Iudge and Ruler of the Theringi (against whom, as hath beene sayd before, Valens a good while since had bent his forces, for sending aid unto *Procopius*) advertised how these occurrences fell out otherwise than it was hoped and looked for, assayed to make good his ground and to stand upon his guard, readie to rise up in armes, in case he also the rest were put to it and provoked. In conclusion, when he had commodiously encamped

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his

his forces within a rampier nere unto the banks of the river Danastus (and the same extended along the vale Vngorius) he sent *Munderichus*, Lord Warden of the Marches afterward in Arabia, together with *Lagarmanus*, and other noble personages, twentie myles off, to lye in espiall, and to discover the enemies comming, whiles himselfe in the meane time, without the molestation of any man, raunged his armie in bataille ray. But it fell out farre otherwise than he thought it would. For the Hunni (as they are a people in their conjectures quicke and wittie) suspecting there was some great multitude of enemies lying farther off, letting them alone whom they saw, and who, because no man stood in their way, betooke themselves to their quiet rest, so soone as the Moone shewed her selfe, and dispatched the darkenesse of the night, passed over the river at a fould, and chose that piece of service which made most for their behcofe. But fearing least some fore-running discoverer might skare those that kept aloofe, they made what speed they could, and directly advanched against *Athanarius* himselfe. Who being amazed at the first brunt and impression, after he had lost some of his men, was constrained by the enemies to make all the hast he could, for his succour, to the high mountaines. Upon this strange accident, and for feare of some greater mischief to ensue, he was put to his troupes: And so from the edge of the mountaine *Gerazus* unto *Danubius*, passing along the territories of the Taifali, he erected wals higher than ordinarie; and with speedie diligence having furnished the battlements and cope thereof, he thought thereby to provide the better for his securitie and safetie. And whiles the worke went up with effectuell diligence, the Hunnes made quicke speed after him: and now had they at their suddaine comming surprised him, but that loaden with the heavey burthen of their booties, they gave over their pursuit. But when the fame was spread all abroad over the rest of the Gothicke nations, That a strange and unknowne kind of people before time, now rushing in violently as a whirlwind from the high mountaines, had risen from out of a secret nouke, was readie to ruinate and destroy all before them, the greater part of the multitude, which for want of necessities had forsaken *Athanarius*, fought to plant themselves in some place far remote from the knowledge of the Barbarians. And deliberating a long time with themselves, What seat to chuse, they thought that Thracia was a meet countrey to receive and entertaine them, and that for two reasons, both for that it is a most fruitfull soyle, and also because by the large streames of the river Ister it is severed from the lands that now lye open to the thunder-claps and flashes of forraine warre. This selfe same course also the rest, as it were, in one common consent, thought upon. And therefore under the conduct of *Alavus* their leader they possessed themselves of the banks of Donaw: and sending their Oratours unto *Valens*, craved in humble manner to be received, promising to live peaceably, and to send aid, if he would require it.

*Pruth, Merctor,
Pruhes, Gortechow

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

Parts of Thracia are granted unto infinite troupes of the Gothes to be inhabited.



Hiles things goe thus in the forraine parts, fearefull rumours ran all abroad over the countrey, as farre as lyeth along from the Marcomanni and the Quadi unto Pontus, That the Northerne people rayled new tumults and made greater troubles than ordinarie, and namely, That a barbarous multitude of obscure and hidden nations, disseiled by suddaine violence of their owne seats and habitations, wandered together with their wives and children about the river Ister. Which newes at the very first were by our men carelessly received as a matter of no importance, for this cause, That in those tracts the nations being so farre off, were not wont to heare of any warres, before they were either finished or appealed. But when the true relation of these tidings became now ripe, whereunto was added a rumor of the comming of those Gentile embassadours, who by prayer and humble entreatie made petition, That a people sitting from out of their native countrey, should be entertained about the river, it was thought a matter rather of mirth and joy than feare; whiles cunning and skilfull flatterers extolling the Emperours fortune very high, gave out, That from the farthest lands of the earth the Thracians offered unto him, before he looked for so much, so many yong trained souldiors, that when his owne power and foraine forces were gathered all together, he might have an invincible armie, and for the supplie of souldiors which was yerely levied and sent, what from one province, and what from another, there might accrue unto his coffers a great masse and heape of gold. And upon this persuasion divers were sent out, to convey over by waggon this fell and cruell nation: and great diligence was used, that of them (who should another day overthrow the Roman Emperour) there might not be left behind so much as one, though he were deadly sicke. And so by the Emperours permission having leave graunted unto them to passe over Donaw, and to inhabit the parts of Thracia, night and day they were ferried and transported over, embarked by companies in ships, in floats and hollowed trunks of trees. And whiles some of them, in that river of all others most dangerous, and as then grown bigger & higher by reason of much raine which had fallen, because they were so thicke pent and thrust together, strived against the current and streame of the water, and endeavored to swim, a number of them were drowned. Thus in a turbulent and tumultuous heat of such as were very urgent to have the thing done, was the very bane and mischief of the Romane world brought over. And as for this one thing, it is neither unknowne nor doubtfull, that the unfortunate ministers which helpe to transport this barbarous people, when they assayed many times to cast with counters, and comprise the full number of them, missed of their purpose, and were faine to give over.

Which number in it who faine would know,
He may desire as well,
The sands, while Western wind doth blow,
In Libye sea to sell.

As sayth that most iotic and excellent * Poet.

* Virgil.

Now

*through the
mountaine Athos.

Now may the ancient Records and Histories at length favour of truth, reporting how the armie of the Medes was led into Greece: which long agoe taking up all Helleſpont, and by a certaine artificiall * partition made by mans hand, for the ſea to paſſe betwene, where at the hill foot the ſaid armie was ſet a land; as alſo the ſurvey and review of the ſaid hoſt by troupes and ſquadrons, taken at Doniſcus, by the generall conſent of all poſteritie hath bene read as fabulons. For ſeeing that infinite multitudes of people ſpread throughout the provinces, and displaying themſelves all over the large plaines and champian countries, replenished whole regions and all the mountaine tops and ridges, by ſo freſh a prooſe and argument as this, the truth alſo and credit of antiquitie is confirmed and averred. Well, the fiſt that had entertainment, were *Friugernus* and *Alavivus* together, for whom the Emperour appointed victuals for the preſent, and graunt of lands to be tilled and husbanded hereafter.

CHAP. V.

The avarice and moſt cruell pride of ſome Praefetts or Rulers of Thracia. Alſo the wicked trecherie and bloudie butcherie of Lupicinus, drive the Gothes to take armes, for to warre upon the Romanes.



At the ſame time, when our limits lying now common and open without barres (whiles a barbarous nation diſplayed whole troupes and hoſts of armed men as thicke as the hote ſparkes that ſyde from the mountaine Aetna) required in theſe hard points and extremities of neceſſitie to have for the managing and direction of militarie affaires ſome ſuch perſons, as for their brave and noble exploits were moſt renowned, there were ſought out and gotten together (as if ſome adverſe and unluckie deſtie made the choiſe) noted men, and diſtained with infamie, to have the chiefe rule in campe, and manage warfare: among whom, *Lupicinus* and *Maximus* bare the greateſt ſtroke; the one of them Lieutenant in Thracia, the other a moſt miſchievous Warden of the Marches, but both of them ſtriving who ſhould goe beyond the other in headie raſhneſſe: whoſe greedie covetouſneſſe lying ever in the wind for cheats, was the very matter and cauſe of all evils and miſeries. For to let all other particulars paſſe, wherein theſe ſaid rulers themſelves, or at leaſt wiſe others with their permiſſion, by naughtie and wicked meanes treſpaſſed againſt theſe ſtrangers at their fiſt comming in, who as yet were harmeleſſe and innocent) this one odious and unexampled fact of theirs I will not faile to tell: which if it were to be heard even before Iudges in their owne caſe, could not by any meanes paſſe cleere and bee pardoned. When this barbarous people thus brought over, was fore diſtreſſed for want of victuals; theſe two moſt hatefull Governors deviſed a foule and diſhoneſt kind of commerce and marchandie. For, looke what number and ſtore of dogs their unſatiable greedineſſe could get together from all parts, they exchanged for ſo many ſlaves, that their chiefe perſons and nobles brought. In this mean while alſo, *Alarich* king of the Greuthungi, accompanied with *Alarhem* and *Aphrades*, by whoſe direction and will he was wholly ruled, as alſo with *Farnabius*, approaching the banks of Iſter, ſent his embaiſſadors with all ſpeed, and beſought the Emperour, That he might be received with like courteſie. Which

Which embaiſſadors, according as it was thought expedient for the Common-wealth, being rejected, and ſtanding doubtfull what courſe to take, *Aſhanaricus* beginning ſomewhat to feare, departed; remembering well, how a good while ſince, at a treatie of concord upon covenants to be concluded, he had deſpised *Valens*, and avouched, That he was obliged in conſcience, never to tread upon Romane ground, and for this cauſe compelled the ſaid Emperour to make that peace in the middeſt of the river: which notwithstanding he fearing withall, as ſtanding yet in force, he declined aſide with all his people to Caucalandenſis, a place by reaſon of high woods and woods inacceſſible, out of which the Sarmatians had bene thruſt. But the Thervingi, permitted long before to paſſe over, wandered even then neere unto the banks, impeached with a two-fold incumbrance, for that through the wicked diſſimulation of the ſaid rulers, they were not ſuccoured with neceſſaries meet for their living, and of ſet purpoſe tied to an entercoure of commerce and traffique, which was horrible and wicked. Which being well and deeply conſidered, they diſſimuled their turning to trecherie, which was the helpe of their urgent miſeries neere at hand: and *Lupicinus* fearing alſo very much, leaſt ſhortly they would revolt and rebell, advanced cloſe unto them with his forces, and conſtrained them quickly to take their journey and be gone. The Greuthungi having gotten this good opportunitie, when they perceived, that whiles our ſouldiors were elſewhere employed, the ſhips which uſed for the hinderance of their paſſage to ſkud up and downe the river, were quiet and at reſt, by the meanes of certaine ſtores and punts ill favouredly made and ſet together, made ſhift to be tranſported, and encamped themſelves a great way from *Friugernus*. But he in a wittie forecaſt, which naturally he had, preventing what future chaunces might beſide, to the end that he might both obey the ſoveraigne commandements, and alſo combine with puiſſant kings, marching very ſlowly, came by eaſie journeyes at length (late though it was) to Martiropolis: where, to helpe the matter, there was practiſed another more horrible deſignment, which kindled and ſet on a light fire the torches of the Furies, readie to burne out, even to the miſchiefe and deſtruction of the State. *Lupicinus* having entreated *Alavivus* and *Friugernus* unto a feaſt, upon intelligence given by a ſecret meſſenger, with a regiment of ſouldiors repelled farre from the towne walls the barbarous multitude, who as ſubjects to our dominion, and continuing in peace and unitie with us, by way of requeſt continually from time to time deſired to enter in, ſo to provide themſelves of victuals and other neceſſaries. Now, after greater broyles and quarrels riſen betwene the inhabitants within, and thoſe that were thus debared, they grew at length to this, that of neceſſitie they muſt make a fray and fight. The Barbarians perceiving their friends and kinſfolke in hoſtile manner to be ſpoyled, grew more enraged herewith, ſell upon the ſaid ſouldiors, ſlew and riſed them. Which occurrents the ſaid *Lupicinus* by a privie meſſenger being advertiſed of, whiles ſitting long at a riotous table, amid many ſports and paſtimes, wherewith the roome reſounded, with much drinking wine, he grew heavie headed and drowfie, and gueſſing what the future iſſue would be, ſlew all them of the guard, who before the Prætorium or Palace-gate, as well for honour as ſafety, waited and attended upon their leaders. Which the people without, who now beſieged the walls, taking grievouſly, growing by little and little to a greater head, in revenge of their princes, whom they ſuppoſed to be detained, threatened to doe I wot not how many ſhrewd diſpleaſures. And *Friugernus*, as he

he was a prince politique and of quicke conceit, fearing least he with the rest should be kept still as hostages, cried out, That there would be another conflict with greater mischief and slaughter, unless himselfe together with his associates might be suffered to goe forth, for to appease the common sort, which imagining that under a pretense of courtesie their leaders were slaine, grew verie fierce and readie to make a tumult. This being graunted, they all went out, and being received with applause and great joy, mounted on horsebacke and galloped away, minding to set on foot many and fundrie infigations to warre.

CHAP. VI.

Lupicinus in a rash braid encountering the Gothes, after the losse of his Tribunes and many souldiers, flyeth. An hystorically narration of Marcellinus, as touching these forraine and new upstart nations, which in former ages grievously afflicted sundrie parts of the world.



When Fame the shrewd nourse of rumors, had dispersed these news abroad, the whole nation of the Thuringi was enflamed with an hot desire to fight; and so among many fearefull overtures and fore-running presumptions of the greater daungers, when the banners after their manner were set up on high, and the dolefull sound of trumpets heard, out went in rodes straightwayes whole troupes of robbers and brigands, spoyling and firing villages, waiting also and making havocke of whatsoever they could meet. Against whom *Lupicinus*, having in tumultuarie hast assembled his souldiers, more rashly than advicedly, went forth, and nine miles from the citie stood readie to trye it out by bataille. The Barbarians also when they perceived so much, brake violently upon the companies of our men at unwares, and with their targets before their bodies, pressing hard upon them, as many as stood in their way with their speares and swords they ran through. And in this bloudie rage both Tribunes and the most part also of the armed souldiers were slaine and lost their ensignes: onely the unfortunate Generall, who minding nothing else but this, that whiles others were fighting, he might save himselfe by flying, hyed as fast as he could to the citie. After this, the enemies clad in the Romans armor, made foule worke in sundrie places, and no man gave them the checke. And for as much, as after manifold and divers acts, we are come to these parts, our heartie desire is to those (if ever there will be any) who shall read this storie, that none of them would precisely require at our hands every thing in particular that was done, nor the just number of such as were slaine, which indeed could in no sort be comprised. For it shall be sufficient, without masking the truth under any lye, to digest and set in order the verie principall points onely of all occurrents, considering that to the unfolding and laying abroad the records of each thing, requirer it is there should be in everie place a faithfull and sincere relation. Those that be ignorant in ancient records deny, that the Commonwealth was ever at any time overcast with so great mists of calamities: but astonished as they be now with the beholding of late and fresh miseries, they are deceived. For, if they revolve either the former, or these late fore-going ages, they plainly shew, that the like and as woofull troubles of the State have oftentimes happened. The *Teutons together with

* Ostrothi, or
Dacians.

with the *Cimbri sodainly from out of the hidden parts of the Ocean overflow. *Hindlers. But after exceeding and infinit mischiefs inflicted upon the Roman State, in the last bataille vanquished by our most noble and renowned captaines, and quite rooted out, they learned with their uttermost perils, what martiall valour proceeding from the habite of wisedome and policie is able to doe. Semblably in the dayes of *Marcus* the Emperour, a raging rabble of fundrie and different nations banding themselves together, after exceeding great frights of horrible warres, after many a citie won, sacked and rased downe to the ground had like to have left but small parcels of them untouched and whole. But within a while, after these woofull losses and calamities, the State was set upright againe, by reason onely of this, that the sober auncient world in those dayes, not yet infected with loose riot and wantonnesse, gaped neither after sumptuous and costly fare, nor wicked and detestable games, but in an uniforme and joynt affection, the highest and lowest agreeing together in defence of Commonweale, hastened as it were, unto some calme haven and quiet harbour, to dye a glorious and honourable death. With a fleet of two thousand sayle the Scythian nations in great numbers, having with breaking through Bosphorus and the coasts of Propontus passed over, made great havocke, and wrought much mischiefe, I must needs say, both by sea and land: but yet when they had lost the greatest part of their people, returned backe. There dyed in fight with the Barbarians, the Emperours *Decy*, both the father and the sonne. The cities of Pamphylia were besieged, many islands harried and wasted, Macedonia set on a flaming fire, and the whole multitude of them beleagured a long time *Thessalonica, and Cyzicum likewise. *Anchialos was won, and at the same time *Nicopolis, which the Emperour *Trajan* in token of victorie against the Daci, built. After many and cruell overthrowes given and taken reciprocally, *Philippopolis was destroyed, and (unlesse the *Annales* doelye) an hundred thousand men were put to the sword within the walles thereof. Also forraine enemies ranged at their pleasure throughout *Epirus, Thessalie, and all *Greece. But after that *Claudius, that noble and renowned leader, was assumed to be Emperour, and the selfe same Prince untimely taken away by an honourable death, discomfited & expelled they were by *Aurelianus* a valiant man, and a most severe revenger of harms and damages done: whereby they became quiet and stirred not for a long time, unlesse it were, that afterward certaine routs of robbing brigands made hot incurfions (but to their owne destruction) into the territories neere adjoining. But now go forward I will in that traine of historie from which I have digressed.

* Salonicki.
* Anchialos, Sophia.
* Kenkisi, Africa.
* Nicopolis, or
Nigropolis.

* Philippopoli.

* Albanis, Lembi.
* Bursula, or Romanis.

CHAP. VII.

Other petie Princes and nations of the Gothes, commaunded to passe over into Hellespontus, and wrongfully misused, ioyned with others that were already armed, and afterwards west and spoyle Thracia.



He whole course of these acts being carryed all abroad and divulged, by messengers comming thicke one after another, *Sueridus* and *Colias*, Princes of the Gothes, who with their people long before were entertained and set to looke unto the wintering harbours at *Hadrianopolis, regarding their owne lives and safetie above all things in the world, beheld all

* Hadrianopolis.

with quiet and peaceable minds. But upon the Emperours letters which sodainly were brought unto them, whereby they were commaunded to passe over into Hellepontus, they required without any swelling humour of pride, to have their warfare money, meat, and two dayes respite allowed them [of the citie.] Which the head magistrat of the citie, taking not well, and picking a quarell thereat (for displeased he was and angrie with them about some spoyle and waft made in a countrey house of his not farre from the citie) made no more adoe, but brought forth all the commons together with the artizans and craftsmen, of whom there is a mightie multitude there, and them he armed to their utter confusion: and so commaunding the trumpets to sound the battaile, unlesse they went their wayes the sooner (as it was decreed) he threatned them all with the utmost perill of death. The Gothes fore troubled with this unexpected adversitie, and affrighted with the citizens, more hastie ywis than considerat) pressing upon them, stood still and mooved not. But at length when they had beene rayled at, reviled and cursed at their hands, yea and assailed otherwhiles with some few casting darts launched at them, they brake forth into open defiance, and professed rebellion. And thus, when they had slaine a great number of the citizens, whom their over-malapert violence had deceived, and put the rest to rout, and wounded them with sundrie kinds of weapons, after they had disarmed and spoyled the dead bodies, and put themselves into Roman amour, they espied *Fringernus* neere at hand, and joynd themselves unto him, as duetifull and obeisant allies, and so distressed the citie, now shut up, with those troubles and miseries that follow siege. In which difficultie of daungerous service, being a long time employed, they ran on head everie where, and without all respect. Some of them, who were more bold and adventurous than their fellows, perished without revenge, yea and many with shot of arrowes and discharging of stones out of slings, lost their lives. Then *Fringernus*, considering that men unskifull in sieges and assaults, wrestled in vaine with so many misfortunes and losses, leaving there a sufficient power, advised them to depart and leave their businesse undone, saying, That he was at peace with bare walls, and perswading them that they would set in hand without endangering their lives, to spoyle the rich and plentifull countries, as wherein as yet there were no garrisons to empeach them. Then they commending highly the kings counsell, whom they knew would be an effectuall partaker with them in these projects and designs, disposing themselves into everie quarter and coast of Thracia, marched warily, having those that either yeilded or were taken prisoners, to shew them pteuous townes, and such especially, wherein, by their saying, might bee found great store of victuals: and beside an inbred courage and boldnesse of their owne, which set them on, this principall helpe they had to put them forward, in that there confowed daily unto them a multitude out of the same nation, such as of late had bene sold by marchants, with a number of others flocking stil unto them, whom at their first coming over, those that were pined and starved for hunger, had exchanged for some course or small wine, and peeces of broken bread. There came also unto them for to encrease their companie, many that were expert in following after the veines of gold in mynes, not able any longer to endure the heavic burdens and taxations laid upon them of impost and customes. And being with the willing consent of all gladly received, they stood them in verie good stead as they passed through unknowne places, shewing unto them where were the hidden gamens of corne, the privie lurking places and secret receipts of the people, and by

by the guidance and direction of the same men there remained not untouched and unassailed any thing, unlesse it were inaccessible and unpassable. For without difference made of age or sex, with fire and sword all went to wracke: the yong babes sucking at the breast, were pulled away and killed: their mothers were ravished, and wives likewise made widowes, and bereft of their husbands, slaine before their faces: the striplings and well growne boyes were haled and traileed along the dead carcases of their parents: in summe, many old folke crying out that they had lived their fill, after losse of their goods, together with beautifull women, with their hands writhed and pinioned behind their backs, when they had bewayled the embers and ashes of their native habitations, were led away perforce out of their owne countrey.

CHAP. VIII.

Valens distracted with manifold cares, sendeth an armie into Thracia. The Gothes and the Romans strike a battaile. The victorie not without sweat, blood, and tears, falleth to the Romans.



Hese newes out of Thracia, *Valens* the Emperour hearing with much griefe and sorrow of heart was distracted into divers and sundrie cares. And immediately sending *Vitor* Generall of the Cavallerie into Persia, there to compound and conclude as touching the state of Armenia, according as these imminent occasions and troubles did require, himselfe readie forthwith to depart out of Antioch, that he might in the meane time goe to Constantinople, sent *Prospus* and *Traianus* before. Both of them were great Rulers and Cammaunders, who verily reached at brave and noble exploits, but were unskifull in feats of arms. Who when they were come to the places where this multitude of enemies should have beene cut off and diminished by peecemele, by way of stealth and robbetrie rather than otherwise, wholly before it was full time, bending themselves to that course which was dangerous and pernicious, oppose against the Barbarians whiles they were yet in their hot blood and furious mood; the legion brought out of Armenia, which verily in martiall services had oftentimes beene well tryed and approved, but not able to match so infinit a number of people that overspread both high hills and deepe dales. These companies and bands, I say, having not as yet experience what untamed rage, joynd with desperatenesse, is able to doe, when they had driven the enemy beyond the cloven and broken cliffs of the mountaine *Hemus*, beset themselves in the steepe passages and gulleets, partly that the Barbarians enclosed within those places without end, might with long famine be consumed; and partly that themselves might attend *Frigeridus* Warden of the Marches, who with the aids of the Pannonian and Transalpine souldiers was comming: and whom at the request of *Valens*, *Gratianus* appointed to go into the field for to succour and helpe those that were sore distressed and driven to extremities. After whom, *Rikimeres* then capitaine of the Domesticke, by commaundement of the said *Gratian* removing out of Gaule, hastened into Thracia, having in name onely the conduct of certaine cohorts: of whom the most part forsooke their colours and went from him (as some gave it out) through the persuation of *Aerobaudes*, who feared lest Gaule being left destitute of the moanes of defence, should be ravished, now that the enemies in their pleasure had broken through the barre of Rhene. But by occasion that *Frigeridus* was slayed with the goot, or else (as some malicious

backbiters falsely devised) fained himselfe sick, because he would not be at any hot service and dangerous skirmishes. *Rhicomeres* by a general consent having the regiment of all the forces, joyned with *Proflavus* and *Traianus* as they were marching along neere unto the towne Salices. From whence not faine off, an inestimable number of the Barbarians having orderly placed a multitude of waimes and cars round in manner of a circle, enclosed apart, as it were, within a circuit of wals, tooke their ease and solaced themselves with the rich booties they had taken. The Roman captaines then by the good guidance of beret hopes (in case fortune afforded the oportunitie) meaning to adventure upon some glorious exploit, wittily observed, what the Gothes intended to do, forecasting this especially, That if they dislodged and removed their campe to another place (which they used very often) they might with confidence set upon the backs of the hinmost, gore a number of the through, and turne away a great part of their spoiles. The enemies perceiving this, or else having intelligence given thereof by the fugitives (by whose meanes nothing was so secretly done, but they knew of it) abode in the same place a long time. But struck with feare of the armie that was abroad, and of other forces which they feared were at hand to joyne with them, by vertue of a watchword given after their countrey maner, they sent for their wast-making companies, which were spred in divers parts neere by, and of every great captaine and commander among them well accepted: and so forthwith having made light fires at the Carrago (for so they tearme it themselves) returning with passing great celeritie, they incensed and incited still their countrey men to attempt greater matters. After this, there was no intermission betweene both sides, more than short truce. For when those were returned, whom upon necessitie they had called forth, the whole multitude thrust together still within the compasse of the inclosure aforesaid, keeping an horrible noyse, and set upon a furious and mad mood, hastened in a fell and cruell gale to trie the utmost hazard of battaile; neither were the princes of their nation there present against it. And for that these matters thus passed, when the Sun was going downe, and the night so fast drawing on, stayed them against their wils and with heave hearts to go to rest, after they had taken their meat as their leisure would serve, they remained without sleep. On the other side, the Romanes having intelligence hereof, continuing also watchfull themselves, feared the enemies and their brain sicke leaders, as if they had bin so many enraged wild beasts, howbeit, with undaunted hearts they expected, that the event, although doubtful and dangerous (by reason they were in number much inferior) would yet prove fortunat on their side, in regard of their more just and righteous cause. So, at the very later end of the day, upon the signall of the alarme sounded by the trumpets on both parts, the Barbarians after they had, as their manner is, sworne one unto another, assayed to gain the hillie places, to the end, that so thence downe the hill they might with greater violence like wheelies over-run and tumble downe before them all that were in their way. Our souldiers seeing this, made hast every man to his own colours and companies, and so standing their ground neither raunged abroad, nor leaving their ranks, ran out of the array for to skirmish. When as therefore the armies thus embattailed on both sides, marched on warily and came at length to stand still, the warriers with grim looks and waverie cast of eye beheld wittily one another. And the Romanes verily setting up a martiall note on all sides, which used to begin low, and so rise higher and higher, a noyse, that by a peculiar tearme they call *Barium*, plucked up their valiant hearts and strengths, yet that but the Barbarians with untimble cries and shous creaked forth the praises of their ancestors:

cestors: and thus among sundry words passing betweene of dissonant noyse, began the lighter skirmishes. And now, when they had above assailed one another on both sides with louped darts and such like casting-weapons, they came together in menacing wise to close fight and hand strokes, and couching their shields in forme of a rouse over their heads, they set foot to foot and maintained the medley. The Barbarians, as who were alwaies repaired with fresh supplies and nimble withall, hurling at our men huge clubs, parched and hardened in the fire, and fiercely foining with point of sword full upon the breasts of those that stood against them, brake through the left wing; which being readie to recule and go downe, a right strong and hardie regiment which lay for supply, rising valiantly from a side hard by, when as the ^{*of the forest} cohort now was hard at their neckes, succoured and supported againe. When as the fight therefore grew exceeding sharpe and hot, with much slaughter & bloudshed, every one who was more readie to rush upon the thickest of the enemies, whiles on all sides swords swathed and darts flew as thicke as haile, lost his life: and the horsemen followed both on the one side and the other, with strong arme slashing those that fled in the necke & backe: likewise on both parts the footmen hewed the houx or hamstrings of as many as slipped away or lagged behind for feare. And whereas every place was full of slaine bodies, some there were that lay among them halfe dead and halfe alive, feeding themselves with a vaine hope of life. Some were shot with bullets throwne out of slings, others with reeds or arrowes headed with yron: the heads of some cloven with the sword through the middest of the forehead and crowne, hung down with great horror on both shoulders. And both sides not wearied as yet with tough fighting, plagued one another indifferently, and sped alike: neither was there one that slackt one jot his owne naturall vigor of bodie, so long as his courageous heart served him to stirre up his strength. Howbeit, as bloudie & mortall as this conflict was, it ended with the day: and when as many as could any waies make shift departed in disorder, the rest every one recovered their tents again, heavily appayed. To conclude, when as some honourable personages among the dead were entered as place and time would give leave, the bodies of the slain that remained, the cursed fowles of the ayre devoured, such as were wont at that time to feed upon carcases, as appeareth by the fields, all over white with bones, at this day. Howbeit for certaine it is knowne, That the Romanes, fewer saine in number, having encountered with that huge multitude, and abidden many deadly dangers, yet not without wofull & lamentable calamities soiled the barbarous people. These chances of battaile thus piteously ended, our men went to the next retiring places of Marianopolis, and the Gothes thrift & pent of their owne accord within the foresaid circuit & precinct of their wagons, never durst for seven daies together go forth or be seene: and therefore our souldiers taking the advantage of this opportunitie, inclosed an infinit sort of other Barbarians within the straits of *Hemimontum*, barred with high hills against them, building (as one would say) upon this hope, That this mischievous multitude of enemies hemmed in betweene siter and the desert, and finding no way out, would perish by famine, considering that all necessities of this life were carried into the strong cities; of which, they never went about to besiege any one, as yet being altogether ignorant in these and such like machinations. After this *Rhicomeres* returned into Gaule, making to bring other helps and means from thence, in regard of greater and more troublous wars which were feared.

CHAP. IX.

The Gothes having taken in the Hunnes and Alanes to the Societie of their bootie, with horrible slaughter and spoile wast Thracia, and in vaine lay siege to the towne Dibalum. As they pursue Frigeridus, a most puissant warrior and leader, they are terrified with a new overthrow: and Frigeridus having taken many of them, confinish them about Mutina, Rhegium, and Parma, there to till the grounds.



Hefe things were done in the yeare that *Gratianus* was the fourth time Consull, together with *Merobaudes*, toward the Autumne season in which time, when *Valens* heard the dolefull events of warres and spoyles, after he had committed the charge of the Cavallerie for the time unto *Saurinus*, he sent out *Traianus* and *Prosfurnus*, bringing aid and helpe with them. And it fortun'd in those dayes, that when throughout the regions of Scythia and Moesia, all things comestible were spent, the Barbarians, what upon a cruell fiercenesse of their owne, and what for meere want that set them forward, were exceeding hot and eage to worke mightie matters. But having many a time given the attempt, and seeing themselves overweighed with the vigorous valour of our men, manfully resisting them, notwithstanding all rough and stonie difficulties, driven at length upon extreame necessity, they procured (upon hope of exceeding great booties) to combine with them, certaine of the Chuni and Alani. Which when *Saurinus* knew (for by this time was he come and had placed the fore-fences and out-standing guards abroad in the fields) gathering by litle and litle his forces together, he prepared to depart (and that in good policie) lest the suddaine multitude, like to a violent streame of water, breaking the bankes and gushing forth, should with little adoe disfranke and discomfit all those that diligently watched the suspected places. Then, after the straits were layd open, and our souldiors (in good time for the enemies) departed, those aforesaid that were enclosed, every one what way he could find, after a disorderly manner, bent his whole power and set his mind (seeing no man to impeach him) for to set all in a garboyle; and throughout Thracia, as wide as it is, spread themselves, spoiling and wasting without controulment, beginning at those very coasts which Ilster runneth by, and so going on as farre as Rhodope and that tract which severeth the maine and huge seas, making foule worke and havocke of all in most shamefull manner, what with spoyling, robbing, and bloudie murthering, and what with firing and abusing the bodies of free borne persons. Then might a man have beheld with groining griefe of heart, facts horrible to be said and scene: women massacred and amazed with feare, coursed all about with scourges that rung againe, even great belied wives with babes in them, yet unperfect and untimely, before they came into the world enduring many impieties. Other little infants also crying to their mothers armes, you might have heard piteously crying; as also the lamentable mones of young springalls and democks nobly borne, with their hands strait bound, whiles themselves were haled into cruell captivitie. And after them, virgines of ripe yeares and chaste wedded wives, with blabbered faces weeping and bewailing their extreame miseries, were led away, withing by death, though dolorous and painful, to prevent the abusing and defiling of their bodies shortly after. Among which calamities, when a gentleman, rich and free but a litle before, was dragged

and haled like a beast, he complained of thee, & Fortune, as unmercifull and blind withall, that didst in the turning of an hand appoint and betake him, violently wrung out and sequestred from his beloved wife, deere children, and sweet house and home, which he saw before his face turned into ashes, and altogether ruinate, either to be mangled and dismembred lim after lim, or under whips and torments to serve as a slave the cruell and bloudie conqueror. The Barbarians yet, like unto so many savage beasts broken out of their cages, when they had overrun a great way in that large countrey, went to a towne named * Dibalum, where finding *Barzymeres*, a Tribune of the Scurarij, with those souldiors of his owne, with the ^d Comuti also and other companies of footmen pitching their tents, him they set upon, being an approved and well experienced warrior: who presently, as the necessitie of so imminent a danger required, commaunded, That the trumpet should sound the battaile; and after he had strengthened the flanks, brake through before with as many as were readie appointed, to battaile, & by valiant resistance had made his part good, & departed out of the field on even hand, but that a troupe of horsemen running violently upon him, when he was very much out of breath & wearie, beset him round about. And thus with the slaughter of many Barbarians, whose overthrow was not scene in so great a multitude, he was slaine. This exploit after this manner performed, the Gothes doubtfull what they should doe afterward, sought for *Frigeridus*, intending where ever they could find him, to overthrow and beat him downe, as the onely strong barre that stood in their way. And therefore, after they had taken more liberall and finer food, as also slept a litle, him they followed like a sort of savage beasts, as being given to understand, That by direction from *Gratianus* he was returned into Thracia, and encamped neere unto Berea, where he lay in espiall to discover the doubtfull events of things. And verily the Gothes for their parts rode up and downe, and made hast to put their designes in execution. But *Frigeridus*, that knew well ynough how both to governe and also to preserve his souldiors, either suspecting what their intent was, or plainly informed thereof by relation of those discoverers whom he had sent out, returned through the high mountains and thicke growne woods into Illyricum, much emboldened by a passing good hand that Fortune, unlooked for, presented unto him. For in his returne, as he marched softly on with his souldiors, marshalled in good array into squadrons, he prevented *Farnobius*, a great lord of the Gothes, as he with his troupes of robbers and spoyle-makers ranged up and downe the countrey at his pleasure, and leading with him the Taifali, drawne but lately into his societie: who (if it be worth the telling) whiles our souldiors were dispersed upon the fearefull invasion of strange and unknowne nations, had passed over the river, with full purpose to ransacke and spoyle the places, void of defendants. Vpon the suddaine discoverie of their companies, this most politicke captaine prepared to joynne battaile with them: and so charging upon all the sort of those nations, discomfited these bold brigands, who still stucke not to give out many threats: and put them he had every mothers sonne to the sword, but that after *Farnobius*, a terrible trouble-maker before time, was with many others slaine, he was importuned very much and intreated to spare as many as remained alive: and all those he sent away with life to occupie and husband the lands about * Mutina, * Rhegium, and Parma, townes in Italie. This nation of the Taifali, I have heard say, was filthily given, and so much abandoned to the horrible sinnes of beastly living, that with them it was an usuall matter to have boyes and men companie together in that foule and abho-

* Dercbo, Seph.

* Mutina.
* Rhegio.

* Rhegio.

abominable act of wantonnesse which is not to be named, spending the prime and flower of their youth in such uncleane and unnaturall abuse. Furthermore, if any one of them growne now to riper yeares, could alone by himselfe, either take a wild boare, or kill a savage and cruell beare, freed he was from this stinking puddle and sinke of pollution.

CHAP. X.

The Lentienses, a people of Alemaine, with a mightie armie break into the Roman Seignories. In this battaile Gratian hath the upper hand, and few remained alive, such as escaped by flight, who being coursed in the mountaines, make humble supplication and obtaine peace, and are suffered without any harme to goe into their native countries.



Hese were the calamities that in the later end of Autumne, when Winter drew fast on, the cruell whirlwindes of troubles swouped and huddled together throughout Thracia: Which rage of the time, as if the Furies were disposed to raise tumults in all places, going on still to countries also farre off, spred it selfe allabroad. And now the *Lentienses, a people of Alemaine, bordering upon the coasts of Rhetia, by way of craftie and treacherous rodes having broken the league lately made, invaded and assailed our marches. Which calamitie began first upon such a mischievous occasion as this: One of this nation serving under the Emperour in qualitie of a *Squier of the bodie, by occasion of some weightie businesse, was returned home into his owne countrey; and, as hee was over lavish and a blab of his tongue, when many of his countrey-men asked him, What newes in Court? he tellet them, That *Gratianus* sent for by his uncle *Valens*, was shortly to make a warlike expedition toward the East, to the end that they with their joynt and double forces, might repell the inhabitants upon the borders, conspired to destroy and root out the Romanes. Which intelligence when the Lentienses had with great affection received, being also themselves (as it were) bordering neighbours, and seeing how these matters went, as they are swift and quicke of dispatch, gathered themselves into thicke plumpes for to rob and spoyle: and so, as the *Celts and Petulantes together, were marching nere the Rhene in the moneth of Februarie, when by reason of hard frosts it was all of an yce and passable on foot, after they had sore distressed them, not without some losse of their owne, with maine strength forced them to turne backe. But these Germans being constrained thus to retire, and knowing that the most part of our armie was gone into Illyricum before the Emperour, who shortly would be there, grew more hotely incensed. And conceiving greater projects, assembled all the inhabitants of their townes and villages together; and so having raised an armie of fortie thousand armed men, or threecore and ten thousand (as some have given out, who love to extoll the Emperours prayes) being growne to an exceeding height of pride, brake more boldly into our territories. Which when *Gratianus* with great feare had true intelligence of, he called backe the cohorts which he had sent before into Pannonia, as also assembled others, that in wile and circumspect policie he had kept still in Gaule, and committed the managing of this service unto *Nannienus*,

a valiant and discreet capitaine. And to him he joyned as Colleague in equal commission and power, *Mallobandes* Lieutenant or capitaine of the band *Domestici*, and king of the Franks beside; a man expert in warfare, and hardie withall. When as *Nannienus* therefore duly considered the variable chances of fortune, and therefore thought it good to hold off and linger the time, *Mallobandes* carried away with desire of fight (as his manner was) and impatient of delay, was much troubled thinking it long untill he might advance his stander against the enemy. And therefore when on the adverse part they came forward with an horrible noyse to give a valiant charge, after the signall given by blowing of the horne, they began first to encounter before *Argentuaris; and with shotes well of arrowes as casting javelins, downe they went thicke both on the one side and the other. But in the verie heat of battaile, our men seeing an infinit number of the enemy to avoid open and manifest daunger dispered themselves everie man as he could among the narrow lanes beset with trees, howbeit within a while after they stood their ground more confidently: and carrying the like resplendant shew, and glittering attire off with their bright armour, did put the Barbarians in a mightie feare that the Emperour was come. Who sodainly turning their backs, yet betweene whiles making head againe (because they would omit no meanes even in extremitie unattempted) they were so beaten downe and hewed in peeces, that of the number aforesaid there escaped, as it was esteemed, not above five thousand, and those shrowded within the thicke woods: and among many other bold & hardie knights, *Prius* also the king was slaine, even he that was the inciter and setter of all these mischievous and deadly troubles. *Gratianus* much encouraged with the confidence of this fortunat successe, and now marching toward the East parts, and turning his way on the left hand, closely passed over the Rhene; and upon a good hope that set him ward, determined (if fortune had favoured his enterprife) generally to root out the whole nation, so treacherous and desirous of rebellion. Which purpose of his being knowne by messengers arriving thicke one after another, the Lentienses stricken into their dumps, what with the miseries of their own nation consumed in manner all, and what with the sodaine comming of the Emperour, doubtfull what way to take, considering they could not find any breathing time (were it but short) to bethinke themselves either to make resistance, or what else to doe or goe about, with all the speed and force they possibly could, made toward the hills beset on everie side with unpassable clifffes. And taking up their standing upon the craggie rockes and ragges round about, with all their might and maine defended their goods, together with their wives and children which they had brought with them. Which difficultie when it was weighed and considered, there were chosen through everie legion five hundred armed fouldiors of approved experience and politike skill in warre, to be opposed against them same, as if they had bene so many walled fences: Who the more emboldened and encouraged hereupon, for that the Emperour in person was seen to beare himselfe manfully with the foremost in the vaward, they assailed to climbe the said hills, minding immediately without any fight at all, if they might once get the higher ground under their feet, to carrie them all away as hunters preyes. So the skirmish beginning when it was well toward noone, continued untill darke night: for why, they fought with great slaughter on both sides. Our men fell to kill and were killed themselves not a few, and withall the armour of those in the Emperours traine about him shining againe with gold and bright colours, were with the flinging thicke of heave and masse

[stones] all to bruised and broken. And then, upon consultation had a good while betweene *Gratian* and the principall officers of the armie, it seemed evidently to be a most dangerous service, & to no effect, thus all in haste to strive without intermission against such rough banks and mounts bearing out against them. And after much debating, and sundrie opinions passed to and fro (as in such a businesse) considering the barbarous enemies had for their defences such places as were disadvantageous unto us, concluded it was, That they shold by our souldiers sitting still, and doing nothing else, be round about beleagured and wearied out with famine. But when the Germans strove againe for their parts with the like obstinate resolution, & knowing the country verie wel, went unto other mountains higher thā those which before they had kept, the Emperour with his armie turning thither, with the like fortitude as before sought for the pathes and tracks that led up to those high places. The Lientenies then perceiving him to be so fully bent to have their lives, and never giving over his earnest pursuit, after they had yielded themselves to his mercie (the thing that by their humble request they obtained) upon the tending of their lastieable young men (as they were commaunded) to bee entermingled with our new trained souldiers, were suffered without any more harme received, to go into their native countries.

CHAP. XI.

The commendation of Gratian. Frigeridus a most excellent Captaine, and the terror of the Goshes, is unseasonably called backe by Valens, who leads a strong armie against the Goshes, who were unto the river Hebrus were grievously discomfired and defeated by Sebastian Colonell of the Infanterie.



His victorie of such importance and consequence, that it daunted the Westerne nations, by the gracious pleasure of the eternall God, incredible it is with how great vigour and effectuall celerity *Gratian* hastening another way, dispatched. And in truth a young Prince he was of singular towardnesse, well spoken, temperat, warlike and martiall, yet mild and mercifull: In which virtues he had proceeded with emulation to excell the best Emperors, even when as yet the lovely downe began to grow upon his cheekes, but that his owne nature (inclined to toyish and ridiculous actions, especially when his favourites and minions let him have the reines at libertie) turned him to the vaine delights and sports of *Commodus Caesar*; although this Prince was nothing bloudie and cruell. For, like as *Commodus* because he was wont in the peoples sight to kill a number of wild beasts with darts, and when an hundred lyons were let out at once in the Shew-place of the Amphitheatre, slew them with divers kinds of shot, and never strucke one of them twice: even so this Prince also, among those empaled enclosures which they tearme *Pruaria*, i. Parks, whiles with the stroke of many an arrow hee killed wild boares, made small reckoning the while of many and those serious occurrents; at such a time especially, when as if *Marcus Antoninus* himselfe had sitted at the helme of the Commonweale, he could hardly have beene able to remedie the lamentable calamitie of the State, without Colleagues like to himselfe, and much

much sage counsell beside, when *Gratian* therefore had disposed of his affairs according to the time, and as the occasions in Gaule, and the nations there did require, and punished withall that traitour, the Squier or *Scutarius* aforesaid, who had told the Barbarians, that the Emperour made haste into Illyricum, he departed from thence by a castle bearing the name of **Fœlix Arbor*, and by the way of *Inaureatum* sped him apace with stretched out journeyes, to helpe the part that went downe the wind. And about the same time, to succed *Frigeridus* (who most politickly devised many profitable meanes for the common securitie, and made haste to fortifie the streits of *Succi*) for feare least the enemies (nimble as they were and used to make rodes) breaking also violently forth like unto some swelling streames, should raunge and over-run at their pleasure the Northerne Provinces, there was sent a Lieutenant named *Maurus*, a man under a shew of stout courage, altogether made for money, and at all assays mutable and uncertaine. This is he, of whom in a former part of our hystorie we wrot thus much, That when *Cæsar Iulianus* made some question about the setting of a crowne upon his head, whiles he served among his Squiers, and attended upon the palace, tooke the collar that he wore about his owne necke, and presented it unto him for a diademe: and being a warie and diligent captaine, was removed from his service at the verie time when all things lay a bleeding: whereas, though he had long before departed and betaken himselfe unto a privat life at home, he ought, considering the great affaires of state so required, to have beene brought againe into the field. About this time it happened, that *Valens* now at length rouled out of Antiochia, after a long way travelled, came to Constantinople, where when he had stayed verie few dayes, and been disquieted with a light mutinie of the people, and committed unto *Sebastian* a vigilant leader knowne (who a little before was sent from Italie, as himselfe desired) the conduct of the Infanterie, which *Traianus* had the charge of before, himselfe went to **Melantias* a village, belonging to the *Cæsars*, where he refreshed the souldiers hearts with money, with food, and many faire and affable speeches. From whence, when, upon a new journey by a solemne watchword proclaimed, he was come to Nice, a station so named, he understood by the relation of the spies and discoverers, that the Barbarians full of rich pillage, were returned from the tracks of Rhodope neere to Hadrianopolis. Who taking knowledge that the Emperour with a great power of souldiers was in his march, make haste to joyne with their country-men, having planted guards for the defence of the people about *Betora* and *Nicopolis*: and streightwayes, as the present occasion of necessitie required, *Sebastian* with three hundred choyce souldiers drawne out of everie band, was appointed to make speed, minding to doe some service as he promised for the good of the Commonwealth: Who upon great haste in his journey made, being discovered nigh unto Hadrianopolis had the gates shut and locked against him and was prohibited to come neerer: for the **Magistrats* of the citie feared, that being taken prisoner by the enemy, he was come as one suborned, and so might worke somewhat to the cities undoing; the like as had happened by another Lieutenant, whom the souldiers of *Magnemius* by a wile had caught, by whose meanes the strong gates of the Iulian Alps were laid open. At length, though late, *Sebastian* being knowne what he was, and permitted to enter into the citie, after he had christened with victuals and sleep (according to the shew that the place afforded) those whom he had under his conduct, the morrow following hee secretly brake forth and went his way. Now, by that time that the evening drew on, when he had upon

* *Arbon, Rhenany, Arbor, Vitis.** *Melantias.** *Defensoribus.*

on a suddaine descried neere unto the river Hebrus the companies of the Gothes, well appointed to waite and spoyle, hiding himselfe for a while within the banks and shrubs, in the darke night he marched softly for being heard, and set upon them disordered as they were and out of array, and performing also this piece of service, that beside some few, who by their good footmanship escaped death, all the rest fell upon the edge of the sword: and so he fetched backe againe infinit booties and spoyles, which neither the citie nor the wide plaine fields were able to receive. For which cause, *Fringernus* being thoroughly rowled, and fearing greatly least he, a fortunate and victorious capitaine, as he had often heard, should defeat and bring to nought the bands of his men, dispersed here and there at their pleasure, and wholly minding their prey, by setting upon them at unawares, after he had called them all backe neere unto the towne Cabyle, he quickly departed, to the end, that making their abode in the open countries, they might neither be distressed with famine, nor endangered by secret ambushments.

CHAP. XII.

Valens who envied the vertues of Gratian, bringing with him many bands of old experienced and select souldiors, without expecting any aid, but in his owne pride pricked forward by the foolish words of flatterers, and a certaine mischievous desire, hasteneth to encounter the Gothes: and when their embassadours treated about condusions of peace, sent them away without effect.



Hiles these affaires went thus in Thracia, *Gratianus* having certified his *uncle by letters, with what industrie he had overcome the Alemans, sent all his cariages with bag and baggage before by land, and himselfe with those forces, which were more lightly appointed, passing along the river Danubius, arrived at *Bononia, and entered Sirmium. And when he had remained there foure daies, by the same river he went downe to *Martis Castra, troubled fore by the way with fits of an intermittent ague: in which tract he was suddenlye set upon by the Alanes, and lost some of his followers. And at the very same time, *Valens* troubled fore in two respects, both for that he understood for certaine, that the Lenticenses were vanquished, and also because *Sebastianus* by letters, estoones with words amplified his own deeds, dislodged from Melanthias in warlike manner, hastening by some doutie and notable exploit to equall the young prince his brothers sonne, for whose vertues he was vexed at the heart: and under his conduct he had a great army, and the same right puissant and of courageous stomacke: for unto it he had joyned also the strength of the old beaten souldiors: among whom there were readie in the field likewise those of more honorable place, and by name *Travianus*, late Generall of the horsemen. And for as much as by careful espial intelligence was given, That the enemies intended with strong guards to stop the passages, by which necessarie provision of victuals was conveyed, to meet with this project and designe of theirs in some competent manner, there were sent betimes archers on foot and a troupe of horsemen to keepe the opportunities of the straits, which were hard by. And when for three daies next ensuing the Barbarians marched gently, & for feare of a fallie keeping the by-waies fiftene miles from the citie, held on their journey to the station called Nice, by reason that the fore-riders

and

and discoverers (upon what error I wot not) affirmed, That all the said parcell of the maine multiude which they had seene were not past ten thousand, the Emperour in a certain gare and violent heat made hast to encounter them. And therfore marching in a foure square battaile, he came to the very suburbs of Hadrianopolis: where having encamped himselfe within a rampier, fenced with a pallisado and a ditch, waiting impatiently for the coming of *Gratianus*, he received *Richomerus* the lieutenant and capitaine of the Domestici, sent before from the Emperour with letters importing thus much, That himselfe also would soone after be there. According to the tenour and contents of which letters, being requested to attend a little while for his coming, who should be partaker with him of all perils, and not rashly to commit himselfe alone to the doubtfull hazard of darts, he called to counsell divers great officers of the field, and consulted what was needfull to be done. And when some, moved and set on by *Sebastian*, were very instant forthwith to give battaile, the Generall of the horsemen named *Victor*, a warrior, but yet a warie delayer of time for a vantage, gave his opinion (and many more were of the same mind) That he should expect his fellow Emperour, to the end that by augmenting his power with the forces out of Gaule, the swelling pride of the Barbarians, now in the flaming heat, might more easly be suppressed. Yet for all this the mischievous resolution of the prince, together with the opinion of the courtiers, altogether set upon flatterie, who advised him to make all speed and hast possible, for feare that *Gratian* should have part of that victorie, which (as they thought) was in manner woon already to his hand, tooke place and prevailed. Now, whiles preparation was made of all things necessarie for to strike a battaile, a Christian Elder or Presbyter (as themselves tearme him) sent in embassage with other meane persons from *Fringernus*, came unto the Emperours campe: and being mildly received, in the end presented the said *Fringernus* his letters, requesting in plaine termes, That unto him and his people (whom the violent rodes of savage nations had driven as banished folke out of their native habitations) there might be graunted Thracia and no more to be inhabited, together with all the cattell and corne, promising (if he might obtaine so much) perpetuall peace and concord. Moreover, the said Christian, as being privie unto his secrets, and a trustie counsellour, tendered unto him other private missives of credence from the same king, who, in craft and sundrie wylie casts being exceeding politicke, informed *Valens*, as one shortly to be a friend and confederate, That otherwise it was not in his power to assuage the cruell mood of his countrey men, or to draw them to any conditions for the good of the Roman State, unless he otherwhiles would shew unto them neere at hand his hoast in armes, and so by the dread of his imperiall name reclaime them from their pernicious desire to fight. And thus verily the embassadours nothing at all regarded, in doubtfull rearmes what would be the issue of their embassage, departed.

CHAP. XIII.

Fritigernus the principall leader of the Gothes, requireth to have hostages given on both sides, that with more safetie there might be a treatie of peace, but by the unreasonable and hurtfull endeavour of some Romanes they besake themselves againe to armes.



At betimes in the morning, on that day which in the yearly Kalender appeareth to be the fifth of the * Ides of Augustus, the banners in great hast were advaunced, and the carriages with all bag and baggage bestowed neere unto the wals of Hadrianopolis, together with a sufficient defence of the legions. For all the treasure and other princely ensignes & imperiall ornaments, together with the * Praefect and the * Consistorians, were inclosed within the compasse of the wals. At the length therefore, upon the eight day after, the enemies carts and carriages having dispatched a great way of rough and stonie ground, what time as it drew on apace to the parching heat of noone, were discovered, which by the relation that he had of the discoverers, were couched and set in order round in forme of a circle. And while the barbarous people, as their manner is, kept an hideous, cruell, and fearefull howling, the Romane captaines marshalled their souldiors in order of battaile: and when the right wing of the horsemen was placed before, the greatest part of the footmen lay behind, and beset the wayes. But the left wing of the horsemen (considering a great number of them were yet disparted asunder) being with much difficultie brought together, marched a main pace. And while the same wing was in displaying and stretching out, there being none as yet to trouble the same, behold the Barbarians were terrified with the horrible noyse that the armour counterfeited, and the clattering which in threatening wise the shields made; and for that part of them abiding farre off with *Alaricus* and *Safrages*, being sent for, were not yet come, they dispatched embassadours to covenant and conclude peace. While the Emperour contemned the basenesse and meane condition of these embassadours, requiring, That the better sort of them, as sufficient persons, should be sent to ratifie and confirme, what articles were to be agreed upon; they in the meane while of purpose held off and trifled out the time; to the end, that during these fraudulent cessations of armes their horsemen might returne, who they hoped would shortly be come; and that our souldiors, enchaufed with the heat of Summer, with drie chawes might become faint & heartlesse; considering that the fields all over, as wide and large as they were, shone again with fire, which the same enemies set a burning with wood and other drie fuel put under for that very purpose. And here was not all: for beside this, there fell out another mischief also, namely, that both men and beasts were grievously distressed for hunger. In this mean time to helpe the matter well, *Fritigernus*, as one who wisely could guesse and cast what might be, and fearing the doubtfull fortune of warre, sent upon his owne head one of the common sort, as an herault, to treat of peace, craving, That certain of the nobilitie and elect persons should forthwith be sent unto him as hostages; being himselfe resolved without all feare to abide the violence of the souldiors & the necessarie consequents therof. This project and motion of so dread a prince & commander being commended & approved, *Equitius* a Tribune, who

who then had the charge committed unto him of the palace, and a kinsman of *Valens*, with the assent of every man is appointed with all speed to go as a pledge. But when he denied to goe, because being once taken prisoner by the enemies, he had broken from them and made an escape out of Dibaltum, in regard whereof he feared their unreasonable passions, *Richomerus* of his owne accord offered to goe: who willingly had promised as much, thinking this also to be a brave act and befecoming a valiant man: and forward he went, minding to shew good tokens of his dignitie and noble parentage. Now, as he was going toward the enemies fort, the archers and earguetiers, whom one *Basurius* an Iberian then had in charge, together with *Cassio*, in a violent heat adventured to engage themselves forward too farre, and being now to joyne skirmish with their adversaries, as they brake out over loone before their time, so by their cowardly reculing dishonored the beginning of the battaile. And thus by this impeachment, occasioned by an unseasonable attempt, both the cheerefull and forward service of *Richomerus* was abated, considering he was not permitted to go: and the Gothes horsemen by this time returned with *Alaricus* and *Safrages*, together with the power of the Alemauns, intermingled among them; who being sent out like a lightening or thunderbolt shot from the high mountaines, whomsoever they could with swift rodes meet with, quickly discomfited and slew.

CHAP. XIII.

The armies of the Gothes and Romanes embattailed, and their most sharpe conflict: As length the Romanes are put to flight. As touching the death of Valens a two-fold opinion: while some thinke he was killed with an arrow, and never after scene: others, that he was consumed with fire.



Now, when as on every side they fell to shake both armor and weapons, and *Bellona* blew the dolefull and lamentable blast of trumpets, our men, who began to give ground at the crying out of many unto them, made head and resisted. And verily the sight in manner of flashing flames affrighted even the stout hearts of our souldiors, when they wistly beheld some thrust through with the whirling shot of darts and arrowes. And then the armies buckling and dashing one against another, like unto ships pointed in the beak-head with pikes of brasse, and thrusting one at another by turnes, were with reciprocal and alternative motions as waves of the sea driven to and fro. And because the best wing of the Romanes horsemen was come as farre as to the verie wagons, readie to advance farther if any had seconded and succoured them, being forsaken of all the Cavallerie beside (the enemies in such numbers pressed upon them) like as if some great rampier or fortification had fallen, was borne downe and disrayed. The footmen then, wanting defence on their flanks, stood in plumps with their companies so thrust and thronged together, that as if they had beene clunged, not one of them could either draw his sword or bring backe his hand. And by this time such a dust was raised, that no man was able to see the skye before him, refounding as it did with horrible cries and shouts: which was the reason, that the casting-weapons discharged everie way missed not, but where ever they fell gave a deadly stroke, and did mischief, because their venues could neither be fore-seene nor avoided. But when as the Barbarians rushing on still with huge multitudes, overthrew horse

horse and man together, and considering the ranks [of our men] stood so close together, that there could in no place be room made for to retire, and the enemies likewise were so thicke thrust together, that there was no meanes to make way through them and escape: then our souldiors also setting light by the utmost extremitie of death, tooke againe their swords, and with full butt running upon them hewed them in peeces, and withall such maine blowes were dealt to and fro with axes, that both head-peeces and habergeons were flat and dashed a peeces. There might a man have seene the stout stomacked Barbarian, when his teeth gnashed and were fet in his head, for all his hamme-strings were cut, or his right hand smitten off with a sword, or his side thrust through, even when he was ready to give his last gaspe, yet in menacing wise to looke round about him with a sterne and terrible eye. Thus, by reason that the bodies on both sides as they fought pell mell, were laid along on the ground, the fields were covered all over with the flaine, and with great horroure were heard the grievous groines of men either dying, or else shot into the bodie with deepe wounds. In this so great and so confused a tumult, were the footmen with toyle and daungers cleane spent: but afterwards when their strength failed, and their wits would not serve to devise some counsell, now that most of their javelins with continuall thrusting and knocking together, were broken asunder, contenting themselves with drawne swords, they engaged themselves into the thickest troupes of the enemies, as men unmindfull any more of saving themselves, and seeing how all about them there was no means left of escape and refuge; and because the ground standing all over with lakes of blood, was so slipperie under-foot, that it overturned them as they went, they endeavoured all they could to sell their lives deere, and not to dye unrevenged, with so great courage and stoutnesse opposing themselves against those which pleased hard upon them, that some of them dyed even upon their owne weapons: when as now at length all was over-spred with a confused shew of nothing but blacke blood, and what way soever one turned his eyes, there lay heapes of men slaine, then without any spare at all they trampled over the dead carcases. And withall, the heat of the Sunne mounted a great height, as having passed through Leo, and now in his course to the house of the celestiall signe Virgo, overcame the Romans: who besides that they were more weakened with hunger, and undone for verie thirst, had their heave armour also, to weigh them downe. To conclude, the Barbarians charged them still with so maine force, that our battalions being discomfited in great disorder, tooke them to their heeles (the onely helpe they had in this desperate extremitie) and fled every man what way he could. Now, whiles they all thus dispersed in blind lanes make shift to be gone, the Emperour beset, as one would say, round about with horrible and fearfull sights, by little and little mounting over the heaps of dead bodies, betooke himselfe to the ^e Lancearij and ^s Mattiarij; who all this while that the violent numbers of the enemies were abidden, had stood their ground still, with their bodies found and unshaken. Whom when *Travianus* saw, he crieth out, That all hope was for ever past and gone, unlesse the Emperour, thus forsaken of his owne guard and Squires, might at length be protected by the aid of strangers: Which when a capitaine named *Victor* heard, hastening with all speed to assemble the ^b Batavi, who were bestowed not farre off, to succour and helpe at a pinch, for the defence and guard of the Emperours person; when he could meet with none of them, he retyred backe and departed. In like manner *Richomerus* and *Sauriniquus* made shift for themselves, and escaped out of the danger. The Barba-

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rians therefore in a furious rage, which sparkled even out of their verie eyes, followed hard in chace upon our men, who now for verie heat of their veines were readie to melt and faint againe. Some of them fell and knew not who smote them, others againe were overwhelmed with the prease onely of such as coursed them: and there were who dyed upon their owne fellowes hands: For neither was there lightly any yielding to those that strove againe, nor any onespared those that yeelded. Over and besides all this, many lying halfe dead, not able to endure the smart and torment of their wounds, stopped up the verie wayes; with whom also the corps slain & huddled on heaps together, filled the fields with carcases. Wel, of these losses, that never amends can be made for, and which cost the Romanes so deere, the night without all moone-light made an end of: And when it began once to be darke, the Emperour among the common souldiours, as it is probably to be thought (for no man ever directly said, that he saw the thing, or was by) mortally wounded with an arrow, fell with it, and presently thereupon yeelded his vitall breath, and departed: neither was he ever after found. For by occasion that some few of the enemies tooke up their lodgings there about, for love that they would spoile the dead, none either of our men that were put to flight, or of the inhabitants hard by, durst goe unto the place. The like wofull case befell, as we have heard say, unto *Decius Caesar*, who manfully fighting with the Barbarians, chaunced to fall from his horse, whom being full of spirit and courage, he could not hold in; and so being flung by him into a bog or moore, could neither rise againe, nor be ever found. Others say, that *Valens* yeelded up his ghost not presently, but with some few of his gallants and guelled Eunuches was brought back to a country cottage hard by, made workmanly and strong, with two ^{or lofts} stories, where whiles he was dressed by unskillfull hands, the enemies beset him, not knowing who he was, and delivered him from the shame and dishonour of captivitee: For, when they that followed in chace, who went about to breake open the doores surely bolted, were evidently from the high buik house assailed with arrowes, least by cumbersome delays they should looke their opportunitie of harrying and making spoyle, they gathered together bundels of stubble and faggots of wood, which they kindled with fire put under them, and so burnt the house with all that were in it: From whence one of the foresaid gallants, or followers of his, having gotten out at a window, and being taken prisoner by the Barbarians, bewrayed and revealed the deed, and put them to much griefe and sorrow of mind, for that they were disappointed of great glorie and honour, in that they tooke not the Sovereigne Ruler of the Roman Empire alive. And even this young gentleman, when he was afterward returned unto our companies, made relation unto them of this accident in manner and forme above said. Such was the unfortunate hap of one of the ^e *Scipioes*, whom after he had recovered Spaine, we find to have bene by the enemy consumed to ashes in a tower which they set on fire and burnt, whereunto he was fled: And yet this is for certaine knowne, that neither *Scipio* nor *Valens* had the fortune to be buried, which is the last honourable duetie conferred after death. In this manifold calamitie and losse of brave men, the death of *Travianus* and *Sebastian* was remarkable, with whom there lost their lives five and twentie Tribunes all Vacantes, and having charge of regiments under them, together with *Valerianus* and *Equitius*, the one great Master of the stable, the other Grand Seneschall of the Palace. Among these, *Potentinus* also Tribune of the Promoti was slaine in the verie prime and flower of his youth; a knight of everie good man be-

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loved and commended, as well in regard of the approved vertues of his father *Vissimus* sometime Generall of the horsemen, as of his owne good parts. And most true it is, that hardly the third part of the armie escaped. Neither read we in our Annales and Chronicles, of any battel so fought out to the ourace, unless it were the field at Cannæ: albeit the Romans otherwhiles at the turning back of fortunes wheele, being overtaken with deceitfull sleights and stratagemes, gave way for the time to disadvantageous battailes: and the Fabulous fables of the Greeks so highly commended, have in lamentable manner bewayled many conflicts

CHAP. XV.

The vertues and vices of Valens. The end of his life, and the place where he perished fore-sigified by the Oracle.

His was the end of *Valens*, when he grew fast upon fiftie yeares of his age, having reigned Emperour fourtene yeares, or somewhat under: whose good parts and vices, so farre as we know, we will put downe. A fast friend he was, and a faithfull or sharpe punisher and revenger of all ambitious courses. A severe reformer as well of militarie as civile discipline: Passing vigilant at all times and carefull, that no man under the pretence and colour of kinred with him should beare himselfe over high: A right just protector and defender of the Provinces; everie one of them he preserved no lesse than his owne house from hurt and damage: mitigating, with a singular regard and affection their heave tributes, and admitting no augmentation of tolls and imposts. In calling for the debts and arrearages of the rest, nothing hastie and importunat: A fore enemy and a bitter to thieves, and Iudges detected for robbing the common treasure. Neither can the East Empire remember, that they were in such busineses better dealt with under any Emperour beside him. Over and above all these parts, he carryed with him a liberal mind, yet with moderation. Whereof albe it there are many examples, yet it shall suffice to set downe but one. If any person, as divers there be in Princes Courts, greedie of other mens goods, had begged, as the usuall manner is, a thing fallen in echeat, or ought else, he would with great respect of justice and reservation of libertie for him that could gainesay the suit, passe a graunt unto him that had made the petition: but joyning divers times three or foure others that were absent to share with him in those things by him obtained: to the end, that such busie and restless suiters, seeing the gaines whereat they gaped, by this devise to proove so much the lesse, might deale more spariely in this kind. As touching edifices, which in sundrie cities and townes he either repaired or built from the verie first foundation, for brevity sake I say nothing giving leave unto greater persons themselves, to shew that more at large. Well, these were vertues I suppose, that all good men are to follow. Now let us as briefly run over his vices. Most covetous he was and greedily set to gather great wealth: Impatient of all travell and paines taking, and rather affecting exceeding great hardnesse: given over much to crueltye: of nature somewhat rude and rustical, furnished neither with martiall arts, nor liberall studies: Willingly hunting after gaines and commodities, though it were with the grievous grones of others. And then was he most intolerable, when drawing such trespasses as happened, either to a contempt of the Princes dignitie, or to high treason, he cruelly sought the blood and undoing of

rich

rich persons. Neither was this in him tollerable, that whereas he would seeme to commit the examination and enquire of all causes unto the lawes, yea and give order that such busineses and controversies should be tryed and decided by certaine Commissioners appointed, as especiall and chosen Iudges, yet he suffered nothing to passe contrarie to his owne will and pleasure. Otherwise also a doer of wrong he was and wrathfull, lying verie open to entertaine all promoters and accusers without respect of truth or falsitie: a foule fault, and which even in these pivate and daily dealings betwene man and man, is exceeding greatly to bee feared. In one word, an idle loyterer, and a slow-backe. For colour and complexion blacke: The apple or sight of the one eye quite closed up, yet so, as a farre off the blemish appeared not. For feature of bodie, his limmes well made and trust together, his stature neither over tall, nor yet too low: bow legged, and carrying a good ground paunch before him. Thus much may serve the turne to have spoken of *Valens*: and that all this is true, I report me to the full testimonie of the time wherein both he and I lived together. Moreover, this also would not be passed over in silence, That whereas in the Oracle delivered from the three-footed table that *Hilarius* and *Parricius*, as I have shewed, practised with, he found those three Propheticall verses, of which the last goeth thus:

Et in Mimas campos, ubi caput ardet, ibi:

That is, *In Mimas fields, where their heads burne shall be:*

At the first as hee was altogether unpolished and rude, he contemned the fables but in the proceesse of those most lamentable accidents that befell unto him, so fearfull he was, that upon the verie calling to remembrance of the said Oracle, he quaked and trembled at the name of Asia: where, over a towne called Erythraum, he heard say, by the relation of learned men, that both *Homer* and *Tully* wrot, there stood a mountaine named **Mimas*. But at the last, after he was dead, and the enemies departed out of the countrey, neere unto the verie place wherein it is thought he caught his deadly wound, there was found, by report, a tombe or monument of stone raised above the ground: upon which one stone there was fast laid, which in Greeke letters engraven, shewed, that one *Mimas* a noble man in old time was there entered. Well, after this mortall field fought, when as now the darke night had over-spread the earth, of those that remained alive, some tooke the right hand, others the left, and everie one as feare carried him any way, went seeking for his next fellows and friends: when as indeed never a one of them could see any but themselves alone, supposing the enemies sword was hard at their heads behind them: Yet, heare they might, though it were a great way off, the piteous cries of those that were left behind, the dolefull gaspes and yexes of such as lay a dying, and the dolorous plaints and weeping of as many as lay wounded.

*Cabo Scyllari, Nig.

CHAP. XVI.

The Gothes after this victorie besiege Hadrianopolis, but take the repulse, and many of them in the assaults were slaine.



Ow, no sooner began it to be day light, but the Conquerours like savage beasts, more fell and enraged with the taft of bloud that fished them and whetted their stomackes, moved with the alluring inducements of vaine hope, marched with their troupes strongly embattailed toward Hadrianopolis, with a full purpose to race and destroy it, though it were with much hazard and danger: as having intelligence given them by traiterous fugitives, That the greatest personages and officers of highest place, the regall ensignes also belonging to the imperiall dignitie, together with all the treasure of *Valens*, were there bestowed as in a strong place of defence. And least by long delays and respite betweene, their heat should coole, at the *fourth houre of the day, after they had encircled the walls, there began a most cruell fight, whiles the assylants of an in-bred stoutnesse hastened headlong to present perill, and the defendants on the other side were not behind to shew their vigour with might and maine: and for that a great number of our souldiers and campe-drudges, together with their horses, not suffered to enter, standing close unto the walls, and the dwelling houses joyning thicke, fought valiantly (as they might for the low ground), and their rage that pressed upon them, gat the upper hand unto the *ninth houre of the day, suddainly three hundred of our footmen, who stood hard unto the very parapet of the wals, casting themselves into a thicke squadron, revolted unto the Barbarians, whom they greedily caught within their clutches, and presently (upon what policie I know not) put them all to the sword. But from that time forward observed it was, That not one of them (in what danger and desperat estate soever they stood) ever so much as thought to doe the like againe. In these so many calamities comming thus hotly and so huddled upon the besieged, all on a suddaine, with mightie crackes of thunder, there poured out of blacke clouds such violent showers of raine, that they scattered the cōpanies of this raging multitude: and after they were returned to their *hold, set out and cast into a round forme of their carts and waines, breathing out still more and more their cruell minds and stomackes, they fell to commaund and summon our men by minaratorie letters, and an embassadour sent unto them, upon securitie received to have his life saved. But when as he durst not enter in who was sent, by a certaine Christian the letters were carried and read, which being thoroughly (as he said) skanned upon, the rest of that day and the whole night following, was spent in preparing of fortifications: For within-forth the gates were immured and dammed up with mightie huge flints, the weake and undefensible parts of the wall strengthened, and for the discharging from all sides of casting weapons, darts, and stones, were engines planted in meet and convenient places, yea and there was conveyed neere at hand sufficient store of water. For, the day before some of them that fought, for verie thirst were endangered as much as their lives were worth. Contrariwise the Gothes casting with themselves how difficle and daungerous were the

the events of warre, and driven into their dumpes to see that the valianter sort of them were slaine and hurt, and how by peccemeale still their forces were decayed, devised a wily and craftie stratageme, which the goddesse Iustice her selfe bewailed and divulged abroad. For, certaine Gallants of our side, who the day before had revolted unto them they enticed, that under a colour of running away, as if they meant to returne home to their owne cuntry, they should endeavour to be received within the wals; and being entred in, closely set on fire some one part of the citie: to the end, that by a signall hercof secretly erected, whiles the whole multitude of the besieged were busily occupied about quenching the fire, the enemies might breake violently into the citie void of defendants upon the wals. These gallant youths abovesaid went forward, as it was appointed, and when they were come under the ditches, stretching forth their hands they prayed and besought, That themselves being Romanes might be let in. And thus received (because there was no suspicion to the contrarie) upon interrogatories, as touching the designs and purposes of the enemies, they varied and disaged in their tales. Whereupon it came to passe, that after they had beene by bloudie torture farther examined upon the point, and confessed plainly, what they came for, they had their heads chopt off for their labour. Now, when all warlike engines and fabrickes were in readinesse, toward the third *watch, the Barbarians forgetting quite all feare of wounds past, with many rankes one seconding another, conslowed like so many billowes and waves of the sea, to the gates of the citie, which were made fast against them, and that with much greater resolution of their mightie men and rulers among them: but together with the armed souldiers, both the Provinciall and the Palatine bands rose up and bestirred themselves verry quicke to overthrow and beare them downe: And such were their darts and casting-weapons, that being once discharged, though at a very venture, yet among so great a multitude they could not light without doing some harne. And then our men perceived, that the barbarous enemies made use of the same weapons and darts which were flung or shot at them: And therefore commaundement was given, That the arrowes, by guelding or cutting the strings and sinewes which knit the yron heads and the wooden steiles together, before they were flung, they then should be shot out of the bowes, which all the whiles they flew in the ayre, kept still their strength sound; yea, and if they stucke in the bodies, lest not their efficacy; or verily if they fell to the ground, streightwaies knapped a-funder and fell in pieces. In this fervent heat of skirmishing one unexpected accident there was, of great moment and importance. A Scorpion, which is a kind of Instrument or Engine, that the common people rearme Onager, planted just over-against a thicke battaillon of the enemies, discharged from it a mightie stone. Which although it tooke no effect, but violently grazed upon the ground, yet upon the sight thereof, the enemies were so daunted and amazed with feare, that wondering as astonied men at this so new and strange a sight, they recoiled out of the way, and made an offer to bee gone: But upon the fresh sound of the trumpets, as the chiefe Officers and Captaines gave order, the assault was renewed againe: And in like manner, the Romanes for their part got the better hand, as having flung, in manner, no other weapon, or shot, were it but out of the slings-loupe, in vaine. For the rest of the enemies behind, who followed hard after the companies of those their Leaders,

*ten of the clocke.

*three of the clock after noone.

*midnight.

*or campe.

CHAP. XIII.

Fritigernus the principall leader of the Gothes, requireth to have hostages given on both sides, that with more safetie there might be a treatie of peace, but by the unreasonable and hurtfull endeavour of some Romanes they besake themselves againe to armes.



At betimes in the morning, on that day which in the yearly Kalender appeareth to be the fifth of the * Ides of Augustus, the banners in great haie were advanced, and the carriages with all bag and baggage bestowed neere unto the wals of Hadrianopolis, together with a sufficient defence of the legions. For all the treasure and other princely ensignes & imperiall ornaments, together with the * Praefect and the * Consilitorians, were inclosed within the compass of the wals. At the length therefore, upon the eight day after, the enemies carts and carriages having dispatched a great way of rough and stonie ground, what time as it drew on apace to the parching heat of noone, were discovered, which by the relation that he had of the discoverers, were couched and set in order round in forme of a circle. And while the barbarous people, as their manner is, kept an hideous, cruell, and fearefull howling, the Romane captaines marshalled their souldiers in order of battaile: and when the right wing of the horsemen was placed before, the greatest part of the footmen lay behind, and beset the wayes. But the left wing of the horsemen (considering a great number of them were yet dispirited afunder) being with much difficultie brought together, marched a main pace. And while the same wing was in displaying and stretching out, there being none as yet to trouble the same, behold the Barbarians were terrified with the horrible noyse that the armour counterfeited, and the clattering which in threatening wise the shields made; and for that part of them abiding farre off with *Alaricus* and *Safrages*, being sent for, were not yet come, they dispatched embassadours, to covenant and conclude peace. While the Emperour contemned the basenesse and meane condition of these embassadours, requiring, That the better sort of them, as sufficient persons, should be sent to ratifie and confirme, what articles were to be agreed upon; they in the meane while of purpose held off and trifled unto the time, that during these fraudulent cessations of armes their horsemen might returne, who they hoped would shortly be come; and that our souldiers, enchaufed with the heat of Summer, with drie chawes might become faint & heartlesse; considering that the fields all over, as wide and large as they were, shone again with fire, which the same enemies set a burning with wood and other drie fuel put under for that very purpose. And here was not all: for beside this, there fell out another mischiefe also, namely, that both men and beasts were grievously distressed for hunger. In this mean time to helpe the matter well, *Fritigernus*, as one who wisely could guesse and cast what might be, and fearing the doubtfull fortune of warre, sent upon his owne head one of the common sort, as an herault, to treat of peace, craving, That certain of the nobilitie and elect persons should forthwith be sent unto him as hostages; being himselfe resolved without all feare to abide the violence of the souldiers & the necessarie consequences therof. This project and motion of so dread a prince & commander being commended & approved, *Equitius* a Tribune, who

who then had the charge committed unto him of the palace, and a kinsman of *Valens*, with the assent of every man is appointed with all speed to go as a pledge. But when he denied to goe, because being once taken prisoner by the enemies, he had broken from them and made an escape out of Dibalum, in regard whereof he feared their unreasonable passions, *Richomerus* of his owne accord offered to goe: who willingly had promised as much, thinking this also to be a brave act and becoming a valiant man: and forward he went, minding to shew good tokens of his dignitie and noble parentage. Now, as he was going toward the enemies fort, the archers and targetiers, whom one *Baurius* an Iberian then had in charge, together with *Cassio*, in a violent heat adventured to engage themselves forward too farre, and being now to joyne skirmish with their adversaries, as they brake out over soone before their time, so by their cowardly reculing dishonored the beginning of the battaile. And thus by this impeachment, occasioned by an unseasonable attempt, both the cheerefull and forward service of *Richomerus* was abated, considering he was not permitted to go: and the Gothes horsemen by this time returned with *Alaricus* and *Safrages*, together with the power of the Alemans, intermingled among them; who being sent out like a lightning or thunderbolt shot from the high mountaints, whomsoever they could with swift rodes meet with, quickly discomfited and slew.

CHAP. XIII.

The armies of the Gothes and Romanes embarrasted, and their most sharpe conflict: At length the Romanes are put to flight. As touching the death of Valens a twofold opinion: while some thinke he was killed with an arrow, and never after scene: others, that he was consumed with fire.



Now, when as on every side they fell to shake both armor and weapons, and *Bellona* blew the dolefull and lamentable blast of trumpets, our men, who began to give ground at the crying out of many unto them, made head and resisted. And verily the fight in manner of flashing flames affrighted even the stout hearts of our souldiers, when they wistly beheld some thrust through with the whirling shot of darts and arrows. And then the armies buckling and dashing one against another, like unto ships pointed in the beak-head with pikes of brasse, and thrusting one at another by turnes, were with reciprocal and alternative motions as waves of the sea driven to and fro. And because the best wing of the Romanes horsemen was come as farre as to the verie wagons, readie to advance farther if any had seconded and succoured them, being forsaken of all the Cavallerie beside (the enemies in such numbers pressed upon them) like as if some great rampier or fortification had fallen, was borne downe and difrayed. The footmen then, wanting defence on their flanks, stood in plumps with their companies so thrust and thronged together, that as if they had bene clunged, not one of them could either draw his sword or bring backe his hand. And by this time such a dust was raised, that no man was able to see the skye before him, refounding as it did with horrible cries and shouts: which was the reason, that the casting weapons discharged everie way missed not, but where ever they fell gave a deadly stroke, and did mischiefe, because their venues could neither be fore-seene nor avoided. But when as the Barbarians rushing on still with huge multitudes, overthrew horse

horse and man together, and considering the ranks [of our men] stood so close together, that there could in no place be room made for to retire, and the enemies likewise were so thicke thrust together, that there was no meanes to make way through them and escape: then our souldiours also setting light by the utmost extremite of death, tooke againe their swords, and with full butt running upon them hewed them in peeces, and withall such maine blowes were dealt to and fro with axes, that both head-peeces and habergeons were flat and dashed a peeces. There might a man have seene the stout stomacked Barbarian, when his teeth gnashed and were set in his head, for all his hamme-strings were cut, or his right hand smitten off with a sword, or his side thrust through, even when he was readie to give his last gaspe, yet in menacing wise to looke round about him with a sterne and terrible eye. Thus, by reason that the bodies on both sides as they fought pell mell, were laid along on the ground, the fields were covered all over with the slaine, and with great horrour were heard the grievous grones of men either dying or else shot into the bodie with deepe wounds. In this so great and so confused a tumult, were the footmen with toyle and daungers cleane spent: but afterwards when their strength failed, and their wits would not serve to devise some counsell, now that most of their javelins with continuall thrusting and knocking together, were broken asunder, contenting themselves with drawne swords, they engaged themselves into the thickest troupes of the enemies, as men unmindfull any more of saving themselves, and seeing how all about them there was no means left of escape and refuge; and because the ground standing all over with lakes of bloud, was so slipperie under-foot, that it overturned them as they went, they endeavoured all they could to sell their lives deere, and not to dye unrevenge'd, with so great courage and stoutnesse opposing themselves against those which pressed hard upon them, that some of them dyed even upon their owne weapons: when as now at length all was over-spred with a confused shew of nothing but blacke bloud, and what way soever one turned his eyes, there lay heapes of men slaine, then without any spare at all they trampled over the dead carcases. And withall, the heat of the Sunne mounted a great height, as having passed through Leo, and now in his course to the house of the celestiall signe Virgo, overcame the Romans: who besides that they were more weakened with hunger, and undone for verie thirst, had their heaveie armour also, to weigh them downe. To conclude, the Barbarians charged them still with so maine force, that our battalions being discomfited in great disorder, tooke them to their heeles (the onely helpe they had in this desperat extremite) and fled every man what way he could. Now, whiles they all thus dispersed in blind lanes make shift to be gone, the Emperour beset, as one would say, round about with horrible and fearfull fights, by little and little mounting over the heapes of dead bodies, betooke himselfe to the¹ Lancearij and s² Mattiarij; who all this while that the violent numbers of the enemies were abidden, had stood their ground still, with their bodies sound and unshaken. Whom when *Traianus* saw, he crieth out, That all hope was for ever past and gone, unlesse the Emperour, thus forsaken of his owne guard and Squires, might at length be protected by the aid of strangers: Which when a capitaine named *Victor* heard, hastening with all speed to assemble the³ Batavi, who were bestowed not farre off, to succour and helpe at a pinch, for the defence and guard of the Emperours person, when he could meet with none of them, he retyred backe and departed. In like manner *Richomerus* and *Saurinus* made shift for themselves, and escaped out of the danger. The Barba-

rians

rians therefore in a furious rage, which sparkled even out of their verie eyes, followed hard in chace upon our men, who now for verie heat of their veines were readie to melt and faint againe. Some of them fell and knew not who smote them, others againe were overwhelmed with the prease onely of such as coursed them: and there were who dyed upon their owne fellows hands: For neither was there lightly any yielding to those that strove againe, nor any one spared those that yielded. Over and besides all this, many lying halfe dead, not able to endure the smart and torment of their wounds, stopped up the verie wayes; with whom also the corps slain & huddled on heaps together, filled the fields with carcases. Wel, of these losses, that never amends can be made for, and which cost the Romanes so deere, the night without all moone-light made an end of: And when it began once to be darke, the Emperour among the common souldiours, as it is probably to be thought (for no man ever directly said, that he saw the thing or was by) mortally wounded with an arrow, fell with it, and presently thereupon yielded his vitall breath, and departed: neither was he ever after found. For by occasion that some few of the enemies tooke up their lodgings there about, for love that they would spoile the dead, none either of our men that were put to flight, or of the inhabitants hard by, durst goe unto the place. The like wofull case befell, as we have heard say, unto *Decius Caesar*, who manfully fighting with the Barbarians, chanced to fall from his horse, whom being full of spirit and courage, he could not hold in; and so being slung by him into a bog or moore, could neither ryse againe, nor be ever found. Others say, that *Valens* yielded up his ghost not presently, but with some few of his gallants and gueldest Eunuches was brought back to a country cottage hard by, made workmanly and strong, with two⁴ stories, where whiles he was dressed by unskillfull hands, the enemies beset him, not knowing who he was, and delivered him from the shame and dishonour of captivite: For, when they that followed in chace, who went about to breake open the doores surely bolted, were evidently from the high built house assailed with arrowes, least by cumbersome delays they should loose their opportunitie of harrying and making spoyle, they gathered together bundels of stubble and faggots of wood, which they kindled with fire put under them, and so burnt the house with all that were in it: From whence one of the foresaid gallants, or followers of his, having gotten out at a window, and being taken prisoner by the Barbarians, bewrayed and revealed the deed, and put them to much griefe and sorrow of mind, for that they were disappointed of great glorie and honour, in that they tooke not the Sovereaigne Ruler of the Roman Empire alive. And even this young gentleman, when he was afterward returned unto our companies, made relation unto them of this accident in manner and forme above said. Such was the unfortunate hap of this accident in manner and forme above said. Such was the unfortunate hap of one of the⁵ *Scipios*, whom after he had recovered Spaine, we find to have bene by the enemy consumed to ashes in a tower which they set on fire and burnt, whereunto he was fled: And yet this is for certaine knowne, that neither *Scipio* nor *Valens* had the fortune to be buried, which is the last honourable duetie conferred after death. In this manifold calamitie and losse of brave men, the death of *Traianus* and *Sebastian* was remarkable, with whom there lost their lives five and twentie Tribunes all Vacantes, and having charge of regiments under them, together with *Valerianus* and *Equitius*, the one great Master of the stable, the other Grand Seneschall of the Palace. Among these, *Potensius* also Tribune of the Promoti was slaine in the verie prime and flower of his youth; a knight of everie good man be-

*or both.

loved and commended, as well in regard of the approved vertues of his father *Vasimus* sometime General of the horsemen, as of his owne good parts. And most true it is, that hardly the third part of the armie escaped. Neither read we in our Annales and Chronicles, of any battell so fought out to the outrage, unless it were the field at *Cannae* albeit the Romans otherwhiles at the turning back of fortunes wheele, being overtaken with deceitfull sleights and stratagemes, gave way for the time to disadvantageous battailes: and the Fabulous sonets of the Greeks so highly commended, have in lamentable manner bewayled many conflicts

CHAP. XV.

The vertues and vices of Valens. The end of his life, and the place where he perished fore-signified by the Oracle.

THis was the end of *Valens*, when he grew fast upon fiftie yeares of his age, having reigned Emperour fourtene yeares, or somewhat under: whose good parts and vices, so farre as we know, we will put downe. A fast friend he was, and a faithfull or sharpe punisher and revenger of all ambitious coules. A severe reformer as well of militarie as civile discipline: Passing vigilant at all times and carefull, that no man under the pretence and colour of kined with him should beare himselfe over high: A right iust protector and defender of the Provinces; everie one of them he preserved no lesse than his owne house from hurt and damage: mitigating, with a singular regard and affection their heave tributes, and admitting no augmentation of tolls and imposts. In calling for the debts and arerages of the rest, nothing hastie and importunat: A fore enemy and a bitter to thieves, and Iudges detected for robbing the common treasure. Neither can the East Empire remember, that they were in such busines better dealt with under any Emperour beside him. Over and above all these parts, he carried with him a liberall mind, yet with moderation. Whereof albeit there are many examples, yet it shall suffice to set downe but one. If any person, as divers there be in Princes Courts, greedie of other mens goods, had begged, as the usuall manner is, a thing fallen in cicheat, or ought else, he would with great respect of justice and reservation of libertie for him that could gaine say the suit, passe a graunt unto him that had made the petition: but joyning divers times three or foure others that were absent to share with him in those things by him obtained: to the end, that such busie and restless suiters, seeing the gaines wherat they gaped, by this devise to proove so much the lesse, might deale more sparingly in this kind. As touching edifices, which in sundrie cities and townes he either repaired or built from the verie first foundation, for brevitie sake I say nothing, giving leave unto greater persons themselves, to shew that more at large. Well, these were vertues I suppose, that all good men are to follow. Now let us as briefly run over his vices. Most covetous he was and greedily set together great wealth: Impatient of all travell and paines taking, and rather affecting exceeding great hardnesse: given over much to crueltie: of nature somewhat rude and rusticall, furnished neither with marriall arts, nor liberall studies: Willingly hunting after gaines and commodities, though it were with the grievous groans of others. And then was he most intollerable, when drawing such trespasses as happened, either to a contempt of the Princes dignitie, or to high treason, he cruelly fought the blow and undoing of rich

rich persons. Neither was this in him tollerable, that whereas he would seeme to commit the examination and enquire of all causes unto the lawes, yea and give order that such busineses and controversies should be tryed and decided by certaine Commissioners appointed, as especiall and chosen Iudges, yet he suffered nothing to passe contrarie to his owne will and pleasure. Otherwise also a doer of wrong he was and wrathfull, lying verie open to entertaine all promoters and accusers without respect of truth or falsitie: a foule fault, and which even in these pivate and daily dealings betwene man and man, is exceeding greatly to bee feared. In one word, an idle loyterer, and a slow-backe. For colour and complexion blacke: The apple or sight of the one eye quite closed up, yet so, as a farre off the blemish appeared not. For feature of bodie, his limmes well made and trust together, his stature neither over tall, nor yet too low: bow legged, and carrying a good graund paunch before him. Thus much may serve the turne to have spoken of *Valens*: and that all this is true, I report me to the full testimonie of the time wherein both he and I lived together. Moreover, this also would not be passed over in silence, That whereas in the Oracle delivered from *the three-footed table* that *Hilarius* and *Parricius*, as I have shewed, practised with, he found those three Propheticall verses, of which the last goeth thus:

Et in Mimas campos, ubi caput ignis ardet:

That is, *In Mimas fields, where their heads burne shall be:*

At the first as hee was altogether unpolished and rude, he contemned the fames but in the processe of those most lamentable accidents that befell unto him, so fearfull he was, that upon the verie calling to remembrance of the said Oracle, he quaked and trembled at the name of *Asia*: where, over a towne called *Erythraeum*, he heard say, by the relation of learned men, that both *Homer* and *Tully* wrote, there stood a mountaine named *Mimas*. But at the last, after he was dead, and the enemies departed out of the country, neere unto the verie place wherein it is thought he caught his deadly wound, there was found, by report, a tombe or monument of stone raised above the ground: upon which one stone there was fast laid, which in Greeke letters engraven, shewed, that one *Mimas* a noble man in old time was there entered. Well, after this mortall field fought, when as now the darke night had over-spread the earth, of those that remained alive, some tooke the right hand, others the left, and everie one as feare carried him any way, went seeking for his next fellows and friends: when as indeed never a one of them could see any but themselves alone, supposing the enemies sword was hard at their heads behind them: Yet, heare they might, though it were a great way off, the piteous cries of those that were left behind, the dolourfull gasps and yexes of such as lay a dying, and the dolourous plaints and weeping of as many as lay wounded.

*Cabo Stiliati, Nig.

CHAP. XVI.

*The Gothes after this victorie besiege Hadrianopolis, but sake the repulse,
and many of them in the assaults were slaine.*



NOW, no sooner began it to be day light, but the Conquerours like savage beasts, more fell and enraged with the taste of blood that fleshed them and whetted their stomakes, moved with the alluring inducements of vaine hope, marched with their troupes strongly embattailed toward Hadrianopolis, with a full purpose to race and destroy it, though it were with much hazard and danger: as having intelligence given them by traiterous fugitives, That the greatest personages and officers of highest place, the regall ensignes also belonging to the imperiall dignitie, together with all the treasure of *Valens*, were there bestowed as in a strong place of defence. And least by long delays and respice betwene, their heat should coole, at the *fourth hour of the day, after they had encircled the walls, there began a most cruell fight, whiles the assaillants on an inbred stoutnesse hastened headlong to present perill, and the defendants on the other side were not behind to shew their vigour with might and maine: and for that a great number of our souldiours and campe-drudges, together with their horses, not suffered to enter, standing close unto the walls, and the dwelling houses joyning thicke, fought valiantly (as they might for the low ground,) and their rage that pressed upon them, gat the upper hand unto the *ninth hour of the day, suddainely three hundred of our footmen, who stood hard unto the very parapet of the wals, casting themselves into a thicke Squadron, revolted unto the Barbarians, whom they greedily caught within their clutches, and presently (upon what policie I know not) put them all to the sword. But from that time forward observed it was, That not one of them (in what danger and desperat estate forever they stood) ever so much as thought to doe the like againe. In these so many calamities comming thus body and so huddled upon the besieged, all on a suddaine, with mightie crackes of thunder, there poured out of blacke clouds such violent showers of raine, that they scattered the companies of this raging multitude: and after they were returned to their *hold, set out and cast into a round forme of their carts and waines, breathing out still more and more their cruell minds and stomakes, they fell to command and summon our men by minatorie letters, and an embassadour sent unto them, upon securitie received to have his life saved. But when as he durst not enter in who was sent, by a certaine Christian the letters were carried and read, which being thoroughly (as he said) skanned upon, the rest of that day and the whole night following, was spent in prepaing of fortifications: For within-forth the gates were immured and dammed up with mightie huge flints, the weake and undefensible parts of the wall strengthened, and for the discharging from all sides of casting weapons, darts, and stones, were engines planted in meet and convenient places, yea and there was conveyed neere at hand sufficient store of water. For, the day before some of them that fought, for verie thirst were endangered as much as their lives were worth. Contrariwise the Gothes casting with themselves how difficile and daungerous were the

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clock after noone.

*or campe.

the events of warre, and driven into their dumps; to see that the valiant sort of them were slaine and hurt, and how by peccemeale still their forces were decayed, devised a wily and craftie stratageme, which the goddesse Iustice her self bewailed and divulged abroad. For, certaine Gallants of our side, who the day before had revolted unto them they enticed, that under a colour of running away, as if they meant to returne home to their owne country, they should endeavour to be received within the wals; and being entred in, closely set on fire some one part of the citie: to the end, that by a signall hereof secretly erected, whiles the whole multitude of the besieged were busily occupied about quenching the fire, the enemies might breake violently into the citie void of defendants upon the wals. These gallant youths above said went forward, as it was appointed, and when they were come under the ditches, stretching forth their hands they prayed and besought, That themselves being Romanes might be let in. And thus received (because there was no suspicion to the contrarie) upon interrogatories, as touching the designes and purposes of the enemies, they varied and disagreed in their tales. Whereupon it came to passe, that after they had bene by bloudie torture farther examined upon the point, and confessed plainly, what they came for, they had their heads chopt off for their labour. Now, when all warlike engines and fabricks were in readinesse, toward the third *watch, the Barbarians forgetting quite all feare of wounds past, with many ranks one seconding another, conflowed like so many billowes and waves of the sea, to the gates of the citie, which were made fast against them, and that with much greater resolution of their mightie men and rulers among them: but together with the armed souldiours, both the Provinciall and the Palatine bands rose up and bestirred themselves very quick to overthrow and beare them downe: And such were their darts and casting-weapons, that being once discharged, though at a very venture, yet among so great a multitude they could not light without doing some harme. And then our men perceived, that the barbarous enemies made use of the same weapons and darts which were flung or shot at them: And therefore commaunderment was given, That the arrowes, by guelding or cutting the strings and sinewes which knit the yron heads and the wooden stiles together, before they were flung, they then should be shot out of the bowes, which all the whiles they flew in the ayre, kept still their strength sound; yea, and if they stucke in the bodies, lost not their efficacy; or verily if they fell to the ground, straightwaies knapped a funder and fell in pieces. In this fervent heat of skirmishing one unexpected accident there was, of great moment and importance. A Scorpion, which is a kind of Instrument or Engine, that the common people tearme Onager, planted just over-against a thicke battallion of the enemies, discharged from it a mightie stone. Which although it tooke no effect, but violently grazed upon the ground, yet upon the sight thereof, the enemies were so daunted and amazed with feare, that wondering as astonied men at this so new and strange a sight, they recoiled out of the way, and made an offer to bee gone: But upon the fresh sound of the trumpets, as the chiefe Officers and Captaines gave order, the assault was renewed againe: And in like manner, the Romanes for their part got the better hand, as having flung, in manner, no other weapon, or shot, were it but out of the flings-loupe, in vaine. For the rest of the enemies behind, who followed hard after the companies of those their Leaders,

*midnight.

ders that were inflamed with a greedie desire, to have the rising of that wealth which had beene gotten together by the bad endevours and studies night and day of *Valens*, vaunted and gave it out with open mouth, That they had endured as many dangers as their betters and superiors. And thus some of them halfe dead, as being squashed with huge weightie stones, or shot into the brest with darts and arrowes, lay tumbling upon the ground: others carrying ladders, and going about on every side to skale and climbe up the walls in an infinite number of places, were under their very burthens overwhelmed with stones, fragments of pillars, and with ^a Cylinders, borne downe the steepe descent. Neither was there any one of these furious enemies, whom the sight of so horrible carnage and bloudshed could (untill it was very late in the evening) turne away from their courageous mind, to fight manfully, and doe some noble service. Which courage of theirs was so much the more quickened, for that seeing a farre off a number also of the defendants, with sundrie sorts of shot overthrowne and fallen downe dead, they joyed thereat. Thus without any rest or stint, fighting there was right courageously both for and against the walls: And because now they fought not in any order, but skirmished by starts and severall companies, as they could fallie one upon another (which was a signe they grew to the utmost point of despaire) at the shutting in of the evening they all withdrew themselves, and returned to their tents evill appayed and heavie, blaming one another for their inconsiderate follie, in that (as *Fritigernus* gave them counsell before) they had not in all places declined the toyles and sorrowes that use to follow sieges.

CHAP. XVII.

Having left Hadrianopolis, they gave the assempt of Perinthus and Constantinople: but by sundrie calamities daunted, they invade the Northerne Provinces.

They that seized upon Thracia, by the meanes of Iulius, Colonell of the Footmen, in one and the selfe same day, as if a signall had bene given, were all murdered: and so the Provinces of the East are delivered from dangers.



After this, all the night, which was not long, as being in the midst of Summer, they betooke themselves to the care of their wounds, and to use the meanes both to dresse and heale them, after the manner of their owne nation: and upon the returne of day light they fell to consultation, and were divided into sundrie opinions, doubting which way to take their journey. After much debating and dispute *pro & contra*, they determine to take in Perinthus, and from thence to seize all places stored with riches: as knowing which they were by the relation of fugitives (who told them all the secrets, not of cities onely, but of every house also.) Following therefore this resolution, forward they went (for none there was to withstand them) making havocke still, by robbing spoyling, and sacking all the way. But after their departure, those that were besieged within Hadrianopolis, when discoverers of approved truth and fidelitie had reported unto them, That all the quarters next adjoyning were cleared from the enemy,

went

went forth at midnight, avoiding the common high wayes, ran over the woods and wilds beyond Philippopolis, and from thence to Serdica, another citie of Macedonia, together with all the goods which they had yet whole and untouched, making all the speed and hast they could devise to find out *Valens* (forsooth) as if he had bene in those countries, not knowing one whit, that he was slaine in the very tempestuous stormes of the battaile, or at leastwise fled to a country cottage, where he was thought to have beene burnt to death and consumed. But the Gothes intermingled with the Hunnes and Alanes, nations exceeding warlike and valiant, yea, and hardened in many adventurous and dangerous services, whom *Fritigernus* in his wit and policie had by wonderfull allurements of rewards associated unto himselfe, having encamped hard by Perinthus, durst not in remembrance of their former foyles and calamities either come unto or assault the citie it selfe, but forraged the fertile fields and territories about it, that reached farre and wide, even to extreame penurie killing or taking prisoners the inhabitants therein. From whence they made great hast, marching for feare of waiting and ambushments in foure square battailons to Constantinople, gaping after the exceeding wealth and riches there, minding to make many attempts for to force and destroy the said citie: whom thus unmeasurably advauncing themselves, and at the point almost to doe violence upon the port-cluses of the gates, the heavenly power of God repulld by such an accident as this. A regiment of the Saracenes (as touching whose originall and manners I have in divers places related much) a people meet rather for the service of quicke expeditions, than for any encounter and consist in battaile, being newly sent for thither, no sooner espied the troupe of Barbarians, but with a mind to joyne battaile, all on a suddaine boldly issued forth of the citie, and after a stiffe bickering betweene them, maintained a long time, both parts left the field on even hand. Howbeit, by a certaine strange event, and never seene before, the forsaide regiment of Easterlings got the upper hand. For out of it a certaine shag-haired fellow, naked in all parts save the groine and privie parts, making a rustic, hoarse, and dolefull noyse, drawing out his skaine or short cutleaxe, thrust himselfe into the midst of the Gothes: and after he had slaine an enemy, by cutting his throat, set it lips close unto the wound, and sucked out the blood that gushed forth. At which monstrous and wonderfull sight the Barbarians affrighted, marched afterwards not in any outrageous and proud sort, when they went: about any exploit, but paced their ground in warie and doubtfull manner. And so in processe of time, when their boldnesse was well abated and taken downe, considering well the compasse of the wals, which by reason of huge and spacious ^a Islands lay out in length, beholding also the beautifull fortifications of the citie, how inaccessible they were, and withall, the infinite number of the inhabitants, yea, and hard by it a Frith or narrow cut of the sea, which divideth Pontus from *Ægeum*: after the worke-houses of warlike engines were cast downe which they prepared, and more deadly blowes taken than given, departed thence in dissolute manner as fast as they could by the Northren provinces, which they over-ran licentious at their pleasure, even as farre as to the foot of the Iulian Alpes, which in old time they tearmed Venetian. In these dayes remarkable above the rest was the profitable and expedite service of *Iulius*, colonell of the Footmen on the farther side of Taurus: for by the direction and appointment of the Destinies he gave commandement,

^a or houses standing by themselves.

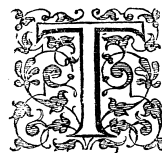
mandement, That all the Gothes entertained before time in Thracia, and now dispersed into many cities and castles, by sending secret letters unto their generals and captains all Romans (a thing at this time that seldome happeneth) should in one and the same day, as if a banner had bene erected for that purpose, be killed in a generall massacre, even when they feared no such thing, but in expectation of wages promised unto them, were drawne forth into the villages neere the citie side: By which prudent policie put in execution without any noise made thereof or further delay, the East Provinces were delivered from great perils and dangers.

Thus have I, as a souldior sometime, and a Gretian borne, according to the measure of my abilitie, drawne out an historie, beginning at the raigne of the Emperour Nerva, and continuing it unto the death of Valens: A worke professing truth, and which I never willingly (as I thinke) durst corrupt either with silence or leasing. Let other men, for age more sufficient, and for their learning better knowne, write the rest: Whom, if it shall please them to enter thereupon, I advise to frame their tongues unto an higher stile.

FINIS.



Annotations and Conjectures upon the 14. Booke of Ammianus Marcellinus.



He very entrance into this Booke depending upon a former relation, bewrayeth the losse and want of 13. bookes before, even from the beginning of *Cocceus Nerva* his Empire unto the battaile at *Murfa, in *Constantius* his reigne, what time he had made *Gallus* his cousin german *Cesar* with him, and defeated the forces of *Magnentius*, with losse also of much blood on his own side: For in this battaile were slaine 54000 and above. And whereas the armie of *Magnentius* the Viceroy consisted of 30000, and that of *Constantius* of 70000, there died in the field of *Magnentius* his part 24000, and of *Constantius*, 30000. Howbeit *Magnentius* fled, and afterward stabbed himselfe to death. Considering therefore this bloudie execution on both sides, no marvaile it is, that our author sayth here, *While the hearts of both the sides were yet flaming and daunted, as being sore crushed with such varietie of toyle some dangers.*

(a) *Comitem Orientis*, Lieutenant Generall in the East. Among many significations of this word Comes (which I will distinctly shew as they shall occur) it importeth here the Lieutenant, Deputie, or **Vicarius*, under the *Prefectus Praetorio per Orientem*. He is sometimes termed **Prefectus*, and **Preses Orientis*: also, by a more proper denomination **Vicarius Orientis*. His government under **Prefect. Praetor. Orientis*, extended throughout the East (taking it restrictively and divided from Illyricum, which also was within the East Empire in a larger signification) even over 13. Provinces and their Rulers; whether they were *Conulares*, i. governed by *Conulares*, as Palestina, Phoenicia, Syria, &c. or *Presidales*, ruled by *Presides*, as Phoenicia Libani, Euphratenis, Mesopotamia, &c. or under *Indices*, who were **Profectissimus*, as Arabia and Mauritania. He was in the second ranke of dignities, not *Illustrius* ear, but *Speiabilis*. As touching the Ensignes belonging to his place, the ornaments of his investiture, his officers and traine about him, and other particulars to his jurisdiction and government appertaining, I referre the reader to *Notitia Imperij Orientalis*, and the Commentarie thereupon by *Gudius P. uicrolus*.

(b) *Amphiarus* was a renowned Prophet or Wisard among the Greeks, like as *Martius* among the Romans. *Amphiarus*, sonne of *Oecleus*, and husband to *Eriphile*, whom when *Adrastus* king of the Argives would have had with him to make warre against the Thebanes, he knowing by his skill, That if he went he should never returne, hid himselfe for a time: but being discovered by his wife, and that for a rich such or jewell of gold, and so forced to that journey, the very first day of his coming to Thebes was swallowed up of the earth. As for *Martius* [*Rutilius*] he prophesied of the famous battaile at Cannae. See *T. Livius. lib. 5. 3. Decad.*

(c) So cruell was this *Maximianus*: the father, that he was terrified by some *Cyclops* and *Euryfryx*, by others, *Seyron*, *Phalaris*, &c. Having murdered *Alexander Seuerus* his liege prince, he usurped the Empire. He was above eight foot high: he wore his wives bracelet upon his thumb: for a dinge. Of his strength and crueltie answerable to his bignesse, read more in *Iul. Capitolinus*.

(d) *Prefectus Praetorio*. At the first a martiall officer, and captain of the guard, resembling *Tribunus Celerum* under *Romulus*, or *Magister Equitum* under the Dictator: but afterward hee grew so great in authoritie, as that he was next unto the Emperour, and managed under him the whole state. *Augustus* instituted two of them, that the one might impeach the other, if eyther of them went about any alteration. *Seianus* under *Tiberius* being sole *Prefectus Praetorio*, became

*or Martian.

*Proctor, Latini per Magnentius.

*Proctor, Latini per Magnentius.

*Proctor, Latini per Magnentius.

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*Proctor, Latini per Magnentius.

so mightie, that he was by him suspected and put to death. Commodus following his pleasures, committed the regiment of all unto his Prefect Perennius, even in civile affaires. But Constantine the Great, when he altered the whole government in manner of the Empire under him, purposing to clip the wings of this so great an Officer, ordained four of them, two in the East, & two in the West Empire. In the East, the one was called *Prefect. Prator. Orientis*; the other, *Illyrici*: in the West, the one went under the name of *Prefect. Prator. Italia & Africa*; the other, *Galliarum, Hispaniarum, & Britannie*: allowing them to be (as one would say) LL. chiefe Iustices in civile jurisdiction, and abridging them of their authority in martiall matters, which he put into the hands of *Magistri militum*, i. Generals over the Forces. Howbeit, as *Cassiodorus* writeth, their authority was very large, & their command reached even to martiall men also. *Prefectus Pratoris* was styled *Illustres*, which we find to be the highest title of dignitie under the Emperor: & in the ranke of *Illustres* he had the chiefe place; as under who were other governors of provinces, as *Comites, Consulares, Duces, Presides, Prefecti, Rectores, or Correctores* &c. The manner of his creation & investiture, with the port he carried, see in *Dion. & Herodian. Panciroli* knoweth not well, what magistrat in these daies he should resemble, unless it be the two Belerbes under the Turk; the one governor of Romania, the other of Anatolia. What if I compare him to the L. deputy or Iustice of Ireland, who, as we read, not only sitteth in court judicially, but cometh armed also into the field?

(e) *Sciron*] a notable Brigand or Robber, who kept certaine rocks neere to Attica and Megara, and the narrow passe betwene, killing and spoyling the passengers that way: whereupon those rocks were called *Scironides petre*, or *Scironia saxa*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

(f) *Comes Castrorum*.] Among other significations of *Comes*, it is betokened here a Captaine, Lieutenant, or Colonel over certaine Legions: the same that *Legatus Consulis* in former times. *Ioh. Robins de Rom. Antiquitatibus.*

(g) *Magister Equitum*.] Of those *Magistri militum* or Generals of the Forces, whom Constantine the Great instituted, when he abridged *Prefectus Pratoris* of their militarie command, he ordained, That the one of them should be General of the horsemen, the other of the footmen: so called, for that their forces consisted especially of horse or foot, according to their title. These had the same power and jurisdiction in a manner over the soldiers even in civile and criminal causes, that the *Prefectus Pratoris* had over the provinciall subjects, *the very next immediately under the prince. In the East there grew to be five in number of these *Magistri militum*, under *Theodosius Magnus*, but in the West Empire they continued still to be twaine. *Zosim. lib. 4.*

(h) *Ad Nili Cataractas*.] Certaine rocks bearing up within the channell of the river Nylus, where between two hills he hath a strait passage, down which his streame seemeth to rush rather than to run; whereupon they have that name. Much like; (*si magna licet componere parvis*) to the Salmon leape within the river *Tivy in Pembrochshire, to which when the Salmon come up, against the frame (seeking for some quietmeere to shoot their spawn) they take taile in mouth, and with a jerke spring up & mount aloft. Such falls of water there beat the Salmon leapes within the Liffy by Dublin in Ireland; but more notable in the Bann, a noble river of the same kingdom, in Ulster. Of either side toward the land the streame runneth even & admitteth easie passage, but in the midst it hath a mightie downefall; howbeit, expert watermen with their barges adventure to passe downe the same, and exhibite sport to the beholders. The maine thereof somewhat resembleth the shooting of London bridge at an ebbe or low water.

(i) *Blennyes*, or *Blennya*, *Blennia* also and *Blens*, or *Blepte*.] All these names seeme to come of *Βλῆναι* to see: And yet *Stephanus* sayth, they were so called of a captaine named *Blens*, who warred in those parts of Ethiopia: A monstrous people without heads, having their eyes and mouth in their breast, if we may belevee *Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Solinus*.

(k) *Circen'es Ludj*] as one would say *Circen'es*: For at first, before the large lists and great Shew-places called *Cirques* were built, the plot of ground wherein were performed these horse-running with chariots and other Malteries, was flanked on the one side with the river Tiberis, on the other with fowles. *Turneb. Advver. lib. 3. cap. 5.* The Emperours used to celebrate these solemnities at certaine times, according to the vowes, for 10. 20. or 30. years. Here it appeareth to be at the 30. year of his Empire. And hence it is, that in old marbles and elsewhere are found these inscriptions, *Votis x. Votis xx. or Votis xxx.*

(l) *Genetiu Magneticane comitatus*.] Take *Comes* here for some *Prefect* or captain, that had a charge of soldiours under *Magneticus* the usurper: for this seecall doth [*Comes*] bear in our author.

(m) Among

(m) Among sundry acceptions of this word *Elogium*] I take it in this place to be a testimoniall or certificat in the praise of the party condemned for some good parts or service performed that might merit pardon: or a gracious revocation of sentence pronounced, sent as a pardon from the prince.

(n) *Notarius*.] This *Paulus*, whether he were *Primericus*, or *Primus Notarius*, i. the Prototary (who together with his x. *Tribuni Notarii*, so called, for that they were in dignity equal to Tribunes, had the keeping of the booke teamed *Literculum Maius*, or *Commentarius Principis*, which contained the names of all those that by the Emperor were preferred to dignities, together with their ensignes or badges of their office, their stipends, patents, & charters whereby they held their places, together with the princes Mandats & directions &c. as appeareth in the *Novelli*: in which place he may be copared (as *Panciroli* saith) with the great Chancellor of the state of Venice, & was ranged into *Viros Spectabiles*: or were of a second order & ranke, one of the *Domestici Notarii*, to wit, Secretarie to the Emperor: or one of the inferior *Tribuni Notarii*, i. Scribes, was no doubt in high place, & might do very much in court. These *Notaries*, Chancellors, Secretaries, or Scribes (so called, because they commonly wrote with abbreviations by way of cyphring) were girt with a militarie girdle as knights, attended the Emperor at home & abroad. *Gratian. Cassiodor. Suidas, Cod. Theodosij*. The ensignes belonging unto him are these: a smaller booke shut, with these letters in order; F. L. I. N. T. ALL. CO. M. ORD. PR. that is, *Felix liber innotuit Notarius Tribunus, a Literculu, cotinens mandata ordne Principis vel Primericij, i. primi Notarii*, which he exhibited to the *Comites, Duces*, & other magistrats: also, a bundle of books or rolls wrapped up round; & the *Literculu Maius*, containing all the imperiall dignities &c. as is above said; so called, for that it is in forme a long square like a brick, called in Latin *Liter*. See *Panciroli* upon *Notarii*.

(o) *Comitatus Imperatoris*] is the Emperours privie counsell, consisting of *Comites*, i. counsellors of state, accompanying him wheresoever he was: and therefore commonly put for his court.

(p) *Ecculeis*, or *Eguleis*.] Not instruments of burning plates, like unto an horse, in which men weretomenced (forsooth) as in *Phalaris* his Bull, like as some Grammatists have imagined: but according as *Carol. Sigonius* hath collected out of ancient records, *Ecculem* was a frame or piece of wood going with vices or skrewes, to stretch or let loose accordingly. To this, the tormentors with cords or strings called *fiscule* fastened the armes and feet of the poore examinee or condemned person to be tortured: then with the skrewes they stretched him on the said instrument as upon a teinor, and withall hoisted it on high, that the wofull wretch might seeme to hang as on a crosse: which done, with wrestling still they disjoined his bones, applied red hot plates unto his bodie, and with yron hookes raked into his sides & furrowed them, thereby to increase his paines. And whatsoever *Sigonius* hath gathered out of *Sozomenus, Prudentius, Eusebius, Nonius Marcellus, Ildorus, Cyprianus, Cicero* and *Seneca*, may be all found here & there in this one author of ours, *Marcellinus*. Deviled it was first to put slaves & servants to torture, for fetching out of the truth, but used afterwards to torture Christians and others condemned to death.

(q) To the *Cæsars*.] By *Cæsars* are to be understood in this place as wel the Emperours or *Augusti*, as their colleagues in the imperiall government, called in a more speciall significatio *Cæsars* and chose by the *Angusti*. I am not ignorant, that both in *Suetonius* & also in *Aelius Spartianus* certain princes sons were teamed *Cæsars*, as the heires apparent of the Augustall or imperiall dignitie.

(r) Of *M. Atilius Glabrio*] his worthy acts & triumph read *T. Livius* in his 36 & 37 books.

(s) *Publ. Valerius Publicola*, or *Poplicola*] so called, either for that he so loved and affected the people of Rome, or because the people so much favoured and honored him. Of his poverthe see *T. Livius*, i. *Decad. lib. 1. & Valerius Max.*

(t) Of *Antius Regulus*] a Consul of Rome, his brave exploits in the first Punick warre, his promise faithfully performed to his enemies, and his death by cruell torture, read *Epist. Flori* upo the 17 & 18 books of *T. Livius*, & *Tul. Cicero*, lib. 3. *Offic.* As touching his poverthe & the kindness of the Senat to his wife and children, see more in *Valerius Max. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

(u) What *Scipio*] this should be appeareth not in our author. *Pliny* in the third chapter of the 21 booke of *Nat. Hist.* reporteth, That *Scipio*, surnamed *Serrapio*, was deemed worthy the noble lineage of *Nat. Hist.* reporteth, That *Scipio*, surnamed *Serrapio*, was deemed worthy the noble lineage of the *Africans*, and so highly esteemed of the people, but withal so poore, that he was at the charges of the citie by way of a contribution interred, and his funerals honorably adorned with garlands of flowers. But **Valerius Maximus* reporteth this of *Cn. Scipio* in the second Punicke warre. Her dowrie was 400000 asses.

(x) *Numerus*

* Note of so great digritie as most with us, as appeareth in *Ulpian*: and therefore I sometimes teame him Chancellor.

* *Lib. 4. cap. 4.*

(x) *Nomenclatores*] So called *nomen calando*, i. of calling by name: a certaine beadle or such like officer in Rome, who knew by heart the name of every citizen; used in their Courts of justice to call men to make appearance, to instruct such as stood for any office, to speake unto the people with much affabilitie, as also to invite guests. *Apuleius*. Hewas so perfect also in mens names, that if any withdrew themselves, and appeared not at the generall celsing in the Subsidie booke, he could by name call them forth.

(y) These [*Lotophagi*] tooke name of the tree Lotus or Lotos (growing originally and naturally in Africke, and reamed by our countryman *John Gerard*, Nettle tree) of the fruit whereof they feed and live: which is so sweet, that if any strangers there arrived happen to eat thereof, they become forgetfull of their native country. And therefore, when the companions of *Ulysses* landed there, and had tasted of the berries or fruit of this tree, they could hardly be wained from thence: whereof, as also of the kind inviting and entertainment that this people gave unto *Ulysses* his companie, see *Homer*, *Odys.* 9. *Plinius* also writeth, That this tree hath given name unto a land and nation, *nimis hospitalis advenarum oblivione patrie*, i. that giveth so kind entertainment unto strangers, that for the contentment they there find, they quite forget their owne country. *Nat. Hist.* lib. 13. cap. 17.

(z) *Elogium*] in this passage I take to be a briefe, writ, warrant, or precept, by vertue whereof this execution was to be done: or els a bare commandment by word of mouth, which our writer expresseth elsewhere by the word *Prologium*, in the very same fence. Ifemeth also, that with this precept or commandment there went some pretended reason of such proceeding; which is sometime called *Titulus*, as in *Sueton*. and *Elogium*, as in *Del. Spartian*. in *Sept. Severo*: who being *Legatus Proconsulis* in Africke, when one of his old acquaintance met with him going in state with his Falces and Lictors before, and embraced him familiarly, without due respect of his high place, caused him to be scourged, *sub elogio* [praconis] *LEGATVM P. R. homo plebeius temere amplecti noli*, i. Take heed another time how you, a commoner, seeme rudely to embrace a Lieutenant of the people of Rome.

(a) *Scholæ Palatinæ*] These Scholæ Palatinæ were companies or societies of souldiers and other ministers, attending upon the princes palace or house for defence, and keeping state, whereof they tooke that name: and these guards or societies be also called *Scholares*. Every of these Scholæ hath their Comites, called also *Scholarum capita*: under them there were *Primicerij*, who also be termed *Tribuni Scholarum*, all *Speſtabiles*: and in a ranke under them tenne *Decemprimi*; the formost whereof is named *Secundocerus* of such a Schola, and those *Clarissimi*: under these were ranged *Ducenarij*, who had the charge of 200 souldiers, *Centenarij* of an hundred &c. Of these Scholæ there were in number nine, *Armenians* all by the first institution, in each 400, or somewhat fewer, amounting in all to 3500, to wit, of the *Scutarij* 4. of the *Gentiles* 2. *Armaturarum* 1. *Domesticorum Equitum* 1. *Domesticorum pedum* 1. Besides these, were other two *Palatine Cohortes*, but unarmed, to wit, *Agemium in Rebus*, & *Silentiario-rum*. *Panciroi*. in *Notitiis*.

(b) *Protectores*] were the guard of the Emperour, whether he were *Cæsar* or *Augustus*: as *Squiers* of the bodie protecting his person where ever he went. *Antoninus* *Caracallus* was by his owne *Protectores* murdered. *Del. Spartian*. in *Caracall*. These were called *Domestici Protectores*, and served not as souldiers in the warres, but were in the highest place of the *Palatini*, advanced for their good service: and (as *S. Hierome* writeth) souldiers with for their highest preferment to be *Protectores*. There were of them as well horsemen as footmen: and yet both *Suidas* and *Zonaras* affirme, That properly *Domestici* were horsemen, and *Protectores* footmen. Chosen these were out of the Scholæ above said, even the flower of the *Armenians*. And of this band was *Ammianus Marcellinus* himselfe, as appeareth in the 15. booke, where he was sent with *Vrsicinus*.

(c) *Scutarij*] were of the Scholæ Palatinæ, so called of their goodly shields all gilded, as may appear by the vestes of *Corippus Africanus*, lib. 3. in laudem *Iustini Minoris*, and were armed at all pieces: and some of them, to wit, *Clibanarij* or *Cataphractarij*, had their horses likewise armed. They may be termed *Targueters*.

(d) *Gentiles*] were Idolaters of the Gentiles or Heathens, not subdued under the Romans, but their allies and associats; who out of sundry nations served the Emperour among his *Palatine* bands: whereof were two Scholæ or companies, *Seniorem* and *Iuniorum*.

(e) Ex

(e) *Ex comite Largitionum*] I am not ignorant, that this great Officer under the Emperour, and placed in the ranke of *Viri Illustres*, according to the notation of his name, gave the Emperours largesse and his bountifull gifts whereit pleased him, in regard whereof I might (as some will thinke) have given him a more proper name than Lord Treasurer: but for that I read, hee not onely distributed the said gifts, but paid salaries to divers officers, and wages to captains and souldiers; because also I find that it belongeth to his office, to exact tributes, tolls, and imposts, &c. and to keepe the money arising thereof; seeing likewise, that in divers constitutions, he is termed *Curator*, and *Præfetus Theſaurorum*, *Imperialium pecuniarum Quæstor* (as *Nicephorus* & *Theodoretus* name *Felix*), and *S. Hierom* calleth him *Præfatum Canonarum tituli*; finally, for that with us there is no such officer to convey the K. bountie and liberaltie where his Majestie thinketh good, unlesse it be the Lord Treasurer. (for the name of *Almner*, I cannot see how it can expresse the nature of this office) I thought it not amisse, aiming (as I doe) to write populariter, and to the understanding of the vulgar sort, to translate *Comitem* *sacrarum Largitionum*, and *Comitem Largitionum*, Lord Treasurer: Neither see I, who may better either pay or give all, than he that receiveth and keepeth all. Concerning the robes that he weareth by his office, and the ensignes belonging thereto, read *Panciroi*. in cap. 73. *Notitia dignitatum Orientis Imperij*, which make somewhat for my assertion. And here by the way (not to passe by Grammaticall minutias, which studie sometimes I professed, and yet do love) I observe a peculiar phrase in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, which comes verie often in my reading: That where as other writers when they would expresse significantly him that hath bene Consul, Pretor, Censor, &c. call him *Consularis*, *Prætorius*, *Censorius*, &c. he useth the abstract with the Preposition *ex*: as, for example, *ex Agente in Rebus*, i. one late *Agens in Rebus*: *ex Campidulore*, *ex Comite privatarum*, *ex Magistro memorie*, &c. i. who had bene *Campidulor*, *Comes privatarum*, &c. And in my conceit, this phrase more properly expresseth the thing, than *Consularis*, &c. For we find them to be termed *Consulares*, that never were Consuls, as I have noted elsewhere. The same manner of speaking useth **Iul. Capitolin*, when he writeth, That after the death of the two *Gordians*, the Senat created *Maximus Papienus ex Præfeto urbi*, Emperour. So that *ex* implyeth a thing past, and not in esse. For in this place *Domitian* had bene *Comes Largitionum*, and was now *Præfetus*, *ſc. Prætorio*, as *Pomp. Letus* plainly sheweth, to wit, advanced from the former place, to the highest dignitie of all under the Emperour. Neither is the Preposition (*ex*) in this manner of phrase compounded with the abstract or Substantive following, and the same always ending in (*e*) as *ex rege*, *ex Consule*, (as one Scholiast would seeme to observe) but divided and joyned to words of both numbers, and of another termination, as *ex Primicerio*, *ex Notario*, *ex Agentibus in rebus*. *ſc. mandum de tabula*, *ne ex Grammatico*, *Critico etiam esse videat*.

(f) *Prætorio*] signifieth the Lord Generals pavilion in the campe, the Pretors house in Rome, or elsewhere: as also the Lord Deputies, or chiefe Iustice his habitation of estate in any Citie or Province, as it doth in this place. Likewise the house of Iustice, where he sitteth judicially: Here, his house of estate in the citie.

(g) *Consistorium*] The Roman Emperours or *Cæsars* Counsell and counsell-chamber: much like unto the Cardinals Conclave now at Rome, assistant to the Pope. *Panciroi*. in *Notitiis*. Whence, his Counsellors and gowned officers about him be termed *Consistoriani*, in opposition of *Militares*.

(h) *Quæstor*] How ever before time *Quæstors* (especially *Ærarij*) were Treasurers of the State, whether they went under the name of *Vrbani*, *Provinciales*, or *Cæsenses*; and in *Iustinians* time and after, *Quæstors* were ordained to enquire into the multitude that confloued out of the countrey of Constantinople, and to dispatch their causes with expedition, that they might have no pretence of long abode there: Yet in *Constantines* daies, & the age ensuing, being called *Quæstors sacri Palatii*, they were of all gowned Ministers most inward with the Emperour as their Secretaries: and of their robes termed *Candidati*, like as those about kings *Parparati*. And many times divers matters were by the Emperour put over unto the *Præfetus Prætorio* together with the *Quæstor*, as it is to be thought even in this place. They were always so learned in the lawes, that nothing in civile jurisdiction passed without their direction and allowance. They framed and penned the lawes that were by the Emperour to be promulged and published. They drew the Mandates unto the Governours and Presidents of Provinces:

*In Maximian.

Annotations upon the 15. Booke.

Panjanus: of *Erasmus* also and *Natalis-comes*, who derive it ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφεστάντος ἐξουσίαν, i. of *figere*, to escape: for that no man is able to escape vengeance and the justice of God waiting upon wickedness.

(d) This *Andrius*, a base fellow (because *being like unto king *Philip*, he gave it out confidently, That he was *Philip*; or *Perseus* his sonne, king of *Macedonie*, and so was termed *Pseudo-Philippus*) drew many after him, usurped the crowne, defeated *M. Iuventinus* a Roman Pretor, with his whole armie; but afterwards by *Q. Cecilius Metellus Macedonius* the Pretor, was put to flight. *Sigonius*.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 15. Booke.

(a) *Domitius Corbulo*.] A brave warrior in the dayes of *Nero*: what acts he achiev'd in particular, you may read in *Tacit. Annal. 13*. His vertues see in *Xiphitinus Epitoma Dion.* He was killed by *Nero*, who before used to call him *Pater*, and *Beneficus*. *Xiphitius*.

(b) They were of *Cybara* a towne of *Lycania*, named *Tlepolemus* and *Hiero*, the one a waxe Image maker, the other a Painter, who for a sacrilege committed, fled their country, and were entertained by *Verrus* in *Asia*, whom he used as his hounds to fetch in preyes and booties to his hand: For so teacheth them *Tully* [*Canes venaticos duceres.*] in *Verrum lib. 6*.

(c) This *Marinus* had beene *Campi-dollor*, ὁ ἀνταδιδάκτων, *Glossario*, or as *Vegetius* by a kind of *Archaismus* teacheth him *Campi-dollor*, i. he that traineth up fouldiors to feats of arms, in that exercise which *Vegetius* calleth *Armatura*. And whereas he is said here [*Vacans*] I suppose there is to be understood *Tribunus*.

(d) These *Armature*, of whom *Agrinthus* was Vice-Tribune, were (as it appeareth in *Vegetius*) certaine lustie and tall fouldiors trained up in that exercise, called *Armatura*, and counted inter *levis armature milites*. But read in *Notitia Imp. Orient.* that there was a *Schola* or companie of these *Armature*, among the *Palatine* guards of the Emperour, and those not lightly armed: [over whom there was a Tribune or Rector] for they were so called, as *Pancirolos* saith, because they wore, not *Loricæ*, i. light armes, as coats of male, habergeons, and brigantines, but *Solida arma*, good corslets and complet harness, which likewise are called *Armature*. Now for that the Emperour himselfe, as *Ammianus* saith, was here in *procielin*, I conjecture, That upon the foyle that *Arbetio* with his forces had newly taken, the Emperour sent out of the campe to rescue him and helpe at a pinch, his *Palatine* power, the *Scutarii Armaturæ*, &c. with their captaines: together with *Senauchus*, qui equestrem curam Comitum tuebatur.

(e) And these *Comites*] I take to be elsewhere termed **Candidati*, as namely, where the Emperour *Valens* was defeated by the *Hunnes*. Which were gallant horsemens, keeping close unto the Emperours side and his followers.

(f) As *Comes Largitionum* was the great Treasurer of the Imperiall revenewes, tributes, &c. which came into the *Erarium*, so *Comes rei private*, or *Privatarum*, dealt in those revenewes that came into *Fiscus*, i. the Exchequer, or Emperours privat coffers. He is termed also *Comes Erarii privati*, but improperly. He is likewise called *Procurator Caesaris*, *Curator Rationalis*, *Procurator private rationis*, *Magister rei private*, *Comes rei Dominiæ*. He may be named the Princes Treasurer: for he was *Imperialium thesaurorum* or *Peculiarium curator*. See more in *Pancirolos. cap. 87. in Notit. dignit. Imp. Orient.* In some causes also hee was a civile Judge.

(g) *Magister Memoria* Annotations omnes dicit & emittit, & precipis respondet. *Notit. ca. 94. Imp. Orient.* by which description this officer seemeth to be of a mixt nature, of the Princes Remembrancer, the Master of Requests, and of the Rolls.

(h) This seemeth by *Notitia* to have beene *Scutarii*, wherein shields, targuets, and bucklers were made.

(i) By *Consistoriani* are meant the Emperours Counsell and gowned officers, and are sometime called *Comites Consistoriani*. By *Militares*, the officers of the Armie.

(k) *Magister Officiorum*.] He was a great officer *Palatine*, or of the Emperours house, next under *Præpositus sacri Cubiculi*, i. High Chamberlaine. *Zosimus* calleth him ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ οἴκῳ, i. *Dux ordinum Palatinorum*, which *Pomponius Latens* seemeth to expound (al- though

Annotations upon the 16. Booke.

though as I take it not verie properly) *Magister Copiarum*, although at his disposition were not onely *Schola Palatina*, but also *Limitanei duces*, and *Comites* &c. He was called *Magister Officiorum*, because he had the charge of all the Ministeries or Ministers that gave attendance upon the Emperour in Court. In somerspect he resemblth the Lord Controller of the kings house. But his office reached farther, as you may read in *Notitia Imp. Orient. cap. 62*. And for that in the Ensignes belonging to his Office, there bee expressly represented, speares, shields, and other armes, we are given to understand, that hee had government over the *Fabrica*, i. Forges where such armes were made. He is termed by *Cassiodorus*, *Magister Palatii*, as one would say, *Maior Domus Regia*, i. Grand Seneschall, or High Steward of the kings house. He was for his dignitie ranged among *Illustres*.

(l) *Corretores*] were Governours of Provinces in the East and West Empire, of a middle nature betweene *Consulares* and *Presides*, yet *Clarissimi*. They were allowed to wear a purple cloake or mantle, and had the Emperours visage carryed before them. *Pancirolos. in Notit. Imper. Orient. cap. 156*. And whereas it followed a little after, that *Thufcus* was commaunded *Corrigere reliquam principis credulitatem*, I take it to be the ordinarie allegoric transferred from warfare to the Court: For usually it is in this author, to terme the Court *Castra*, and *Commissitum Principis*, yea and divers Offices *Palatine*, by martiall names used in the Campe.

(m) The militant ensignes or banners in the *Romane* legion, had the image of dragons in purple represented: the originall whereof some fetch from the dragon or serpent *Python*, killed by *Apollo*. Everie cohort in a legion had one of them, and a *Draconarius* to beare it, and each legion had ten of them. *Vegetius 2. lib. cap. 13*.

(n) *Brachati* and *Cornuti*.] Among the Auxiliarie fouldiors *Palatine*, under *Magister Pedum Præfentalis*, were *Brachati Seniores* in the West, so called of *Brachia* towne in *Spaines*, like as *Seniores* in the East. Of their coat of armes, see *Pancirolos. in Notit.* *Cornuti*, were likewise Auxiliarie or aid-fouldiors, so named of *Cornutum* a towne in *Illyricum* or *Sclavonia*. Of their armes, *ibidem*. There were *Braccati alii*, who had their name of *Braccia Gallia*.

(o) *Decentius*] ordained *Cæsar* by his brother *Magnentius*, when he usurped the Empire of *Rome*; but helped no better than he, for he strangled himselfe with an halter at *Sens. Pomponius Letus*.

(p) *Proprium pignus*.] Either take it for one whom they loved no lesse than their owne child, (for children be called *Pignora*) or whom they honoured as their onely champion and defender: for *Pignora* reipub. signifie pillars of the Commonwealth. Also those whom here *Marcellinus* calleth *Apparitores*, i. Officers or attendant Ministers, he teacheth a little after *Obsequentes*.

(q) *Manicheus*] were heretikes in the Primitive church, so called of *Manes*, or *Manichæus*, their first father, a meere franticke person, as his name importeth: Howbeit his disciples afterward called him *Manicheus*, quasi, *Manna fundens*, i. yielding heavenly food, and celestiall doctrine. He was not so franticke himselfe, as his opinions were fanaticall. *August. Epistolæ. alio Centur. 3. cap. 5*.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 16. Booke.

(a) This *Erechtheus*, or *Erichthonius*.] (for as *Euſebius* writeth they were both one) was fostered (as they say) by *Minerva*, and became king of *Athens*. His parents, birth, and education is altogether fabulous. *Pausan. in Atticis*.

(b) (c) Of *Scutarii* and *Gentiles* see before.

(d) Many lawes there were in *Rome* called *Sumptuaria* and *Cibaria*, to restrain excesses at the table, namely *Fannia*, *Licinia*, *Emilia*, *Iulia*, &c. Read *Ant. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. 2. cap. 24. Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. 3*.

(e) *Nicetiorum centurionem*.] *Nicetaria* were certaine ornaments, as rings, chaines, bracelets, &c. bestowed upon wrestlers and fouldiors, in token of victorie, according to that in *Lucretiale*.

Annotations upon the 16. Booke.

venale: Et Ceromanticum fers Nicetaria collo. Feasts also and meriments kept in regard of such victories, as some thinke, were so called. But whether in respect of these *Nicetaria*, *Dorus* was teamed *Nicetorium centurio*, like as *another in this author they called *Comitem Solennium*: or whether there might be a companie of souldiers, which for good lucke sake went under the name of *Nicetery*, like as others were called *Invicti, Victores, &c.* of whom he was a Centurion, I cannot determine: But I rather incline to this latter conjecture, for that he speaketh immediately before of *Scutarij*, who without question were souldiers.

(f) I find, that as well the Generall of the Cavallerie, as of the Infanterie, even in this author, was called *Magister Armorum*: and it was not onely, as the Logicians say, *Predicatum*, to them both, but equivalent also to *Magister militia*. Here it is to be understood, of the Generall of the horsemen, *Marcellus*.

(g) This *Cyneus*, a wise Counsellor, was sent from king *Pyrrhus* to Rome, for to treat about peace & amitie, but by the means of *Appius Claudius* the Blind, was denyed, and returned home without effect. *Flor. Epitom. in x. 3. lib. T. Livij.* Being demaunded of the king his master, What he thought of the Senat of Rome? he said, They sat in counsell as if they had been for many Kings, or Gods, as some write.

(h) *Odenus* was in Rome a certaine Theatre or Shew-place, for Poets and Musicians to contend in for the prize and victorie.

(i) Whereas in the Romane legion there were *Hastati, Principes*, and *Pilani*, who also are called *Triarij*: They were so marshalled in battaile during the free State, as that the *Hastati* stood in the vaward, *Pilani* in the reeward; whereupon *Anteplani* in this place must of necessity be *Principes*, i. the maine battell, according to the auncient manner of array. *Liv.* Yet it seemeth here that this manner of embattelling was altered in the emperours time, and *Principes* were placed foremost.

(l) *Primani* were souldiers *Prime Legionis*, i. of the first legion, like as *Secundani* of the second, *Vicemani* of the twentieth, &c. As for the *Castra pretoria*, which he termeth here *Confratio*, I take it to be that place of strength or quarter within the campe, where were *Principia* and *Pretorium*: in the battell also where the *Primani* and *Principes* serve or be marshalled ordinarily.

(m) *Mirmillones*,] Sword-fencers in Rome, using to exhibit sport unto the people. They were well armed, and thereupon called *Hoptomachi*, as also *Secutores*, and commonly marched in opposition with *Retiarij*, otherwise teamed *Threeces*, or *Toraces*, and *Tunicati*, for that they were lightly appointed; as you may read in *Aulonius*:

*Quis Mirmillonti componitur aquismanus? * Thrax.*

See more of these in *Sueton. Caligula*.

(n) A Tribune here is called *Vacans*, namely, such an one as was enrolled extraordinarily, and not promoted thereto by degrees of service. There also as well as others placed in any dignitie after that manner by other authors, are expressly teamed *Ascripti*, and *Ascripti*. For thus writeth *Æli. Lampridius in Alexandro Severo*, *Nec quæquam passus est esse in Palatinis nisi necessarios homines: iurcirando deinde constrinxit, ne quem ascriptum, id est, vacentem haberet, ne ænomis rem-pub. gravaretur.* Also *Tiberellius Pollio* in *Balista*; where *Valerianus* the Emperour, in a letter unto *Balista*, seemeth to joy, that by his counsell, *nullum ascriptitium, i. vacante non haberet, & Tribunum nullum stipatorem, qui non vere pugnaret.* But take this for my conjecture onely, as touching *Tribunus vacans*. I will gladly yeeld to him that shall bring a more probable reason of this teame.

(o) *Dion* writeth, That *Augustus* admitted certain Batavian horsemen to keepe residence in Rome within campe: How ever *Tranquillus Suetonius* affirmeth, that hee allowed no more than three cohorts to harbour within the citie, and those, *sine castris*. But it seemeth, that by occasion of many strangers conflowing to Rome, who could not be received in the hostellies and ordinary Innes, there was a certaine place assigned by it selfe for their lodging, called then upon *Castra peregrina*, or *Peregrinorum*. And of this opinion is *Guidus Panciroli* de 14. *Regiibus urb. Rom.*

Annotations upon the 17. and 18. Booke.

Annotations and conjectures upon the seventeenth Booke.

(a) *Basmatia*,] or *Βασματις*, *Arist. de mundo*, are those earthquakes which shake the earth upward and downward, *ad angulos rectos*, so called of the resemblance of the water boyling, *ἀπὸ τῆς βράδην*, i. to seeth or boile up.

(b) *Climatia*,] *ἀπὸ τῆς κλίμας*, as I guesse, becaule they bend fildelong: or *Climatie*, *ἀπὸ τῆς κλίμας*, i. pervertere vel dēvuerē, as *Marcellus Donatus* thinketh.

(c) *Chamatie*,] of *Chama* in Greeke, which signifieth a gaping or wide chinke, *ἀπὸ τῆς χαίματος*, to gape. *Aristotle* maketh mention of them *De mundo*.

(d) *Mycematie*,] or rather *Myetie*, as *Aristotle* termeth them, *ἀπὸ τῆς μυίας*, i. to bellow, to loow, or roare.

(e) *Donative*] was a largesse or liberalitie bestowed upon the souldiers by the Generall: or upon the people by the Prince.

(f) *Cicero* in his second booke *de Divinatione*, writeth thus, It is reported, that in the territories of the Tarquinieses, when an husbandman ploughed the ground, and tooke one deeper stich than the rest, there started up out of the earth on a sodaine this *Tages*, and spake unto the said Plough-man: (now this *Tages*, as is found written in the Tuscan bookes, seemed in personage and countenance verie child, but for wisdom was equall to the aged;) who being affrighted at this sodaine sight, cryed out, in so much as out of all Tuscan the people flocked soone thither. And then *Tages* uttered many speeches in the hearing of them all, which they noted and put in writing: and this his speech contained the whole knowledge and learning of Soothsaying. *Ovid* also in his *Metamorphos* writeth of him. But it is like he was some bale and obscure fellow, who by his impostures deceived the world, professing as he did the art of Divination.

Annotations and conjectures upon the eighteenth Booke.

(a) *Lustrum*] was the space of foure yeares, after which time complet there was a solemne review and cessing holden at Rome; and the cite, by a Sacrifice purged with sundrie other ceremoniall complements, almost duely observed in everie revolution of such a teame of yeares: whereunto peradventure our author alludeth, it was so ordinarily a thing in *Constantius* his Court (which he termeth *Castra*, by a word borrowed of warfare) to have these alterations and chaunges: like as at everie *Lustrum* new Magistats, as Censors, &c.

(b) *Distributores*,] otherwise called *Distributores*, were certaine persons employed in tendering unto the Romane citizens certaine little tablets as they went to give their voyces at their solemne elections of Magistrats, therein to write their affirmative or negative. There were also of this denomination the Paymasters of wages to souldiers in an armie. *Calvus Rhodigin.*

(c) *Homer* in his ninth, tenth, and eleventh bookes of his Poem *Odyssea*, faineth, how *Ulysses* held these Phaeaces, upon whose land he was cast by tempest, with a long discourse and narration of his travels: In imitation of whom *Virgil* bringeth in his *Aeneas*, making the like reports unto Queene *Dido*. The silent audience of the Phaeaces, *Homer* expresseth in this verse effoones repeated:

ἀκούοντες δὲ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύου ἄνδρα μοι ἔνθα κεν.

Annotations upon the 19. Booke.

- (d) *Tricesmani*] were fouldiors picked out of the thirtieth legion.
 (e) *Fortenses*] A companie of fouldiors auxiliaire, so called of Fortia a towne in Sarmacia Asiatica.
 (f) *Superventores*] Companies of fouldiors placed apart from the bodie of the armie or bartel, readie to come upon the enemies forcibly on a sodaine, whiles they are otherwise employed or secure.
 (g) *Preventores*] Companies of fouldiors keeping likewise apart from the maine armie or bartel, readie to prevent the enemies, or gaine a place before them.
 (h) *Iam Comite*] For having beene one of the guard called *Protectores* before, he now became a captaine, and had the charge of a regiment, and was dignified also with the name *Comes*.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 19. Booke.

- (a) **T**Hese follemne holy-daies and feasts were kept for memorial of *Adonis* the darling of *Venus*, slaine by a wild boare in hunting, in the month of Iuly, what time *Fruges sunt adultæ*, corne is ripe.
 (i) *Siccitas*, i. drought.] I suppose he meaneth heat, the active qualitie: for drinesse being a passive qualitie is not so powerfull: And that he meaneth heat, it may appeare by the Plague in the Greeke campe and armie before Troy, occasioned by the arrowes of *Apollo*, i. the Sunne. *Homer. Illi. a.*
 (k) By this stranger, or guest, is meant *Paris*, who tooke away *Helena* the wife of *Menelaus*: for which indignitie and wrong arose that warre and siege which continued tenne yeares.
 (l) Of this Pestilence yee may read more in *Thucydides lib. 2.* and in *Lucretius lib. 6.* where it is described verie pathetically, and to the life, and in manner word for word out of *Lucretius*.
 (m) *Leuiiores*.] I suppose he meaneth *acutiores*, i. more quicke and sharpe.
 (n) (o) (p) In putting downe these names of maladies, we are to observe, that *Marcellinus*, although he was a fouldior, and out of his owne element, yet speaketh not unproperly, nor doth exorbitate from the doctrine of *Hippocrates, Galene*, and the rest, who among these vulgar diseases called here *πενθιμοι*, allow some to be *Epidemij* simply, not pestilentiall; but such as kill for the most part to be *epidemicus* and pestilentiall.
 (q) *Rhesus*] was King of Thracia, and came to aid the Trojanes against the Greekes, who together with his horses were the first night they came surpris'd by *Diomedes* and *Hesper*, and slaine before they had drunke of the river *Xanthus*, which ran by Troy; and so Troy was lost: For the Oracle had delivered this answer, *In case he and his horses might once drinke of that river, Troy should never be won.*
 (r) *Proletarij* and *Capite censi*,] were the poorer sort of the people, not ordinarily, but upon great extremities employed in warfare, but appointed to keepe at home, *ad prolem excitandam.* *Alexander ab Alexand. Genial. Dierum lib. 6. cap. 22.*
 (f) *Libitina*.] The Goddesse of Funerals, supposed to be *Venus Epitymbia*, in whose temple at Rome were all things to be sold necessarie for burials. The word is put for death and Funerals, at which Sword-Fencers were wont to practise their feats, and gaine well thereby: Whereupon they were termed *Buſſuarij*, as using to haunt funerall fires.
 (i) *Ludius*.] The god likewise of Games and Playes; at which also were employed, for more state and pompe, the same Sword-players, and reaped no small com modities thence. So that by *Commercia Libitinae*, and *Ludij*, are meant Funerals and plaies, and by consequence commoditie growing unto such Fencers at such solemnities.
 (u) *Clarus*.] A citie in Ionia, renowned for the Oracle there of *Apollo*, whereupon he was called *Clarius*.
 (x) *Dodona*] a citie of Chaonia within Epirus, neere to which was a Wood consecrated to *Iupiter*, and the same consisting all of Oake, wherein (by report) there stood the temple

Annotations upon the 20. Booke.

- ple of *Iupiter*, thereupon named *Dodoneus*, and in it an Oracle, the most auncient of all others in Greece. Some write, That the very trees gave answer by way of Oracle.
 (y) *Delphi*.] A citie in Boeotia neere to the mount *Parnassus*, where stood the most famous temple of *Apollo*, and in which, he or the devill (whether ye will) pronounced Oracles, for neweing future events. Thence was he called *Delphicus*.
 (z) *C. Cornelius*,] a Tribune of the Commons, proposed a law; likewise *L. Cornel. Sylla*, Dictator; which were called *Leges Maieſtatis*: very strong against any person whatsoever that practis'd against the State, and so by consequence against the Sovereigne authoritie. *Carol. Sigon.*

Annotations and conjectures upon the 20. Booke.

- (a) **H***Eruli*.] A right valiant nation in Sarmatia, above the river *Ister* or *Danubius*. *Procop.*
 (b) *Draconarius*.] As everie Centurie or Hundred in a Cohort had *Uexilus*, i. a Banner: so in each Cohort of a Legion there was the Ensigne called *Draco*, of the portraiture of a Dragon; the bearer whereof was called *Draconarius*. *Veget. lib. 2. cap. 13.* And he was allowed, for an ornament, to weare a collar or chayne. From this place he might be preferred to be *Haſtator*, and so forth a *Comes*, i. a Captaine or Leader of a band. For in this sense is *Comes* taken, as it seemeth in this passage: and *Leo* the Emperor in his third booke *De bellico apparatu*, defineth *Comes* to be *unius Bandisive Cohortis Prefectum*.
 (c) The *Aureus*] among the Romanes was a piece of gold coynne, currant in the Empire, and in round reckoning equivalent to our Spur-royall of 15 s. For an hundred *Sestertij* made one *Aureus*, and those amount to 15 s. 7. ob. which is the fourth part of *Mina* or *Pondo* in silver, or of one ounce of French-crowne gold, or much thereabout with us in these dayes. And note here, that in electing of an Emperour, as it was required on the fouldiors part, beside the salutation of him, by these termes, *Salve Imperator, Salve Auguste, Digne ſervent.* or *ſolent &c.* to doe the purple Robe upon him and a Diadem: So the Emperour thus saluted and invested, used on his behalfe to promise a largesse among them by the poll.
 (d) The Heathen were perswaded in their blind superstition, that as every man had his severall *Genius* or angell, so to each country and state likewise there was appropriat a tutelargod or divine power for the protection thereof.
 (e) Many Legions were called *Flaviae*] as *Constantiana*, *Theodosiana*, &c. This seemeth here to be *Constantiana*, of *Constantinus* then Emperour, and the sonne of *Constantine* the Great, who assuming to him this fore-name *Flavius*, gave that title to this Legion. Other Emperours also following, tooke up that name, and derived it from them to sundrie Legions of their enrolling.
 (f) *Parthica*] so called, for that it consisted of Parthians. As for the addition *Prima*, it was given in regard of auncientie or prioritie. This also is confirmed by those Legions following.
 (g) To wit, *Secunda Flavia*.
 (h) *Secunda Armeniaca*] consulting of Armenians.
 (i) And *Parthica Secunda*.
 (k) *Bitumen*] is a certaine clammy and slimie substance arising out of a lake in Iurie, and approacheth neere unto the nature of Brimstone, for that it catcheth fire so soone. *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 35. cap. 15.* Being once afire, it is inextinguible, unless it be by throwing duft upon it, as *Ammanus* *Marcellinus* sheweth afterward. Some take *Naphtha* to be a kind of it.
 (l) *Magister Armorum*] is a title of high place, and more than *Comes*; indifferently as well for Infanterie as Cavallerie, and may properly be termed General of the Forces; yet for the most part hath respect unto horsemen. He was in the same place under the Emperours, as *Magister Equitum* in the free state under the Dictators.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 21. Booke.

(a) *Uhan* had bene alreadie five yeares *Cesar*, and therefore being now *Augustus*, he performed his Quinquennall vowes, as the manner was also, for tenne yeares, twentie, and more.

(b) *Xystarcha*,] the master professour of Wrestling, so called of *Xystus*, a place where they used to wrestle and practise that and other exercises of activitie, out of the Sunne and rayne.

(c) *Auguria* and *Auspicia*:] although they be commonly confounded, yet for as much as they be herein disti[n]ctly put downe, you may understand, that properly *Auguria* were the signes taken by birds flight, and their singing or voice, (and some wil have *Augurium* to be *quasi* *avium garritus*;) *Auspicia* by their manner of feeding &c.

(d) Many Prophetesses there were and wise women under the name of [*Sibylle*,] which some Etymologues to be as much as *Διοβίαν*, i. privie to the secreet counsels of *Jupiter*: I would rather say *Διαβόει*, for they were the very lims of the devill, with their impostures deceiving the world. The chiefe of them was *Cumana*, of Cumes, a citie in Asia the lesse, called also *Erythraea*: who coming into Italic, bewitched the Romanes with her propheties, and left among them those famous bookes, whereof *Livie* and other Historians make so much mention: unto which they had recourse in all their extremities.

(d) *Epiphanie* is that feastivall holy day among Christians, which we call Twelfth-day; upon occasion, that about that time our Saviour Christ began to appeare unto the Gentiles; what time as the *Magi* came out of the East to adore him. Yet *Epiphanius* in his booke *Adversus Hæreses* will have the *Epiphanie* to be the very day of his nativite, which we call Christmas; for then Christ appeared unto us in flesh: and so sayth *Suidas*. Others take it for the memoriall day of Christs Baptisme, on which also the *Catechumens* were baptized. But by the circumstance of the month in this place I take it in the first signification.

(e) *Apud signa*.] The strongest place in battaile and campe both, was called *Principia*, where stood the *Prætorium*; and there were the Standards, Ensignes, and Banners bestowed: where also was the safest custodie of any committed to ward. And that the *Signa* were in the maine battaile among the *Principes* or *Principia*, it appeareth by this, That they who were marshalled in the vaward, be usually called *Antesignani*, and those in the reeward, *Postsignani*.

(f) The goddesse of Warre: she is also named *Envia*.

(g) How ever *Præfectus Prætorio* was an high Magistrate, and *secundus ab Augusto*, yet you must allowe except the [*Consulis*,] whose place and authoritie was peculiarly called *Amplissimus Magistratus*. The Ensignes belonging to this Magistrate, was especially the Purple or Scarlet Robe, called *Trabea*: inasmuch as by a Metonymie it is in this Author put for the Dignitie it selfe; as namely in the beginning of the 23. Booke: *Assito in Collegio Trabea Salustio*, i. assuming *Salustium* to be fellow Consul with him. As touching the Ensignes belonging to *Præfect. Prætorio*, see at the note upon *Præfectus Urbi*.

(h) *Largitiones curandas*.] Have recourse to the note upon *Comes Largitionum. Domestici*.] See the Annotation upon *Protecores*.

(i) *Legiones Constantiæ*.] They tooke name of *Constantius* the Emperour, who enrolled them.

(k) *Inæliis Ponticulis*.] The manner of putting forth these litle bridges out of towres and other fabrickes, to the walls of a citie besieged, you may see lively described and portrayed by *Godefridus Stenechius*, at the seventeenth Chapter of the fourth Booke of *Vegetius*.

(l) *Cum parte validiori exercitus*.] Understand it of the Legionarie footmen, in whom the Romanes reposed greatest confidence. The like phrase our Author useth elsewhere, and namely in the 15. Booke, cap. 3. *Arbetio Magister Equitum, cum validiore exercitus manu*: where doubtlesse he speaketh of the *Infanterie*.

(m) *Læ-*

(m) *Lancearii*] were souldiours of a Palatine Legion under the Generall of the Forces, called *Præfentalis*; haply of the Launces or Spears that they served with: Some had the addition *Stobenses*, of *Stobium* a towne in Macedonie: others *Angustenses*, of *Angustus*, as *Vegetius* thinketh *Lib. 2. Cap. 7.* and divers denominations beside, as you may read in *Notitia*.

(n) *Mattiarii*, or *Martiarii*] were auxiliarie forces, so called of *Mattium*, a towne in Germanie, the Metropolis of the *Catti*, where now *Marpurgum* standeth. *Lati* also were souldiours levied out of a people in *Gaul* so named, and they served in divers nations, whereupon they have sundrie additions. *Notitia. Zosimus*. Howbeit, *Donatus Marcellus* sayth, they were so called of *Mattia*, i. a Club, or *Maza*, a Mace; such as *Clavatores* were in *Plautus*.

(o) These Iambicke verses are called *Senarii*, because they consist of six single feet; otherwise *Trimetri*, for that they stand of three measures or duple feet; for distinction of other Iambickes, named *Dimetri*, *Tetrametri*, &c.

(p) *Hermes*] a noble Philosopher, Priest, and King of *Egypt*, whom our writer calleth *Termaximus*, others *Trimegistus*, in the same sence, for that he was *Philosophus Max. Sacerdos Max. & Rex Maximus*.

(q) Ecclesiasticall Writers and other Historians agree not with *Marcellinus*, eyther in the age of *Constantinus*, or the yeares of his reigne, or day of his death. For some say, he lived 41. and reigned 24. as *Pomp. Latius*: but evident it is in the 14. Booke of this Historie and fourth chapter (unless there be some notable fault in the copie) that he had then reigned 34. yeares. And *Socrates* sayth plainly, he ruled 38. in all, and lived 45. So doth *Sozomenus*. Howbeit, I meane not to reconcile Historiographers about this point. I attribute much unto *Marcellinus*, for that he was *εὐχρηστος*.

(r) (s) For the better unfolding of this place, you shall understand, that under the Rom. Emperours there were devised five degrees or ranks of dignities, following one another in this order, to wit, *Illustres*, *Speſtabiles*, *Clarissimi*, *Perfectissimi*, and *Egregii*, albeit *Notitia* maketh no mention of this last and lowest.

The principall of all the rest, as chiefe Senatours, were termed *Illustres*, and ten magistrates there were of this ranke, *Consuli*, *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Præfectus Urbi*, *Magistri Militum*, *Magister Officiorum*, *Quæstors*, *Præpositus sacri cubiculi*, *Comes Largitionum*, *Comes rerum privatarum*, & *Comes Domesticonum*.

The middle sort of Senatours had the title of *Speſtabiles*; among whom were raunged tenne other Magistrats or Rulers, namely, *Primicerius sacri cubiculi*, *Primicerius Notariorum*, *Comes Castrensium*, *Magister Scriniorum*, *Proconules*, *Comes Orientis*, *Præfectus Augustatis*, i. *Egypti*, *Vicarij*, *Comites*, & *Duces rei militaris*. Zero also reckoneth, *Tribunus Notariorum* to bee *Speſtabilis*. And these *Speſtabiles* bee sometime confounded with *Clarissimi*.

The rest of the Senatours be styled *Clarissimi*, and their dignitie *Clarissimus*: Such are *Consulares*, i. Governours of Provinces; so called, for that they were adorned with Consular ornaments, although they had not bene *Consuls*: *Correctores*, otherwise called *Modestiores* ornaments, and *Presidentes*: Likewise the *Comites* of a second degree, such as had the government of the Provinciall *Schola*: Also *Silentiarij*, otherwise called *Decoriones Palatii*, i. Officers in the Emperours Court, to see that all were quiet, and no noisemad to trouble and disquiet the Prince &c. These *Clarissimi* were otherwhiles termed *Speciosi*. See more of them in *Notitia*: as also of the priviledges and immunities graunted unto them, and the other two degrees above them.

Next under these were raunged by *Constantinus* the Great *Viri Perfectissimi*, of whom *Marcellinus* here speaketh: and (to determine of them precisely) they were in higher account than *Clarissimi* here speaketh: they also be styled *Perfectissimi*. This were entitled *Equites Romani*, although sometimes they also be styled *Perfectissimi*. This were entitled the Governours of smaller Provinces: as the *Presidentes* of *Arabia*, *Dalmacia*, and *Isauria*: The Procurators or Auditors under the Emperour, called *Rationales*: The Principals of the *Procurators* or Auditors under the Emperour, and his *Comites* in each Diocesse, whom I take to be un-*Scrini*, of *Comes Largitionum*, and his *Comites*: as there were three degrees of *Comites*, so were there also of *Viri Perfectissimi*.

Egre-

Annotations upon the 22. Booke.

Egregij were such, as out of *Equestris ordo* attained place of government in the State. Such were the Emperours *Secretary*, called also *Tribuni Notary*, whom I suppose to be under Secretaries: Also the rulers of some provinces. Their dignity was called *Egregiatum*, but now it is grown out of use. Howbeit, the moderne interpreters reckon Prelates, Advocates of the Exchequer, Doctors, Knights and Gentlemen, among *Egregios*. But for that the handling of this matter of Precedencie is a ticklish point and offensive, *Verbum non amplius addam*: onely thus much of them and other titles it shall suffice, what * *Lactantius* writeth: *Nemo Egregius nisi qui bonus & innocens fuerit: nemo Clarissimus, nisi qui opera misericordie largitus fuerit: nemo Perfectissimus nisi qui omnes gradus virtutis impleverit*. What immunities as well *Egregij* as *Perfectissimi* enjoyed, see *Panciroli*, in *Notitiam*. I am not ignorant, that there was another title of *Nobilis* and *Nobilissimus*, which belonged properly to the *Cæsars*, or heires appariant of the Empire: like as *Ethelm* and *Clito* among our aunccestors the Saxons. But that title properly belongeth not to this place.

(ff) As touching the Mastership of the Offices and *Comitiva Largitionum*, hath beene written before.

(t) Is not the same reason hereof, as of other things, which the more pure and perfect they be in their right nature and constitution, as bloud, feed, milke, &c. the more corrupt and noisome they are, if they be out of their temperature?

(u) *Protector Domesticus*,] One of the Emperours guard in ordinarie.

(x) It seemeth that the Roman Princes as they rode in progresse, or any expedition, when they approached neere any provinciall citie, for honour and dutie there was by way of flate presented unto them the assayes of provision for come, as also the beafts, as Horfes, Asses, Mules, Camels &c. for carriage; and the Saddle, to serve for to ride post or draw wagons for the State, that it might appeare all things were in good order, and readie as they ought to be: beside the complement of meeting upon the way &c.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 22. Booke.

(a) (b) OF the *Ioviani* and *Herculiani*, how they tooke name of *Diocletian*, who called himselfe *Iovius*, and of *Maximianus* his Colleague in the Empire, who flumed unto him the name of *Herculus*, for that he was so dutifull unto *Diocletian*, as *Hercules* might have beene to his father *Iupiter*, I have said somewhat before : As also of *Principes* and *principia*, both in the armie and in the campe.

(d) *Cura Palatii*, and *Curator Palatii*,] the same may be taken for the grand Seneschall or steward of the Emperours house.

(e) Of *Adrastia*] see the note before in the 14. Booke.

(f) These *Rationales*] were Procurators or under Treasurers in every Province, to enquire into Echeats for the Emperour, and to receive the Canon, *i.* the due tributes : unto whom other inferior Receivers in Cities, called *Arcary*, *i.* Chamberlaines, made account; and they unto *Comes sacrarum Largitionum*. These went richly apparessed, as it seemeth by this place.

(g) (h) *Diurna Annona*] was the allowance of one day for a man in victuall or money : so that this Barbar got the ordinarie living of 20 men, beside as much provender, or the worth thereof, as would find 20 horses.

(i) It seemeth by this place, that *Iulian* at the very first was but an hypocrite, and pretended Christian Religion in thew onely; for he was from his youth inclinatur ad numinum cultum, i. Deorum, as *Ammianus* expressely declareth afterwards, to wit, plaine Idolatrie.

(k) Of the Games *Circenses* see before.

(1) *Per admissionem proximum.*] Under the Master of the Offices were belonging to the Privie chamber and chamber of Prefence certaine Vthers or Officers called *Admissionales*, who brought flutters or others to the prefence of the Emperour. The head of them was called *Admissionum Magister*, as we read before in the 15. Booke; the next unto him, *Proximus Admissionum*.

(m) *Lege agere*, or *Lege agi*:] A forme of words in diversences used: in *T. Livius*, To execute

Annotations upon the 22. Booke.

execute the condemned according to the rigour of Law : in *Cicer.* 1. de *Oratore*, To put in a clayme or demanda &c. in this place as much as *ius pofcere*, i. If any man had a matter depending in the Court, to call for the hearing of it, at such and such an houre before appointed, upon the Criers pronouncing That the houre was come; and namely, nine of the clocke in the fore-noone, which was most ufuall, what time the Judges and the Bench were fet. Hence it is, that *Marcell* hath this verfe,

Exercet rancos tertia confidicos.

(n) *Pretextatus*.] I guess that here *Pretextatus* is the proper name of this Senator: neither am I ignorant, that Senators of their embroidered garments were called *Pretextati*. But if any one will have this Senator (whatsoever his name was) to be here present in his said Robe, *Sic que deique habeo*.

(a) *Delos*] the chief Isle of the Cyclades, wherein *Latona* was delivered to *Apollo* and *Diana*.

(p) *Diomedes* a bloudie king of Thracia, who fed his hordes with mens flesh, and being vanquished by *Hercules*, was given unto his owne hordes to be eaten.

(9) This goddesse among the Romanes, brought unto Rome out of Phrygia, was called *Cybele, Magna Mater, & Mater Deorum, Ops or Opis, Rhea, Vesta, &c.*

(r) *Amycus*] a cruell king of the Bebrycians, a tyrant over his owne people, and bloodily minded unto strangers: but in that voyage of the Argonauts for the golden fleecce, he was by *Castor* and *Pollux* slaine. *Apollonius Poeta.*

(f) *Elice*, or *Helice*] that conspicuous starre in the North, about the Pole, which otherwise is called the great Beare, & by us *Charlemaignes* waine. *Helice* it is named, for the turning round about the Pole every 24. houres.

(t) Although *Orgia* at first was a general name of all ceremonial feasts and holy days, as *Servius* writes, yet peculiarly those of *Liber* or *Bacchus* came to be so called; ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄργου, i. furious anger, in which the Priestesses of *Bacchus* were said to be, when they celebrated this feast. Some derive them, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄργου, i. of *Hils* where they were celebrated; or, as the Scholiast upon *Apollonius* says, παρὰ τοῦ ἐργαίου τῆς ἀμυνίας αὐτῶν, i. ab arando profanos: for that profane persons were thence debarred.

(u) This solemnitie was kept every three yeares, and therefore called *Tristrica*: instituted first by *Bacchus* after his navigation and voyage into India. Of this you may read more in *Ovid. Metamorpho. lib. 6. & Faustor. lib. 1.*

(x) This *fea Euxinus*] by Antiphrasis, or the contrarie, is so called, whereas indeed it is *Axi-
nus. i. inhospitalis.*

(y) What a number of surnames *Diana* had, and upon what reason and occasion, see *Nat. Hist. Comes. Mytholog. lib. 3. cap. 8.*

(z) These sea birds are in Latin named *Alcedones*. They do lay, lit, and hatch in the midst of Winter, what time the sea also is calme. Hence come *Halterony dies*, proverbially spoken for time of tranquillitie and rest; alluding whereto, *Plautus* sayth:

Tranquillum est, Alcedonia sicut circa forum.

(a) Among many names that *Diana* had, she was called *Trivis*, quod *Trivis* præfesset, because she was President over the croffe waies; whereupon she is said to have three faces, and to looke three waies. *Uxor. Triu Virginu ora Diane.*

[illegible]

(2) Also

^aThe Preceptor
of Crispin, Con-
stantin's son.

Annotations upon the 22. Booke.

(γ) *Adonia.*] As touching these holy daies, somewhat I have written already: and ominous they were accounted, for the lamentation that women made all the citie over. At such a time the Athenians did set forth a flecto the Sicilian warre, and foretold it was by the Wifards. That they should have an unfortunate voyage of it. *Celius Rhodigin.*

(δ) The diversitie of pointing, which I find both here and in the 25 booke, as touching this matter, according unto sundry impressions, yeeldeth a twofold fence, namely, That he prohibited either Christian professors, such as were Grammarians & Rhetoricians, to read and teach in publicke schooles; or the same professors, although they were Gentiles, to teach the Christians: for the words will carrie both constructions. And as it appeareth by the Ecclesiastical writers, his purpose indeed was, That the Galileans children (as to he termed Christians) might not be learned, least they should gall and pricke the Ethnicks with their owne quills, and as we say, beat them at their owne weapon. His feare likewise was, that the Gentiles and Paininis, by hearing Christian professors in Grammar and Rhetoricke, should be drawne away from the worship of their gods, i. idols; as it appeareth in the said 25. Booke, if you read *[ne transirent a numinum cultu.]*

(ε) *Insulionatus, ut ferebatur, apud Epiphaniam &c.* I am here forced even against my will to be taken asort *Criticus*: not of any desire that I have to touch the credit of a learned man, who hath taken paines to do good, but to find out a truth. *Ortelius* in his *Theſaurus* sayth, That *Insulio* or *Insulio* was the native cuntry of this *Georgius*; but alledgeth this onely place to prove it, not citing any other Author that ever made mention of such a place so called: To grant that it was so, there followeth an absurditie and a meere contradiction in the sentence, where it is said, That at Epiphania, a towne of Cilicia, he was borne: and more than that, a very *Solecisme* and incongruities of *Syntaxis*. For, if *Insulio* be the proper name of a place, it can be no construction in Grammar to say, *Insulionatus, i. borne in or at Insulio*, as every Schoole-boy can tell. I must conjecture therefore, that in this word *Insulio* wee are to seeke for *Georgius* his father, whether his proper name were *Insulius*, or that he was by calling *Insulius, i. a maker or seller of Insulae, i. ornaments* that Bishops and Prelates wore on their heads; or labels, pendant on either side of a Mitre, or some such things: the rather, because he sayth, *[ut ferebatur]* i. as the report goeth; for that there may be more doubt made, whose sonne one is, than where hee was borne; which is here expressly said to bee, *apud Epiphaniam*: and two places surely there could not be of his birth. But most of all maketh for my conjecture, the comparing of this passage with many other in this Author, where there can be no doubt made of the father and native cuntry both, namely, in the eight and twentieth booke and first chapter, *Maximinus &c. apud Sopianus Valens oppidum obcurissimè natus est patre tabularia praesidialis officij.* Also in the five and twentieth booke and fifth chapter, *Natus apud Constantino-polin. &c.* And who can make exception against this Latine, *Telamone & Amyntore nati*? Now, if any one will not believe, that *Insulius* may be such a tradesman or artificer as I speake of, for that the analogie of our Latine tongue will not very well beare it (and yet that might be tollerable in our Author) and because (forsooth) he findeth it not in any Dictionary, let him read this Booke advisedly, and he shall meet with not so few as an hundred words that are in no Dictionary, and which our great Lexicographers have either slyly or ignorantly passed by and left behind them: and say there were no such word at all in that sense, yet *Insulius* must needs be the proper name of his father, and *Insulio* cannot possibly be his place of nativite: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὲ ταῦτα.

(ζ) *Thiodamas or Theodamas, Lindius or Lydus.* Hercules comming with his wife *Deianira* and his sonne *Hyllus* into the cuntry of the Dryopes, being in great distresse for want of victuals, craved meat at *Theodamas* his hand; which he rudely denied: whereupon *Hercules* killed one of his Oxen for food: Then *Theodamas* rayded the cuntry upon him; but in the end was subdued. *Apollon Argonaut.* As for Pygmaei, *Plinie* sayth *lib. 7. cap. 3.* in his Natural History, They are a people dwelling in the utmost mountaines of India. Some derive this name of πύγμα, i. a Cubite, for that they be no higher; but without the analogie of derivation: rather yet of πύγμα, which, among other significations, is the measure from the elbow to the fingers clutched, *Pollex*. Yet *S. Hierome* upon *Ezechiel* sayth, they take the name of πύγμα, signifying fight or wrestling, at which they were most nimble, and very great warriors.

Annotations upon the 22. Booke.

(n) *Petulantia* were a companie of souldiers serving in the East, together with the *Celte*. Some thinke they tooke that name of a place: but *Pierius* is of opinion, they were so called of their malapart behavior; considering, that in a field *Gules*, they gave for their armes a dog or &c. *Henrichus, lib. 5. cap. 1.* which is as he saith, *Symbolum petulantiae militum*: and well it may be, if we consider how they demeaned themselves to *Julian*, in casting forth a libell, *lib. 2. cap. 3.* And in this very place it is said, That their *Confidentia*, i. audaciousness, creverat ultra modum.

(θ) *Apollinis Daphnei sanium.* He was so called of a most pleasant grove or wood neere unto Antioch, called *Daphne*, containing 89 stadia, where his Image, answerable to that of *Insipiter Olympicus* was worshipped. *Iul. Capitol.*

(ι) *Deo Caestis.* I read of *Deu Caestis*, a god of Africke, *Ulpian. Tit. 12. whom Laſtanius, cap. 5. de falsa Religione*, sayth, the Moores called *Uranus*, and is the same that *Calus*, the father of *Sature*: Why therefore may not *Uesta* be this goddesse?

(κ) *Cercopi* is a subtile and flattering beast like a dog, using to wag the taile much and yet bite. *Hesychius*: whence κερκωπιον in Greeke signifieth to flatter. *Celius Rhodiginus.*

(λ) He is compared to a brother of *Orus* and *Ephialtes*, the sonnes of *Neptune*, who, as *Homer* writeth, were at nine yeres of age nine cubits broad and nine fathome long. His verses are in the 11 Booke of *Odyss.*

ἐννέατοι γὰρ τρύβη ἐν ὀνείασι χεῖρες ἦσαν
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπό τοῖς ἰνίοις γὰρ γένετον ἐννέβητοι.

Where note, that *δεννα* signifieth not *ingrumum*, for then the length were disproportionall to the breadth, but the measure of six foot, which we call a fathome.

(μ) These *Etesiae* be Northeast winds and by North, which begin to blow about the midst of July; 2 daies after the rising of the dog-star, & hold 40 daies. *Plin. lib. 2. c. 47. Nat. Hist. Lucretius* tearmeth them—*Etesia flabra Aquilonum*: because they come yearly and kept their set time.

(ν) The *Prodromi* also be winds from the same quarter returning every yere, and rise eight daies before the dog-daies begin, called *Prodromi*, as one would say, Fore-runners.

(ξ) *Bucali*, or rather *Buculi*, a small kind of Oxen or Bullocks. Likewise *Bisfurnicia*, ill favoured and mishapen Camels or Dromedaries, *quasi male tornati, or formati*. So *Vegetius lib. 2. de re Veterinaria*, calleth *Equos Bisfurnicios, i. male conformatos*. And such little and ill favoured ones it seemeth were bred in these drie countries. (ζ) This litle bird some take to be a Wren. The king of birds it is called in Italie. See more in *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 2. 5.*

(θ) *Hydrus* being here restrained to a kind of *Ichnomys, i. a Rat* of Indie, and otherwise called *Enhydrus*, seemeth to be a foure footed beast, like unto a Weezill or Ferret. Otherwise, *Hydrus* is a most venomous serpent: See more in *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 2. 5. & Edward Wottonus, Angl. de different. Animal. lib. 6. cap. 113.*

(π) Of *Blemmyes* or *Blemmye* see before.

(ρ) This *Ibis* resembleth a Stork: they fight with winged serpents: of two sorts they be, white over all *Aegyptus* save only about Pelusium; and black, which be there only, and in no part of *Aegypt* beside. *Wottonus Anglus de different. Animal. lib. 7. cap. 147.* That *Ibis* which fighteth with serpents, is very blacke, long legged like the Crane, having an hooked byll &c. Generally they bring forth young at the byll.

(σ) *Basiliske*, or *Cocatrice*. A serpent, as *Plinie* sayth, of the length of 12 fingers breadth: *Solinus* saith, he is halfe a foot long almost. Of his venomous biting, hissing, breath, and aspect, wherewith he killeth, see *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 21. also lib. 7. c. 9. ca. 4.* It seemeth to be called *Basilica caudata*: I thinke rather with our countryman *Edward Wotton*, it should be *[mirula]*. He creepereth not along, winding as other serpents do, and putting his bodie by parts forward, but beareth his head and rest of the bodie upright from the mids thereof, as *Plinie* writeth.

(τ) *Amphibena*. *Plinie* saith it is a serpent with two heades one before, as others have, another at the taile, & therefore named by some *αμφίκεφαλος*, i. headed behind & before. Indeed it cannot be discerned what part of the bodie is the lesser (as in other serpents that toward the taile grow smaller) but for biggness is alike throughout; it creepereth backward and forward; and thence is the name *Amphibena*.

Annotations upon the 23. Booke.

(v) *Scytale*] is much like unto *Amphibena*, but bigger: The backe thereof hath spots of so glittering a colour, that therewith he ravisheth (as it were) those that behold it, and astonisheth them: Being of it selfe slow of creeping, hereby it overtaketh those whom it would assayle, whiles they stand gazing and amazed at her beautie. *Ed. Watsonus, Angl. de diff. animal. lib. 7. cap. 118.*

(p) There is a Serpent in *Nicander* called *Acontias* reckoned among those that be harmfulle: but this here seemeth to be venomous; which *Plinie* writeth of under the name of *Iaculus*, according as the Greeke name *Acontias* importeth. There be of Serpents (sayth he) that from the boughes of trees shoot and launce themselves: So that we are not onely to take heed of Serpents as they glide upon the ground, but also to looke unto them that flye as a dart or arrow sent out of an Engine. Of these meaneth *Lucan*, when he sayth,

Iaculique volucres.

This Serpent is named also *Cenchrites*, of greene coloured spots all over the bodie, but about the bellie especially, like unto Millet, whereof it is so called, and is most hurtfull and forcible when it flourisheth.

(x) *Dipsas*] a kind of Viper (as some thinke) or at leastwise resembling a small Viper. Vpon the sting or bite of this Serpent follow these Symptomes, An intolerable heat of the bowels and parts within (whereupon it is named also *Prester* and *Caulos*), an unquenchable and deadly thirst (whereof it hath the name *Dipsas*) in somuch as no drinke will allay it. A more ample description thereof you shall find in *Aetius*.

(4) A Viper] is a kind of Adder, as some thinke: the male is in Greeke called *Echis*, the female *Echidna*: and whereas all other Serpents lay egges, and those come to life without their bodies, the onely bringeth them forth alive, after they have had their perfection in her wombe. The description of the Viper, the manner of their engendering &c. you shall find in *Galen*, de *Theriaca* ad *Pisonem*, out of *Nicander*.

(u) Of these *Aspides*] there be three sorts: *Chelidonia*, like unto Swallows, whereof they have that name: *Chersea*, breeding and keeping in desert, rough, and unutilled lands, whence they are so named, whereas the former haunt river sides and the banks of Nilus especially. *Pryades*, the most venomous of all other, which spitteth forth her poyson, and therefore is so called. The sting of *Aspis*, mortall though it be, and worketh speedily, yet it causeth no paine, nor worketh any grievous Symptome of swelling &c. but only killeth with a deadly sleepe men or beasts, all but the Ichneumon or Rat of Indie. *Wottonus lib. 6. cap. 114. de different. Animal.* No marvaile therefore if Queene *Cleopatra* chose to dispatch her selfe of life by this means.

(aa) *Hieroglyphicks*.] The word importeth as much as sacred sculptures or engravings. They were Monuments of the Egyptians, under the forme of beasts &c. in lieu of letters, expressing and signifying some hidden fence. See *Picinus* his bookes, entituled *Hieroglyphica*.

(bb) *Solstitium*] i. Sunne-stead. It is in Summer and Winter, when the Sunne entrencheth into the signes *Cancer* and *Capricorne*, and is run his utmost course either North or South, seeming for a while to stand still, and to returne backe againe: whereupon those points bee termed the Tropicks of *Cancer* and *Capricorne*. And although this he doth twice in a yeare, yet commonly *Solstitium* is put for that onely in the middest of Summer.

(cc) Of so great authoritie was *Pythagoras*,] that for the maintenance of any Assertion, it was sufficient to say, *avrys ega*, i. He said it. Howbeit, so modest withall, that he would not be termed *Sophus*, that is, Learned and Wise, but *Philosophus*, i. A lover, or one desirous of learning and knowledge.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 23. Booke.

(a) *His Alpinus*] being deputed Praefect, was *Vicarius Britanniae*, when under *Prætor Galliarum* was his *Dioecesis*, and contained five Provinces, *Britannia prima*, *Britannia secunda*, *Maxima Caesariensis*, *Valentia*, *Flavia Caesariensis*.

(b) This

Annotations upon the 24. Booke.

(b) This accordeth well with that of *Hector* in *Homer*, *Iliad. μ.*

ὅς ἐστιν ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάσης.

(c) This festival solemnitie by the first institution was holden at Rome the day *before the Ides, i. the twelfth day of April: *Ovid* saith it was upon the Nones, i. the fifth day of the fayd month. Therefore I suppose there is a defect in the copie, and for ad diem sextum Calendas, should be read ad diem sextum Aprilis, i. about the sixth day of April: unless you will say, that the Pompe here importeth not the great solemnitie it selfe, called *Megalefia*, or *Megalemtia*, but some ceremoniall complement going before it, and then it might be 6. called [*Aprilis*], i. the 27. day of March.

(d) *Cicero* citeth this Oracle or Prophecie in the second booke de *Divinatione*, in this verse:

Cræsus Halym penetrans magnum pervertet opum vim.

(e) This Oracle we read in *Herodotus Polymnia*:

ταῖς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ Διὸς ἑὸς
μῦθον ἀπὸ τῶν τελευτῶν τῶν τελευτῶν τῶν τελευτῶν.

For whereas the Oracle darkely implied, that they should build a wall of wood and therewith defend themselves, by the counsell of *Themistocles* they built a navie of ships, and at sea vanquished the Medes.

(f) *Pyrrhus*] King of the Epirots, who derived his pedigree from *Achilles*, and so from *Æacæ* by the mothers side, and by the father from *Heracles*.

(g) Her sonnes name was *Spargapises*, general of an armie against *Cyrus* the great king and founder of the Persian Empire; whose hap was to be defeated and taken prisoner by *Cyrus*, after much blood-shed, and afterwards slew himselfe: in revenge of whose death his mother *Tomyris* gave *Cyrus* a great overthrow, cut off his head, and put it into a pail of mens blood killed in that battell, with certaine words of indignation. *Iustin*, *Herodotus*, *Cleis*. I find not that any more sonnes than this one were slaine, and therefore yee must admit here a Synecdoche, the plural for the singular, a usuall figure in Hellenisme.

(h) (i) Of *Bitumen* and *Naphtha*] somewhat hath bene said before, and more yee may read in *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 105.*

(k) *Brachmenes*.] Certaine Philosophers, or Gymnosophists of India, called at this day *Braminers*. *Strabo lib. 15. Hieronym. contra Iovinianum lib. 2.*

(l) Of these *Abij* and *Galactophagi*, who a little after are mentioned, *Homer* writeth *Iliad. 13.* where *ἄκροφάγων* is put for *ταχισταφάγων*, by the figure Syncope for the verse sake. But as touching the etymologie of the *Abij*, the Greeke Scholiast upon *Homer* putteth downe divers conjectures: either for that they use not *βοῖς*, that is, bowes, where *a* is *εσπιντο*: or, if you take the said *a* to be *ἐπιπαινω*, that is, augmenting the signification, as the other is a privative thereof, they are implied to be rich, for that *βίος* signifieth riches: or else long lived, of *βίος*, that is life: or that they be peaceable, and use no violence, of the word *Cia*, that signifieth violence: or lastly, because they set not their mind on living daintily, in which sense it seemeth here to be taken: for those that desire riches and full fare, are commonly unjust and wrong doers, whereas these were most righteous.

(m) Of these *Mirmillones*] see before.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 24. Booke.

(a) This is an island neere to the mouth *Canopicks* of Nilus in *Ægypt*, called *Pharus*, and a towne therein built upon an high rocke, at the charges of *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, named also *Pharus*, wherein there were lights burning all night long, for the better direction

Annotations upon the 24. Booke.

tion of Sailer in their course on the sea : whence all other the like towers are termed *Phari*, *Pera*. *Sip on tin. Cornucop.*

(b) These devises called *Vinea* and *Plutei*, whereof there is so much mention in *Livie* and other *Hystor*ographers, were certaine fences to protect fouldiours approaching the walls of a citie to give assault, or to undermine, in manner of pent-houses, and roofes of houses fencing on both sides. Some thinke that *Plutei* were the single pent-houses, and *Vinea* the double.

(c) *Helepolis*.] A word derived of the verbe *halo*, to take, and *polis*, a citie, although it generally signifieth any engine or fabrick devised for the forcing of cities, yet *κατ' ἑξῆς*, this one which *Demetrius* invented in lieu of the *Ramme*, is so called. The description whereof is set downe in the former booke. The mechanicke or workman thereof was *Dreclides* of *Abdera*. *Athenaeus lib. 5.*

(c) *Polioretes*.] is as much as the besieger of cities. This *Demetrius* was the sonne of *Antigonus* king of *Macedonie*. In *Plutarch's* Parallels he is matched with *M. Antonius*.

(d) *Tribunus*] in this place and often beside seemeth to be the leader of one cohort, or a colonell of five hundred men, and then he is *Tribunus minor*: for everie cohort, whereof were ten in a legion, had *num vexillum*, i. a banner. The leader of the whole legion or more, was in times past called *Legatus*; in *Ammianus* he is knowne by the name of *Comes*, and *Tribunus maior*, and therefore may well bee Englished Lieutenant to the Generall, for so was *Legatus* under the Consul.

(e) These Silver peeces I take to be *Sestertij*, by excellencie termed *Numi*; valued at two asses and an halfe, whereupon by way of abbreviation they are commonly noted thus: *H-S*: it was the fourth part of a *Romane Denarius*, which was much about the Atticke Drachme, and in our money 7 d. ob. an hundred of which *Sestertij* in round reckoning amount to a *Romane Aureus*, that is, 15 s. or thereabout: which was but a small donative in comparison of that which he had given before at his inauguration.

(f) There was a device to make bridges upon leather bottles or budgets full of wind, the description whereof yee may see in *Vegetius*, set out by *Stereochius*. Such a bridge is called there *Ascegefrus*, as I take it, of *ἀσχος* in Greeke, i. a leather bottle or budget, and *γεφυρα*, i. a bridge. *Incertus auctor de rebus bellicis*, at the end of *Notitia*.

(g) *Titus Manlius*, surnamed *Torquatus*, for dispyling a Gaule his enemy (whom he had in fight slaine) of a golden collar or chaine about his necke. *Liv. Dec. 1. lib. 7.* There was also one *Valerius Torquatus*, upon the like occasion, but I suppose our author meaneth *Manlius*.

(h) *M. Valerius*, surnamed *Corvinus*, by occasion of a raven that setled upon the crest of his morion, as hee maintained combat with a Gaule. See *Titus Livius Decad. 1. lib. 7.*

(i) *Discessus*.] What if wee read *discessus* both come to one sense.

(k) This was *Caius Fabricius Lucinus*, of whom *Cicero* writeth in his booke *Lelius*.

(l) These amount in precise reckonings to fixe and fortie shillings tenn pence halfe-penie.

(m) At nine of the clocke at night began the second watch: For, the night containing 12. howers, was divided into foure watches, the first began at 6. of the clocke in the equinoxe, and continued three howers, and so the rest. But these howers were not alwayes equinoctiall, but longer or shorter according to the length of the night.

(n) Of *Calimachus*.] a brave warrior, and captain of the Athenians, yee may read in *Plutarch's* Parallels, how notwithstanding he was run through the bodie with many a speare, yet stood upright and shrunke not. And of *Cynegirus* an Athenian captain, it is reported, That with his right hand he staid and held the enemies ship, and when it was stricken off did the like with his left; and when he had lost that also, tooke hold of the ship with his teeth. *Trog. Herod.*

(o) *Naval Coronets*.] are portraied with sternes, or beake-heads of ships round about the hoop or circle of the crowne. See *Veget. lib. 2. cap. 7.* Civicke coronets were of Quicke grassle, called *gramen*, for saving of an armie. Coronets *Castrenses*, fashioned like to a pallaifado or rampier, with pales round about the circle, for entering the campe of the enemies first.

Anno-

Annotations upon the 25. Booke.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 25. Booke.

(a) It seemeth these *Tertiarij* be the same that *Tertiani* in *Notitia*, so wit, those of the third Legion *Italica*.

(b) Eight *stadia* or great furlongs are said commonly to make a mile, but in true measure seven *stadia* and an halfe are a mile.

(c) Vnderstand by *Legio*] in this place and divers other, not a complet Roman legion, but a companie or band.

(d) These here termed *Candidati*] otherwise *Comites*, were a crew of gallants and brave knights, that usually kept about the Emperours person: the same that *Purpurati* among the Persians.

(e) Of this *M. Marcellus*] and his triumph, yee may read at large in *Titus Livius Decad. 3. lib. 6.*

(f) For *Siccius*] read *Sicinius Dentatus*, out of *Valerius Maximus lib. 3. cap. 2.* He fought an hundred and twentie battailes: gained the spoyle by combat of six and thirtie enemies: saved foureene *Romane* citizens at the point to be killed in the field: carryed the skarres of five and fortie wounds in his breast and fore-part of his bodie, but not one on his backe: followed hard after the triumphant chariot nine times: And had carried before him in honour of his chivalrie eight crownes of gold, foureene Civicke coronets, three murall, one obidionall, one hundred fourecore and three collers, one hundred and threecore bracelets, eightene speares, and five and twentie trappers or caparisons. It is sayd that he tooke the surname *Dentatus*, because he had for his row of teeth one solide and entire bone; or for that the first of that house was borne with a tooth. *Alex. ab Alexand. Genial. Dierum lib. 1. cap. 9.*

(g) This *Sergius*] it may seeme was the first of that noble familie *Sergia*, and he tooke that name of *Sergestus* in *Virgil. Idem*.

(h) *Anno atatis altero & tricesimo*.] That is, the 32. yeare of his age: as it appeareth in the Chronologie of *Cassiodorus* and others; according to that phrase in *Virgil. Alter ab undecimo*, that is, the thirteenth, which I observe, least any man should thinke he dyed in the 31. yeare of his age.

(i) What right he had to succede his brother in the Empire, considering that *Constantine* had three sonnes, I see not; unless by his testament he made him one of his heires: For *Pomp. Latius* writeth thus: Some say that *Constantine* the great divided the whole Empire among his heires by will: Others, that his sonnes parted it by lot among them. Or happily he might be heire in remainder, if he survived his brothers sonnes, and they dyed without issue.

(k) It appeareth plainly by this place, that he debarred Christian professors in Rhetoricke and Grammer to teach in open schoole, for feare least [the Gentiles] (for now himselfe was turned a Pagan) should leave *numinum cultum*, i. Idolatrie.

(l) The *Antiochians*, as he writeth before, among other scoffes, flouted him for using to put forth his narrow shoulders: and here he saith he had big and broad shoulders. There mult be admitted in the former place a kind of Antiphrasis, or speech by the contrarie: or else to cover his broad flat shoulders, hee used belike to thrust them forth to make them seeme narrower.

(m) *Ordo Domesticonum*] here, is the same that *Schola* before, to wit, a Societie or companie of guard fouldiours about the Emperours person in ordinarie: and they be called *Scholarii*. Next unto the *Comes*, or captain of these, was hee that they called *Primus*, or *Tribunus Domesticonum*: Then *Primicerius*, *Secundoclericus*, and so through the tenne, which were termed *Decemprimi*, and had better wages than the rest. *Pancrolus* in *Notitiam Orientis cap. 89.*

(n) *Ioviani*] tooke the name of *Diocletian*, who called himselfe *Iovius*, and instituted this companie.

(o) The *Domestici* aforesaid were called also *Proteflares*, as appeareth by this place.

(p) As the *Ioviani* tooke name of *Iovius*, i. *Diocletian*, so *Herculiani* of *Herculus*: for so *Maximian* Emperour with *Diocletian* teamed himselfe.

(q) These

Annotations upon the 26. Booke.

(g) These *Iovii* were certaine people in Gaule, and a companie of them was fo called. As for those that were instituted by *Diocletian*, surnamed *Iovius*, they were rather tearmed *Ioviani*. *Pancivell* in *Notit.* *Villiores* likewise were a companie or band of souldiours, taking name either of *Victoria* a towne of Britannie, or else fo called for good lucke sake.

(r) These *Palatini* are elsewhere named *Comites*, and *Candidati*.

(f) A principall foregate in the campe was called *Prætoria*; neere unto which was *Prætorium*, i. the Generals pavilion, or the Princes, if he were in *prociñctum*, called here *Principis Tabernaculum*.

(t) About the mids of July, 15. dayes before the Kalends of August, what time Nilus also in *Ægypt* begetteth to rise.

(u) *Armorum Magister*, is the Generall of the forces, horse or foot, here put for the Generall of the Cavallerie in Gaule. In the time when *Notitia* was written, which was in the dayes of *Arcadius*, *Honorius*, and *Theodosius* the younger, there were not knowne any Ensignes belonging to his place of command: Haply, because that Province was held by the Barbarians, Gothes, Hunnes, and Vandales, who not long after subverted the West Empire. But it may seeme they differed not much from those of the Generall in the East, to wit, a booke standing upright on a cupboord or table spread with a white cloth of tapestrie. The cover of the booke was of murrey colour, with fringes in the mids and at both ends, of the same colour. In the middle of the side there is a tablet of gold, and in it the faces engraven of two Princes or Emperours, to signifie, as I thinke, both East and West Empires. *Notit. Orient. cap. 31.*

(x) *Modius* seemeth to be a measure somewhat more than our pecke, containing 16. *Sextarii*. And if everie *Sextarius* receive 24. ounces, it is a pecke and halfe, if but 18. it is in proportion a fourth part lesse.

(y) *Capita Scholarum* were the Captaines and Tribunes of everie Palatine companie.

(z) Of *Domestici* and *Herali* both, ynough hath bene said already.

(a) *Gallicani* were such souldiours as served in Gaule, of what country soever.

(b) *Sella curulis*.] A certaine chaire or seat of estate, one of the regall ensignes at Rome belonging to the Kings, afterwards to Consuls, &c. It was made of Ivorie.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 26. Booke.

(a) *Signa*.] A place in the campe where the *Ægle* stander and other militarie ensignes stood, where the Tribunes and chiefe officers quartered, and souldiours punished.

(b) The 6. day which everie fourth year arising out of the six excrecent houers in each year, maketh the leape year, is called *Bissextilis*, which is occasioned hereby: the 24. of Februarie, is the 6. day before the Kalends of March: Now when this day cometh unto it, and maketh 29. dayes of that month, the day following the said foure and twentieth is the 6. day likewise before the Kalends, and therefore they used to reckon that sixt day twice; and the year thereupon is called *Bissextilis*; and *Intercalaris* of the odde day put betweene.

(c) The imaginarie circle in heaven, through which the Sunne and other Planets runne their race in twelve signes, is called *Zodiak*, of *Zodion* in Greeke, a litle living creature: because those twelve signes are represented by certaine creatures, as the Ram, Bull, &c.

(d) *Intercalation*.] is a putting betweene of a moneth, or dayes, thereby to defer or delay.

(e) *Martenses* were a companie of souldiours serving under *Dux Armorican* *traiens* and *Nervicani*. *Notit.* They served in the marches and limites.

(f) *Patricij* were the Nobilitie of Rome, and the Senators degree.

(g) *Divites*.] Souldiours so called of *Divitum*, or *Divetum*, a Mediterranean or inland towne in Sicilie. *Tungritani*, or *Tungricani*, of *Tungri* a towne in *Secunda Germania*.

(h) *Pomponius Latius* maketh mention of *Constantia*, a daughter that *Constantius Chlorus* the father of *Constantine* had by his wife *Theodora*. But I read not elsewhere of this *Anastasia*.

(i) *Helioabolutus* assumed unto him the surname of *Antoninus* unworthily, as degenerating from that line and name, which seven Emperours before him bare, and himselfe was the last fo styled. *Æt. Lamprid.*

(k) How

Annotations upon the 27. Booke.

(k) How *Alexander Severus*, with his mother *Mamma* was killed, see *Æmilianus Lamprid.*

(l) *Aspergillum*.] That is to say, a dart or javelin. It seemeth it was a long, narrow, and strait passage.

(m) See a litle before at the letter (g.)

(n) To wit, with yron hookes and beafts clawes.

(o) *Phalaris*, a most cruell tyrant of the *Aggrigentines*, who devised a brazen bull to torment condemned persons in, by making a fire under it, causing them to frye within it, and bellow like a bull: But both the artizan *Perillus*, who made this bull, was for proofe of his handiwork, by the tyrants commaundement tortured therein; and *Phalaris* himselfe also in a commotion of the people worthily put into it, and so ended his tyrannie.

(p) It may be collected, that by [*Defensores*] are meant here certaine officers or Magistrats in Cities and great Provinciaall Townes, called *Municipia*, which were Protectors of the Commons in them, like as *Tribuni Plebis* among the Romanes: for here is no mention made of besieging or assaulting this cite. But if the reader will understand it of the defendants upon the walls, and generally of the citizens that withstood a siege which here may be implied, I will not be against him.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 27. Booke.

(a) **W**hat Souldiours these *Diviteses* and *Tungricani* were, hath bene shewed before.

(b) *Armatura* signifieth a certaine militarie exercise in *Vegetius*, whereto young souldiours were trayned by the *Campiductores*: also light armours: and the souldiours so trayned and so armed. But I suppose in this place are meant a certaine Palatine *Schola*, or companie of souldiours about the Emperour, whereof *Notitia* speaketh, and I have written somewhat before.

(c) *Haſtarij* and *Haſtati*, were Pyke-men, or Speare-men, who in libera *Repub. Romanorum*, fought in the vaward, before the *Principia*: as is to be seene in *Titus Livius* everywhere. Howbeit in the later times of the Emperours, and in *Vegetius* dayes, *Principes* were marshalled in the vanguard and *Haſtati* in the battaile and middle: and even so much *Ant. Marcell.* in one place seemeth to shew.

(d) That part of *Tuscia*, or *Tuscane*, which was more up-land into the country, and therefore better for corne, was so called; for distinction from that which was *Maritime*.

(e) A part of Rome was seated on the other side of the river *Tiberis*, and thereupon called *Transiberina regio*.

(f) This hearbe, because it delighteth to grow upon walls, we commonly call *Pellitarie* of the wall, for *Parietaria*. The scoffe will fit those well, that love to write their names on everie wall.

(g) These were built by *Constantine* the Great: Where note, that howsoever *Malleoli* be by *Marcellinus* described elsewhere as a fire-dart, or engine in warre, yet here *Malleoli* be certaine bundles of tow, drie sticks, or such light fellw apt to take fire, beinarmed with pitch, biumen, or such matter, used to set houses on fire, as *Cicero* chargeth *Catiline* with provision of them [*ad incendium urbis*], for to throw downe the walls upon enemies that are ready to assault, or upon their engines and fabrickes. We may in these dayes call them balls of wild-fire. There is use of them also to kindle and make fire without such intent, as we read how the Gothes kindled them, *ad Carraginem*, i. their campe or strength, fenced with their carts and carriage.

Ant. Marcell. lib. 31.

(i) Of *Bellona*.] She is taken to be the same that *Minerva*, according to that of *Virgil*, *Præses Titonia belli*. See before.

(k) Of *Magister Memoria*, have recourse to the note before.

(l) As *Comes* was in dignitie before *Dux*, so he is here set in the first place: like as in the *Notitia* also he is called *Comes Mariim* *traiens*, for that he kept the coasts of the East side of the island, like as the Lord Warden of the Cinque ports in these dayes. Afterwards *Comes limitis Saxonici*

Annotations upon the 28. Booke.

Saxones per Britanniam was erected against the invasion of the Saxons, who had then set foot on that side of the island, and encroached farther.

(m) As *Comes Maritimi tractus* had the charge of the sea coasts, so *Dux Britannie* of the Mediterranean and inland parts: what forces and legions were under the one and the other, yet may find in *Notitia Occidentalis Imperij*.

(n) Yet note, that *Dux* hath a reference to the Marches of the Empire; for the inland part of Britannie was neerer to the limits of the Empire than the sea coast, whereof there was a *Comes*.

(o) *Iovis* either are the same that *Ioviani* before, erected by *Diocletian* who named himself *Iovius*: or else levied out of a nation in Gaule so called. As for *Victores*, they were haply souldi- diors of *Vindictrix legio*, that served in Britannie, or teamed of *Victoria* a place in Britannie, as we find in *Notitia*: or else so called *boni omnis causæ*.

(p) *Diocmitæ* were light appointed horsemen and halfe armed, for better expedition to pursue and follow in chase, whereof they had that name.

(q) *Meniana* were buildings jutting forth into the street, partly to enlarge the roome, and partly to gaine better prospect: devised by one *Menius* an unthrif, who having spent all his land and living, reserved yet such a gallerie the better to behold publicke fights and games, of whom such juries are named *Meniana*.

(r) There were in Rome 14 regions.

(s) *Magistri rei Castrensis*, I suppose are here the same that *Magistri militum*, or martiall captaines.

(t) This *Sicinius* was before called *Siccus Dentatus* for *Sicinius*.

(u) Well suiting with this was that device of *Archilochus*, who depainted fortune in the forme of an old woman, carrying in her right hand flaming fire, and in her left water. *Natal. Comes Mytholog. lib. 4. cap. 9.*

(x) *Pontus Polemoniachus*, so called of *Polemon* or *Polemo*, a king that ruled that province. *Strab. 11. 12.* for difference from the great cuntry *Pontus*, bordering upon the sea *Pontus*.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 28. Booke.

(a) Singular care was always had in the Roman State, that corne and other viſuall ſpeciall officers called *Ediles*, and after in the free Commonweale there were of Knights or Gentlemen, named *Præſectus annonæ*, and *Curator annonæ*. The policie of that Commonweale was ſuch, that by good forecaſt there was alwayes plenty of *annonaria*, and the price thereof alwayes low; yea and many times there was given away among the people a mightie deale and dole of corne and bread: alſo, that which they called *Eduſitas*, which was a largesse of fleſh given by the Emperour, and diſtributed among the common people in time of ſcarcitye. Read hereof *Aelius Lamprid.* in the life of *Alex. Severus*.

(a) Because there is ſo often mention made of *Præſectus urbi*, the Preſect of the citie, that is * Rome, called ordinarily in this author *Vrbs æterna*, it wil not be impertinent ſomewhat to write of that magiſtrat. In the free ſtate he was Provoſt or governour of the citie deputed in the abſence of the Conſuls, while they ſolemnized the ſeſtival ſacrifices on the mount *Albanus* during the Latine holy-dayes, as appeareth in *Livie*. In the Emperours time he reſembled ſomewhat for civile juriſdiction and government within Rome and about it, the *Præſectus Prætorio*: and they two were of chiefſt authoritie, as appeareth by the ſame or verie like enſignes belonging to the office. And as it may be gathered out of *Notitia*, they were theſe. A chariot-man on a foot wearing upon a red, or (as ſome bookes have) a greene coat, a white looſe mandilian, or a greene, without ſleeves: his armes both he putteth out, wearing upon his red ſtockings * blew ſhoes: in his left * hand he beareth a rod, with his left he holdeth the reins and guideth them, hanging from the head of the laſt or next horſe of the foure, whereas the other three are unbridled, and be all of white colour. The chariot is of Ivorie gilt all over, and of that kind which they call *Carrucha*. Above the portraiture hereof, there is a table covered with a blew carpet fringed, of tapeſtrie, which carrieth a booke ſtanding upright with a leather cover ſilvered

Annotations upon the 28. Booke.

bound in the mids, & toward both ends, with golden ſtrings, with the image in gold likewiſe of the Prince in the mids of the backe: and the ſame containing the articles of his charge, putting him in mind, to have care of the citie, and to gather up the revenues thereof. Theſe in a certaine frame had the Emperours images in gold carried before them, and under them the image of a woman, carrying in her hand *Cornucopia*. There were repreſented alſo two taper giſts, burning on each ſide of the ſaid booke. And as to the *Præſecti Prætorio* there were beſides women portraied with crownes on their heads, and chargers or boles full of golden peeces of coine, according to the number of the Dioceſſes under them: ſo it is probable, that this *Præſect* had among his enſignes the picture alſo of Rome. More hereof you may read here and there in *Notitia*.

(b) *Aruspex* properly is that Soothſayer that foretelleth future events, by peering and prying into the inward of beaſts killed for ſacrifice: ſo called *à ſpeciendo viſtimas ad aram*, and is the ſame that *Extispex*.

(c) The *Solidus* among the Romanes, as *Budeus* ſaith, was *Aureus*, i. a coined peece of gold: whereof foure went to an ounce, ſo that by this reckoning it was about 15 s. Now if *Moldius* were our peece and halfe, and ten of theſe peece were fold in time of a great dearth for one *Solidus* or *Aureus*, that is, everie peece for 18 d. of our money, then a meaſure with us called a ſtrike, or London buſhell would have coſt 4 s. which was counted deere among the provincials, which no doubt would have bene afforded much cheaper unto the citizens of Rome: For the Roman proviſion out of which this want was ſupplied, coſt but the third part of that price.

(d) Under *Comes ſacrarum largitionum* in the Weſt Empire, were fix *Procuratores monete*, or Maſters of the mint, which had their mint-houſes in ſeverall places: at *Sciſcia* in *Pannonia ſecunda*, at *Aquileia*, at *Lions*, at *Arelas*, at *Triers*, and at *Rome*, in the temple of *Iuno Moneta*. *Tiberis*. Here is meant the Mint-maſter at Rome.

(e) Among other deviſes to torment folke, were certaine plummetts or pellers of lead, called *Plumbata*, different in forme from thoſe *Plumbate* in *Vegetius*, which were a kind of caſting weapons: and herewith poore priſoners and martyres were pelted to death. Theſe *Conſtantinus* the Emperour called *Plumbatorum verbera*. And *Prudentius* expreſſeth the manner of this torture lively in theſe verſes:

*Tundatur tergum crotis ſilibus,
Plumbæque cervix verberata extorquet.
Pulſatus ergo Martyr illa grandine
Poſtquam inter ſcūs dixit hymnum Plumbæ, &c.*

(f) Although this word *Summate* may verie well agree to all the Senatours in Rome, or *Curiales* in provinciall citie and townes, yet properly it is meant of thoſe that had bene ſuperiour magiſtrats, and borne office of eſtate.

(g) *Buſiris* the ſonne of *Neptune*, a moſt cruell tyrant of *Egypt*, whoſe manner was to ſacrifice all ſtraungers unto his Idoll *Iupiter*. In the end, when he would have dealt ſo by *Hercules*, he and his ſonne, together with the bloody miniſters of ſuch ſacrifices, were by him ſlaine. Of him ſo notorious a tyrant *Virgil* writeth thus:

Georgic. 3. Quis illaudati neſcit Buſiris ævas?

Antæus likewiſe the ſonne of *Neptune* and *Tellus*, a mightie Giant (as Poets feigne) in *Libya*, 64. cubits high: He uſed to lye upon the bare ground, and overcame all others in wreſtling, untill he met with *Hercules*, in wreſtling with whom when he was weary and laid upon the ground he recovered eſſoones his ſtrength thereby, and became more vigorous than before: which *Hercules* perceiving, and how he gat more ſtrength by touching his mother the earth, overthrew him no more, but in his armes held him betweene heaven and earth, ſo long and ſo faſt, that he cruſhed him to death. *Natalis Comes* of this fabulous narration doth myſtologize in this manner, namely, that hereby is confirmed the great Axiome in Phyſicke, that *trichogaris* is cured by contraries: for that as *Hercules* ſignifieth the Sunne, or heat, and the earth cold: ſo, hot diſeaſes be cured by cold remedies. Thus much by the way, and by the *Paracelliſians* leave.

d ij

(b) He

* And note that
Rome is often in
this our author
called *Vrbs æterna*,
and ſo *T. Livius*
lib. 31. ſpeaketh of
it to the ſame ſenſe
in theſe termes,
Vrbs æterna
diſci æterna ſine ſine
æternum creditur.

* or blew beaſkins
up to the knees.
* or contriv'd.

Annotations upon the 28. Booke.

(b) He pointeth at a place in the seventeenth booke of *Homer's Iliad*, where the *Greeks* fought for the dead bodie of *Patroclus*, and were beuileth and overcast with darknesse. The words *Max* which are these:

Ζῶν πάρος ἀλλὰ σὺ βῆσαι ὄν' ἄπορος νῦν Ἀχαιοῖσι,
Πόισιν δ' ἄδυσιν, ἴδός δ' ὀρθαλαμῶσιν ἰδὲ θαλά,
Ἐν δὲ γὰρ δὲ δασύσσον, ἔπειτα νῦν τοι ἔσθ' ἄν' ὕπνῳ.

Where note that *ἀν* is put for *caligo*, and *ἀπορία*, i. a mist or darknesse that taketh all sight away.

(i) *Tullianum*,] one part of the gaole or prison at Rome added to the other named *Robur*, by *Serv. Tullius* the king. *Salustius* saith, it was walled round about with stone, and arched over head. And *Carolus Sigonius* collecteth, that herein condemned persons were throated and strangled with the halter. *De Iudic. lib. 3. cap. 16.*

(k) *Valentia*] seemeth to be the North part of that province in Britannie, which is called *Maxima Caesariensis*: and so called in honour of *Valens* the Emperour, under whom *Theodosius* had recovered it out of the hands of the *Picts* &c.

(l) Whether he meaneth here hot artificiall bathing, or drinking water hot, (a device of *Nero*) I leave indifferently to the readers judgement.

(m) The sonne of *Agiasarchus*, and a Poet, who being by his father sent into the field to keepe cattell, slept in a certaine cave 73. yeares: whence came the proverbe, *Epimenidis somnum dormire. Susas.*

(n) *Semiramis*] Queene of the Assyrians, and wife of *Ninus*, who dissembling the death of her husband in his habite, governed untill her sonne Prince *Ninus* was come to his age. One day as she was dressing her head, word was brought, that Babylon rebelled: & presently undressed as she was, with one halfe of her haire loose about her eares, she ran forth to assault the citie, and made not an end of trimming her head, before she had brought the citie to her devotion. Whereupon the Babylonians erected her statue at Babylon in that manner and habit as she hastened forth to that exploit. *Valer. Max. lib. 9. cap. 3.*

Cleopatra Queene of *Egypt*, wife of *Ptolemeus Suleter*, the sister and wife both of the last *Ptoleme*, after whose death being wedded to *M. Antonius*, she accompanied him in his warres. Other you may read more in *Plinie*, *Plutarch*, and others.

Artemisia the wife of *Mausolus* king of *Caria*, a Ladie of incomparable chastitie, and with all right valiant. So affectionat to her husband, that when hee was dead, she spiced her wine with his ashes and dranke it: She procured Oratours out of Greece to solemnize his funerals with eloquent Orations, and erected for him a stately tombe, reputed a wonder of the world: whereupon all goodly and costly monuments are called *Mausolea*.

Zenobia Queene of the *Pasmyrenes*, after the death of her husband *Odenatus*, shee usurped the Empire in *Syria*, and is reckoned one of the thirte tyrants or usurpers in *Galienus* the Emperour his time: of her rare chastitie (as who never companied with her husband but for procreation) of her magnificent estate, her marriall strowesse, beautie, eloquence, skill in languages, writing of an Epitomicall History, and training up of her children in learning, read *Trebell. Pollio. Inl. Capitolinus*.

(o) *Castor and Pollux*,] the sonnes and twinnes of *Leda* and their reputed father *Tyndarus*, whereupon they were called *Tyndaridae*. They lived and ruled together most lovingly, and were placed after death in heaven, by the name of the signe *Gemini*. There is a certaine Meteor or fire impression appearing many times to Mariners, called after their names, and the same apparition is fortunat: for they are reckoned ἀντιπρόσωποι, i. *Dæmones evertuici*, or de-pellentes: and the Romans held the appearing of them to be luckie.

(p) *Plinie* in his eight booke, and 57. chapt. Nar. Hist. reckoneth up Dor-mice about delicate meats served up at the table. The manner of keeping and feeding them for that purpose, you may find there, and in *Wottons de Animalibus*.

(q) *Stefichorus*] a famous Lyrical Poet, so called, for that he was the first that joynd song and dancing with the sound of the harpe: for his true name was *Tijias*. The nightingale

Annotations upon the 28. Booke.

gale settled upon the lips of him, being a babe, and sung, praefaging thereby, what a sweet Poet he would prove another day. Lyrick verses were such at first, as the *Chorus* upon the stage betweene every Act in a Tragedie sung and acted with the Musicke.

(r) *Chimerij* were Northern people inhabiting about the lake *Meotis*, where there is a frish or strait of the sea called *Bosphorus Chimericus*, for difference of *Bosphorus Thracicus* by *Propontis* and *Constantinople*. The place of their habitation was darke, cold, and bleake; like unto that vale in *Italie* between *Cumæ* and *Baræ*; environed about with high hills, so that the Sunne neither morning nor evening seene, whereupon they also are called *Chimerij*. *Strab.*

(f) These be certain Batches and holefome waters, taking the name of *Mammea*, the mother of *Alexander Severus*.

(i) Of *M. Marcellus*] his behavior and triumph after the winning and sacking of *Syracuse* you may read in *T. Livius*, 26 booke.

(u) *Ephemeris*] in this place, or *Ephemerides*, as we terme it, is an Astronomical table, shewing day by day the figure and position of the heavens, and the divination thereby, in which fence *Invencus* taketh it in this verse:

In cuius manibus, cum pinguis succina, tristas
Cernis Ephemeridas.

(x) *Mitio* and *Laches*] were two actors in *Terences Comædies*, representing good plaine and simple old men, speaking popularly in a civile and vulgar manner, which is meant here by *Socci*, i. certain light shooes or startups that Players in Comædies used. He meaneth a lowly and humble behavior.

(y) *Contrariwise*, *Ctesiphon* & *Thememus*] acted parts in Tragedies of *Hercules* his sons, in an higher and loftier straine, & expressed here by *Cothurnus*, i. a buskin, which tragically players used, and are here brought in, speaking big, and faring as those that are in a proud and disdainfull humor. What these *Ctesiphon* and *Thememus* more particularly were, or in what Tragedies they be actors, I have not read: but well might they be some of the race of *Hercules*, especially seeing, as *Uarro* writeth, There were knowne by the name of *Hercules* 43. and one of them had 50 wives and concubines, and left 70 children behind him. *Alex. ab Alex. Genal. dierum, lib. 2. cap. 5.*

(z) How infamous this nation was for sacrificing unto their idoll *Diana* such strangers as arrived at their costs, especially those that had suffered shipwrack, or *Greekes*, *Strabo* and other Authors write: but *Herodotus* in *Melpomene* saith, That they sacrificed not unto *Diana*, but to *Iphigenia*, the daughter of *Agamemnon*.

(a) The portraiture of *Vittoria*] is to be seene in many old coynes, in habit of a woman, and with wings, holding forth a guirland in the right hand, and bearing in her left an Olive branch.

(b) The cities, colonies, & townes called *Municipia*] within the Roman Empire were much like unto Rome in their manner of Commonweale and government: And as the Romans had a Senate-house and Senators, so had they in resemblance thereof a *Curia* and *Curiales*; who likewise were termed *Decuriones*, because at the first erecting & planting of Colonies the tenth man was enrolled a *Senatour*, or one of the *Patres* of the place. They had to name likewise *Possessores*, *Ordo*, *Honorati*, and in Greeke *Buleute*. As in the Romane Senate there was a President called *Princeps Senatus*, so that *Decurio* or *Curialis*, who had borne all offices of State, they called *Primus Curia*. And like as in Rome the chiefe of the Senatours degree were tyld *Illustres*, the rest *Clarissimi*, so in these provinciall corporations, in the first ranke were more or fewer of this in Greeke *Protektasia*. According to the greatness of the place there were more or fewer of this in order: in some 20 or 30, in others 7 or 5: so that wher you read in this Author of *Decuriones* in any city, or *Curiales*, or *Honorati*, or simply *Ordines* or *Ordo*, understand this degree of chiefe burgeses: how ever others expound *Curiales*, either courtiers, who we in Latin call *Aulici*, or those that be officers of any judiciall court, as *Accursius* doth, and the author of the law *Vocabularia*.

(2) As in Rome there was a Colledge of Prelats called *Pontifices*, so in these *Municipia* the chiefe Clergie men were called *Sacerdotes*.

(d) Likewise, *Ediles*] in these colonies and corporat townes resembled in many points those

Annotations upon the 29. Booke.

those of Rome: howbeit they had no jurisdiction, but were clerks of the Market &c. As touching whose charge, you may read more in *Apianus* his *Astynomicus*.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 29. Booke.

- (a) The verses in *Theognis* that he alludeth unto are these in Greeke.

* Η δὲ χερὶ εὐχόμενος, ὃς ἐς μετὰ πύλας ἔστη
Πυθίης, ὃς παρὰ Κέρην κατ' ἰλίδαν.

(b) By this you may know that these *Echles* were racks, to be wrestled up or let downe; and *Eusebius* writeth thus: Τὰς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ διατάσσας τὸν πόδ' ὅν καὶ ἀποφῶν διατεταμένους τριήμας: Whereby it is gathered, that the utmost stretching was to the fifth hole.

(c) Famous were those Quinquennall Games holden in Greece every fift yeare at the citie Olympia, neere unto the hill Olympus, whither assembled people from all parts: whence grew *Olympias*, i. the space of foure yeres complete and past, by which they reckoned their times as the Romans by their *Lustra*, and we Christians by the nativitie of our Savior, to wit, the first, second, or third yeare &c. of such an *Olympias*.

(d) *Carpathos*. An Island betwene Rhodes and Candie, from whence it came.

(e) Heroicke verses so called, because in them most commonly were penned the acts of demigods and Worthies, such as they termed *Heroes*; as were the Poemes of *Homers Iliad*. and *Odyssey*; likewise *Virgils Aeneid*. This stately verse is likewise called *Hexametre*, for that it consisteth of six feet.

(f) *Pythias* were such verses as Oracles were delivered in, so called of *Pythius*, one of the surnames of *Apollo*, who rendered answers to them that consulted with his Oracle, whereupon he also was so named ἀπὸ τῆς πυθιαῖσθας, and his Priestesses *Pythias*, *Strab. lib. 9.*

(g) *Branchidae* the Priests of *Apollo Didymus*, *Strab. lib. 14.*

(h) Of these *Olympicke Games* see a little before.

(i) Of these *Syrenes* or *Mercenaidi* you may read in *Homer. Odys. lib. 12.* how *Ulysses* as he passed by them in the Sicilian sea, stopped the eares of his companions with wax, and caused himselfe to be fast tied unto the mast of his ship, because they should not be allured with their sweet melodye.

(k) The *Areopagites* Counsell and Court of justice in Athens was most severe & upright, instituted by *Cecrops* first, as *Eusebius* thinketh, and not by *Solon*. The reason of that name is twofold, either for that there passed in that court trial and judgement of bloudshed and murder, which is exprest under the name of *Mars*, in Greeke *Ares*; or because *Mars*, when he was judicially accused by *Neptune*, for killing his sonne *Habirrotius*, there sticke downe his speare. More heroif, and of the fabulous concertation at the barre of the gods, you may read in *Carol. Sigon. de Rep. Atheniens. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

(l) Seven vowels he meaneth in Greeke, α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, η.

Pliny writeth, That the paine of the stomacke, next unto the Strangurie, occasioned by the Stone, is most intolerable. Now, whether he meaneth that which the Physicians term *Cardialgiā*, or *Ileos*, otherwise called *Volulus*, *Ithaca passio*, & [*Domine*] *ysicere me*: which although originally be seated in the small & higher guts, yet for the vicinitie soone affecteth the stomack, as appeareth by dolorous vomiting: or rather the disease or Symptome *Cholera*, wherein the stomacke is most painfully affected, and dischargeth it selfe upward and downward, I cannot determine.

(kk) Whereas in the 29. booke, cap. 8. *Valentinian* is said to have kept two shee Beares, the one named *Innocentia*, the other *Mica aurea*, i. golden *Mica*, probable it is by the former name, that the other also alluded to *Mica*, the name of some woman. I call to mind therefore, that in *Plutarchs* Morals, among praise-worthie women, there is a large narration of one damofell, the daughter of *Philodemus*, an Eleian, named *Mica*, or as some read, *Micca*, who under the licentious reigne of *Avrototemus* the tyrant, one *Lucius* was enamoured upon, and after much courtuing and solliciting of her to forset the honor of her bodie, but all in vaine, killed her in the fight and bolome of her father, whose guilded image was set up for a memoriall in Rome. And this is the conjecture of *Panciroius*.

Annotations upon the 30. Booke.

(1) Of these Masters of Forges wherein armour was made, see before.

(m) There were certaine officers belonging to the Emperours stable called *Stratores*, who were to chuse and allow horses meet for service.

(n) *Constantiani* were a band of souldiors erected by *Constantius* the Emperor.

(m) *Lerna* or *Lerne* a Mere in the territorie of Argos, which the Serpent *Hydra* haunted, and did much mischief to all the country about it, whereinto also they used to cast all filth &c. Whence came the Proverbe, *Lerna malarum*, i. a sinke of all sinne and mischief, *Strab. I* his serpent (as they say) had to one bodie 50 heads, and as any one of them was cut off, there grew presently two in the place, *Palaph. de Fabulis*. It was one of *Hercules* his labours to destroy this serpent.

(m) These two Legions tooke the name of *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*, out of which provinces they were levied.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 30. Booke.

(a) *Provincia moderatoris apparitor*. Although *Moderator* strictly taken signifieth the Ruler of a small Province, who properly is termed *Correktor*, yet here it is more generally put for the governor of Cilicia, who was *Consularis*; and an officer of his had the charge to ward this gate of Tarsus, a citie in that Province.

(b) Among other Attributes given to *Jupiter*, one was * *Xenios*, or *Hospitalis*, the Superintendent, as it were, of guests, and their entertainment. So religious they were in old times, that a guest once received should be inviolable, according to that verse in *Virg. Aeneid. 1.*

Jupiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur.

(c) This is that *Fabricius Luscinus*, or *Lucinus* who was so poore (because he contemned riches) that his daughters (as is before said) were married with dowries out of the chæber of the citie.

(d) Who was slaine as he sat at supper by *Perpenna* his companion in the same faction. *Plutarch.*

(e) *Academia* a shade and woodie place a mile from Athens, where *Plato* was borne and did first teach, so called, as *Eupolis* saith, of *Academi* a god, according to the verse, *Εὐπολιος ὅπου πρὸς ἀκαδήμιον δῖον*: and *Horace*, *Atrique inter sylvas Academi querere verum*. Hence it is, that all famous Schooles of Learning and Vniversities be called *Academies*.

(f) *Trebatius* a renowned Lawyer, and familiar friend of *Tull. Cic.* as appeareth in his Epistles: the rest also were deepe Lawyers in their time.

(g) Of his intemperate speech and railing upon *Achilles*, you may read *Homer. Iliad. B.* That which *Ammianus* alludeth unto is this, *Θεοπέτρης δ' ἐνὶ μύθῳ ἀντιπροσέτις ἰσχυροῖς*: wherein he compareth his prating to the unnumble chattering of Choughes and Dawes.

(h) This is that *Caius Gracchus* of whom *Tully* writeth in his third booke de *Oratore*, as also *Quintilian. cap. 10. lib. 1.* & *Aulus Cell. lib. 1. cap. 11.* That when he was to plead, he had a man or Mufition that stood closely behind him with a little yvorie pipe, such as they call *torus* or *torus*, thereby to put him in mind of raising or letting fall his voice.

(i) Some writers go cleare away with this opinion, That *Valentinian* died of an Apoplexie: But if we conferre the nature of an Apoplexie with the manner of his disease, and some other circumstances here put downe, namely, That Physicians and Surgeons were employed then in the cure of his souldiors, sicke of the pefillence, the fierce heat that he was surpris'd and possid'd with, his deadly yexing, gnashing of his teeth, his laying about him with his arms, & last of all, the blew spots appearing on his body, we may the rather be induced to think he died of the plague.

(k) As for those passages which he calleth here *Hemorroides*, they be certain veines, in number five, descending from the master veine, called *Cava* or *Chilis*, to the circle of the fundament or tiwill: which for that they doe void bloud sometimes naturally, or by art are opened and caused to bleed, for avoiding of melancholic diseases, be termed *Hemorroids*.

(l) Of his *Miles* his strength, & his strange death (occasioned by the confidence of his own strong armes, whiles he would assay to cleave the bodie of a tree, that had a rift or chink in it) you may see more in *Valer. Max. lib. 9. cap. 12.* of whom the Poet *Iuvenal* also writeth thus:

Conspicit perijt adams arandi, que lacertis.

(m) Comes

* An Oake by
Valer. Max.
his wedges
set in it.

Supra.

Annotations upon the 31. Booke.

(m) Comes prefatus rei Castrensis. He was Generali of the Forces, and not Comes Castrensis, which was another officer in the time of the Emperors, attending in court, otherwise called Triclinarcha in the daies of Alexander Severus, under whom were the ministers and servants of the Emperors house, all save those of his Chamber, as butlers, carvers, yeomen of the cellar, waiters at the table &c. going all under the name of Ministeriani and Castrensi: For the Emperours house is compared to Castra, i. the campe, and from thence borroweth many teames. Habent. n. Antici (as saith Tertullian) militia imaginem. Vnder him were the Padagogiani, such as now wee terme Pages, and used to wear purple shoes, &c. like unto whom Ammian. compareth Praepositi, when he was newly invested in his imperiall robes: He used to goe before the Emperour with a golden Verge or Warder: He was called in the later times Curpalata, and as Pancirol. upon Notitia sayth, may be compared to the Major, Steward, or grand Seneschall of the kings house. The Ensignes belonging to this office import as much, as side Tables, Cupboard, Balcon and Ewre, Flagons &c. By way of agnomination Marcellinus nick-nameth one Hyperechius, apparitor Castrensis for Castrensis, lib. 26. cap. 10.

(n) Artaxerxes] as some thinke, was a generall name in times past of the kings of Persia, as now Sophi is. This Artaxerxes, called here Macrocheir, is named in Latine to the same fence Longimanus, for that one hand, to wit, the right, was longer than the other, and is thought to be the same that Assuerus in Hester, the sonne of Xerxes. See Iustin. Celsus Rhodigin.

(o) (p) So called, for that in running he had not his peete. Of this argument read the pleasant digression of T. Livius, Decad. 1. lib. 9.

Annotations and conjectures upon the 31. Booke.

(a) This Baine tooke the name of Valens himselfe.

(a) By Trebellius Pollio he is named Divus Claudius, and reigned presently after the 30 tyrants or usurpers, in sundry parts of the Empire.

(b) Of Domesticorum Comes] hath beene written before.

(c) Carrage] was a fortification in manner of a campe, that these Barbarians made, fenced about with their carts, whereupon it tooke the name. Of the like Trebellius Pollio maketh mention in the Gallieni, and Divus Claudius, also Zojimus.

(d) Of the Cornuti] somewhat hath beene written alreadie.

(e) Take Defensores] here for the townsmen generally, and not those magistrates of the people that be called Defensores.

(f) (g) (h) Of these Lancearii, Mattiaci and Batavi] see before.

(i) Pomponius Latens writeth, That he did this voluntarie, according to the example of the ancient Decij, surnamed Mures, who for their countrie exposed themselves to death.

(k) Cn. Scipio] who with his brother Pub. died in Spain, and his hap was to be burned with in a tower. T. Liv. 2. Florus. He is otherwise called Cura, or Curator Palatii, Curpalata likewise, and Comes Castrensis.

(l) As for Promoti] they were a companie of souldiours so called, for that they had been by certaine degrees for their good service promoted. Pancirol. in Notitiam.

(m) Of this notable overthrow of the Romans at Cannaz, wherein were slaine of Romans and Allies above 85,000 men, T. Livius reporteth in the second booke, Decad. 3.

(n) These Cylindri] Vegetius calleth Talca.

FINIS.



The Chronologie to Ammianus Marcellinus, from the beginning of NERVA his Empire, unto the death of VALENS.

Years of the world	Years of our Lord	Consuls	ADs.	Years of their Empire.	Years since R. founded.
4067	97	C Fulvius Valens. C Anicius	I N this year, on the (18.) day of September was Domitian the Emperour slaine, in the year of his age 45.	15	849
			After him succeeded NERVA COCCEIVS CÆSAR. AVG. PONT. MAX. TR. PLEB. PA. PATR. the xij. Emperour, and reigned one year, foure moneths, and ix. daies. Dion.		
			From the beginning of his empire Ammianus Marcellinus began his Hystories, drawn out to 31. bookes, whereof the former 13. be lost.		
4068	98	Imperator Nerva, the third time. Virginus Rufus the third time.	¶ Traianus is by Nerva adopted and called Cæsar. S. Iohn the Evangelist returneth from exile to Ephesus.	1	850
4069	99	Imperator Nerva 4. time. Trajanus adopte fourth of Nerva August. Cæsar, the third time.	Cornelius Tacitus was Consul in the rowme of NERVA deceased: who died the 27. of January.	1	851
			After whom succeeded Nerva Traianus, Opt. Aug. Germ. Dacic. Parthicus, the xiiij. Emperour, and ruled years 19. moneths 6. daies 15. Dion.		
4070	100	C. Sestius Severo the second time. A. Cornelius Palma.	Traianus refused the third Consulship due unto him, as the new Emperour, Plin. second. in Panegyricus. The same did Augustus an hundred years before: Both of them by the secret counsell of God, unwriting of so much themselves, giving place to Christ the monarch of all Monarches.	2	852
			S. Iohn the Euangelist dieth at Ephesus, in the ninthieth year of his age, or the 91. Euseb. Hieron.		
4071	101	¶ Trajanus the Emperour the third time. M. Cornelius Frons the third time.	In this time flourished Plutarch Cherrhonesius, who left behind him, as monuments of his learning and wit, his Parallels and Morals: Also L. Florus, who wrote a Brevi.	3	853

Year of the world	Year of Christ.	Confuls.	Acts.	Year of their Empire.	Year since Reformation.
			Breviary of Livie: and Plinius the fifters sonne of Plin. second. who wrote the Naturall hystorie: whose Panegyrick to Traianus and Epistles be at this day extant.		
4072	102	¶ Traian the Emperour the fourth time. See. Arrianus Paretis.		4	854
4073	103	¶ C. Sotius Senecio the third time. L. Licinius Sura the second time.	The third persecution of Christians under Traian: which exhibited unto us an infinite number of most constant Martyrs. Ecclesiasticall historie.	5	855
4074	104	¶ Traian Emperour the fift time. L. Appius Maximus the second time.		6	856
4075	105	¶ Sotianus the second time. P. Neratius Marcellus.	The Church is troubled by certaine Heretikes, whose names are to be buried in silence and oblivion.	7	857
4076	106	¶ T. Iulius Candidus the second time. A. Iulius Quadratus the second time. ¶ L. Cereonius son of L. L. Tuias Cerealis.		8	858
4077	107	¶ C. Sotius Senecio a third time. L. Licinius Sura the third time.	Plinius secundus governing the Province Bithynia, when during his government he had put many Christians to death, much moved at their Multitudes and Constancie, wrote unto Traian, to know his mind what was to be done with them: certifying him, that beside their obstinate refusing to sacrifice, he could find nought else in their religion, but that their congregations met before day light, to sing certaine Hymnes to one Christ: that their Discipline forbade manlaughter, theft, adultery, robbery, &c. and otherwise, that they led a godly, temperate, and sober life. Vnto whom Traian writeth backe againe, that there should bee no inquisition made after Christians: but if they were presented, they ought to suffer punishment. Enseb. lib. 3. Tertullian. in Apologet. Orosius, and others. Now Tertullian taxeth this abhorred Edict of the Emperour in this wise: He prohibiteth enquire after them as Innocents, yet commaundeth they should be punished as offenders: He spareth, and cruell fareth: he dissimuleth, and yet chastiseth, &c. The name, saith hee, of Christians is condemned and punished; but no wicked act of theirs: The name onely is hurtfull, the men themselves harmlesse.	9	859
4078	108			10	860
4079	109	¶ Ap. Aemilius Trebonius Gallus. M. Atilius Modestinus Bradus.	Evaristus Bishop of the Church of Rome, for professing Christ, suffereth death.	11	861
4080	110	¶ A. Cornelius Palma the second time. C. Calpurnius Tullius the second time.	Ignatius Bishop of Antioch is condemned at Rome to be exposed unto savage beasts. Enseb.	12	862
4081	111	¶ Clodius Crispinus. Solomon Ophiata.	A mighty Earthquake, which Dio describeth at large, shaketh the cite of Antioch.	13	863

About

Year of the world	Year of Christ.	Confuls.	Acts.	Year of their Empire.	Year since Reformation.
4082	112	C. Calpurnius Piso. M. Ventius Rusticus Bolanus.	About this time Traian having expelled Cosroes, held for 3 yeres the kingdome of the Parthians, reduced Dacia, Scythia; Syria, Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, into the forme of Provinces: He much enlarged the bounds of the Roman Empire: brought under his dominion the Iberians nere unto Pontus Euxinus, the Sauromatae, Agarens, Arabians, beside the cities of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Babylon. Dion. Hee appointed the riuer Euphrates, or as others write, Tigris to be the limite of the Roman Empire. Entrep. Hee to prepared and rigged a flectee in the Red-sea, that thereby he might invade and wasse the borders of India. Casiodorus.	14	864
4083	113	¶ Trajan the Emperour the sixt time. C. Julius Africanus.	The Columnne of Traiane, which is to bee seene in Rome at this day, was about this time erected: bearing Date of the 17. Tribuneship of Traiane.	15	865
4084	114	L. Publius Celus the second time. C. Clodius Crispinus.		16	866
4085	115	Q. Ninnius Falta. P. Manlius Vopiscus.		17	867
4086	116	M. Valerius Messala. C. Fopilius Canus Pedo.	The Iewes in Libya, Aegypt, and other Countries, made an Insurrection, and beganne to rebell; but by the Gentiles were vanquished and repressed. And when in Mesopotamia they warred afresh vpon the Inhabitants, Trajan gave commaundement unto Emilius, to roote them out, or expell them that Province. Against whom Quiricus came with banner displayed, and put infinite thousands of them to the sword: whereupon the Emperour ordained him to be Procurator of Iudaea. Dion. Spartian. Enseb.	18	868
4087	117	L. Aemilius Sura the 3. time. L. Aemilius Aelianus.	Many in sundry places became Martyrs, and died for Christ his name. At Rome, Alexander pastor of that Church, or Bishop: together with Evencius a Presbyter, and Theodulus a Deacon was slaine the third day of Maie. A little before Hermes Praefect of the City together with his family; Zeno a nobleman, and Eustathius with his wife and sonnes were killed. Hist. Ecclesiast.	19	869
4088	118	¶ Quintinus Niger. ¶ Virginius Apromanus.	Trajanus the Emperour dieth about the 11. day, or as Dio saith, the 7. of August, in the 64. yeare of his age. He was by the Senate stiled by the title of <i>Principis optimus</i>. More of his praises you shall finde in Dio. Among the rest this is recorded, That in the Creating of Praefectus Praetorio, the highest officer of Estate under him, when hee invested him with the Sword, hee said, This Sword thou shalt draw for me so long as I rule iustly: but if I shall rule unjustly, draw it hardly upon me. Hee was the first Stranger or Alien borne out of Italie that was made Emperour. He used the familiaritie of Plutarch.	20	870

A ij

In

Year of the world	Year of Christ.	Consul.	Year of this Empire.	Year from its founde.	Year of the world	Year of Christ.	Consul.	Year of this Empire.	Year from its founde.	
		<i>Ad.</i>					<i>Ad.</i>			
		In his Empire he demeaned himselfe so well, that unto any new created Emperour after him the acclamation went in this note; <i>More happy than Augustus, more honest than Traianus.</i> Among many other excellent sayings of his, <i>Eutropius</i> recordeth this unto his friends seeming to blame him for being ouer courteous to all men, he answered thus: <i>That he was such an Emperour to priuat persons, as he would wish Emperours to be unto himselfe if he were priuat.</i>					hearing the daughters of <i>Philip</i> reported, how in their time one was raised from the dead: and that (which was no lesse admirable) <i>Iustus Barsabas</i> , of whom mention is made in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, by reason of the grace giuen unto him from our Lord, found no trouble or harme by drinking a cup of deadly poison. <i>Enseebus lib. 3.</i>			
		<i>Him succeeded</i>					<i>Hadrianus</i> built and erected in Athens an admirable Librarie. He dispueth and discoureteth there in manner of a Philosopher: he remoueth those from professing and teaching schooles who were insufficient. He contendeth with learned men, by way of writing and disputation. <i>Spartian.</i>			
		<i>Imper. Caesar Traian. HADRIANVS Aug. P. Max. COS. III.</i> the 15. Emperour. He reigned yeres 20. moneths 10. dayes 29. <i>Dion. Spartian.</i>			4096	126	<i>P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus</i> the 2. time. <i>Q. venius Aquilinus.</i>	8	378	
		Here would be observed the difference in Chronologers: whiles <i>Ptolome, Gerhart, Merc.</i> will have the beginning of <i>Adrians</i> Empire to be in the year since Christs Natiuitie 117. The Rom. writers in the year 118. and this difference continueth unto the year 162.			4097	127	<i>M. Lollius Peditus</i> (by others <i>Vespronius</i>) <i>Venus, Q. Iunius Lepidus Bibulus.</i>	9	379	
4089	119	<i>Hadrianus</i> Augustus the 2. time. <i>Ti. Claudius Fulcus Salmator.</i>	1	371			<i>Sixtus</i> Bishop of the Church at Rome for mainteining the Gospell, is put to death. In whose place the next morning after was <i>Telesphorus</i> the sonne of <i>Anachoreta</i> elected. <i>Omph.</i>			
4090	120	<i>Hadrianus</i> Augustus the 3. time. <i>Q. Iunius Rusticus.</i>	2	372			<i>Serenus Granius</i> , or, as some write him, <i>Serenus Granius</i> , a Lieutenant and of noble parentage descended, wrote a letter unto <i>Hadrian</i> the Emperour, aduertising him that it was a most unjust course, to yeeld unto the clamors of the common people, the shedding of innocent Christians blood, & that without any crime committed, they should be held guilty & condemned for their name and sect sake onely: wherewith <i>Hadrian</i> being moved, wrote unto <i>Minutius Fundanus</i> Proconsul of Asia, That no Christians should be condemned without enditement of crimes and the same proued. The copie of which letter remaineth extant to this day. <i>Enseeb. lib. 4.</i>			
4091	121	<i>L. Caecilius Severus.</i> <i>T. Aurelius Fulvus.</i> Who was afterward called, <i>Anonitus Pius Augustus.</i>	3	373			<i>Lampridius</i> in the life of <i>Senerus</i> writeth, that <i>Hadrian</i> was once minded to build a Temple unto Christ, and commanded that for the use of Christians their should be Churches founded and erected in Cities without images: but was prohibited and stayed by some, who said, if this were done, all men would forsake the temples of their gods, and embrace Christian Religion.	10	380	
4092	122	<i>V. Annianus</i> son of <i>M. Venus 2. Augustus.</i>	4	374	4098	128	<i>Gallienus.</i> <i>D. Caelius Titianus.</i>			
4093	123	<i>M. Acilius Attiola.</i> <i>C. Cornelius Pania.</i>	5	375			About this time flourished <i>Aquila Ponticus</i> , who translated the Bible or Holy Scriptures out of Hebrew into Greek. <i>Suetonius</i> the Historiographer, who was secretary unto <i>Hadrianus</i> . <i>Phlegon</i> the Chronographer. Also <i>P. Iuuentius Celsus</i> , <i>Nerastus Priscus</i> , and <i>Domitianus Laabeo</i> , famous Lawyers. Likewise <i>Lucianus Samosatensis Athenus</i> , who with much libertie of tongue and pen marked and revileth the gods of the Gentiles: He spareth not Christ also, naming him <i>Christus</i> the sonne of <i>Davide</i> . The sophister hanged upon a Crosse, Some set this downe 2. yeares after.	11	381	
4094	124	<i>Q. Arrius Paterius.</i> <i>C. Verianus Apromianus.</i>	6	376	4099	129	<i>L. Norianus Africanus</i> (or <i>Africanus</i>) <i>Frequentius.</i> <i>M. Annianus Libo.</i>			
4095	125	<i>M. Acilius Glabrio.</i> <i>C. Bellicius Torquanus.</i>	7	377			<i>P. Iuuentius Celsus</i> the 2. time. <i>Q. Iulius Balbus.</i>	12	382	
		The Christian Church is much troubled with the <i>Gnostici</i> , most filthy Heretikes.			4100	130		<i>Rufus</i> the Procurator or Governour of Iudaea killeth a great number of the Iewes. <i>Iolip.</i> Many Christian soldiers for the Christian faith suffer death at Rome. <i>Enf. Barcoz.</i>		
		<i>Hadrian</i> persecuteth the Christians, and purpoeth to punish the Iewes that made tumults in Iurie especially.								
		Learned men are raised vp by God to withstand Heretikes, and defend Christian Religion: among whom were <i>Agrippa Castor</i> , <i>Aristides</i> a Philosopher of Athens, and <i>Quadratus</i> bishop of Athens and disciple of the Apostles: and these two hauing written bookes in defense of Christian Religion, exhibit them to <i>Hadrian</i> the Emperour. <i>Enseeb. lib. 4. cap. 1.</i> This <i>Quadratus</i> in a booke that he presented unto the Emperour writeth, that himselfe being verie aged, had seen many who in the daies of our <i>Saviour</i> , hauing been afflicted with maladies, were by him healed in Iudaea, and who also had risen from the dead. <i>Hyeronimus.</i>								
		In this age liued <i>Papias</i> bishop of Hierapolis, who heard the disciples of the Apostles, and wrote that in his hearing								

Year of the world	Year of Christ.	Consuls.	Year of their Empire.	Year since Ro. foundd.
4101	131	¶ Q. Fabius Ca- tullinus. M. Flavius Aprus.	13	883
4102	132	¶ Ser. O. Savius Lenas Pontianus. M. Antonius Rufinus.	14	884
4103	133	¶ Serius Anguri- nus. Atrius Severia- nus.	15	885
4104	134	¶ Hebeus Iulius Silanus Sefer- rius.	16	886
4105	135	¶ C. Tullius Servi- lius Vrius Servia- nus. C. Vibius Juve- ntius verus.	17	887
4106	136	¶ Pompeianus Lupercus. L. Iulius Arti- us Acilianus.	18	888
4107	137	¶ L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, who was after- ward called Caesar. Sex Venturius Cicuta Pompeia- nus.	19	889

Ads.

Barcozba, a Prince of the Iewes and their counterfeit Messias haleth to execution such Christians as persecute in the faith. *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 6.*

The citie Hadrianopolis was built. *Niceph. lib. 3. ca. 24.*
The furious tumults and outrages of the Iewes in-crease in Syria and Palestina, assembling themselves together by infinite numbers, and promising themselves exceeding great victorie, under the leading of *Bar-coz-ba* their Mock-Messias. *Dio. Euseb.* This *Barcozba* is otherwise named *Barcochab*, that is, the sonne of a starre, for so he termed himselfe, and deceived the credulous Iewes, and expounded that prophesie of himselfe, *One of Iacob shall arise a starre.*

The last warre of the Iewes under *Hadrianus*. The Iewes revolting openly from the Romans, and taking armes, spoile and waste all Palestina. Vnto Tinius Rufus Governour of the Province Hadrian sendeth an Ar-mie to subdue the Rebels. This was a dangerous and a long warre, continuing three yeeres: whiles the Iewes take it to the heart, that forraine Nations came to in-habite their City Ierusalem. At first the Romans made small accompt of them, but after they understood once that all Iewry was up, and all the Iewes wherefoever disperfed, Hadrian sent the most expert and valiant Captaines that he had against them, *Dio. Euseb.*

Bar-cozba, or *Bar-cochab* aforesaid, not onely adjoy-ned unto him the Iewes, but went about also to draw the Christians into societie of warre against the Romans: and therefore as many of the Christians as refused this service, he put to sundry torments and kindes of execu-tion. But *Iulius Severus* sent into Iewrie, and not daring to fight with these most audacious and desperat Brigands, drew out the warre in length. Meane while the Power and Forces of *Bar-cochab* were confirmed: so that for certaine yeares, he held within Iewrie 70. cas-tles, 98. villages, and *Bethoron* a towne right strong-ly fenced:

Out of which towne he sallied upon the Romans, and oftentimes put them to flight. Whereupon *Hadrianus* returned into Syria, and besieged the Iewes for three yeares together, forced *Bethoron* at length, and slew *Barcozba*.

The number (by report) of the Iewes slaine in this warre, was 50000. And as for them that died of Pestilence and Famine, they were innumerable. [Here note by the way, that when the Iewes were thus defeated, and their Leader slaine, they knew him to be a very coun-terfait, and their false Messias, whereupon they termed him *Ben-cozban*, that is, the sonne of Lying.] *Hadri-an* thus having ended the Iewes warre, and subdued them, debarred the Iewes entrance into Ierusalem. He walled the City about, and called it *Elia* after his owne name:

Year of
the world

Year of
Christ.

Consuls.

Ads.

Year
of their
Empire.

Year
since Ro.
foundd.

Year of the world	Year of Christ.	Consuls.	Year of their Empire.	Year since Ro. foundd.
4108	138	¶ L. Aelius the sonne of Hadrian August. Verus Caesar the second time.	20	890
4109	139	¶ Sulpicius Came- rinus. Quintus Ni- ger Magnus.	1	891
4110	140	¶ Antoninus Pius Emperour the se- cond time. Brutus Prefect.	2	892

name: and upon the gate that leadeth to Bethlehem hee caused a Swine of Marble to be engraven. And this was the last and utmost destruction of the Iewes: who being expelled, and utterly oppressed, hee granted Ierusalem unto the Christians. *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 5. Dio. in Hadrian.* Thus was the prophesie of *Daniel* 670. yeeres before ful-filled. And by this might the Iewes see, that all hope of their Messias to come was quite cut off. And now u-pon their desolation, and rooting out, began the Church of Christ to flourish, &c. Then, I say, was Ierusalem in-habited by Christians, and other nations, according to the saying of our Saviour, *Luke 21. Ierusalem shall bee troden under foote by the Gentiles.* And by Computa-tion of the yeeres this destruction falleth out to bee an hundred yeeres after the suffering of Christ upon the Crosse, and the 63. yeere after the former destruction by *Titus*. So that now was fulfilled their crye, *His blood be upon us and our children.* Moreover, *Hadrian* made a Law, that none of the Iewish nation should be so hardy as enter the territorie of Ierusalem. Then was the Pro-phesie of our Saviour fulfilled: *There shall not remaine one stone upon another, &c.*

The Iewes taken p risoners in that warre *Hadrian* sent away into *Spaine*, there to live in exile. From whence also in the yeere of our Lord 1500. they were expelled by *Ferdinandus* King of *Spaine*, and *Emanuel* of *Portu-gall*. *Valsens.*

Yet for all this ceased not the persecution against Chri-tians. Certaine noble women suffered Martyrdome at *Rome*: And in the beginning of this yeere *Telephorus* Bishop or Pastor of that Church was killed: whom se-ven daies after succeeded *Higinus* of *Athens*.

Hadrian the Emperour dieth the eight day, or as some say, the tenth of Iulie, when hee had lived 62. yeeres 7. moneths, and 19. daies. *Dio. Spartian.* At his death he pronounced these verses, which bewraied hee was no good Christian.

*Animula, vagula bimula,
Hopes Comēque corporis,
Que nunc abibis in loca?
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec ut soles dabis tocos.*

After whom succeeded

¶ *T. Aelius Hadrianus ANTONINVS Aug. Pius. Par. Patr.* the sixteenth Emperour: Hee ruled yeeres 22. or (as some say 23.) moneths 7. daies 26. The Apophthegme of *Scipio Africanus* was rife in his mouth, That he had leifer save one citizen and subjects life, than kill a thousand enemies. *Iulius Capitolinus.*

The people of *Briannic* affecting liberty, are in ma-nny battells vanquished by *Lolius Urbicus*, and brought to good order and allegiance. *Capitolinus.*

Ptolomeus

Years of the world	Years of Christ.	Consuls.
4111	141	¶ Antoninus Pius Emperour the third time. M. Aurelius son of August. Pius, C. Afer: who after was called Augu- stinus.
4112	142	¶ M. Pricaeus Syllaeus Priscinus. L. Horatius Se- verus.
4113	143	¶ L. Cuspius Rufi- nus. L. Statius Qua- dratus.
4114	144	¶ C. Bellicus Tor- quatus. Ti. Claudius Ar- tius Herodes.
4115	145	¶ Lollianus Avi- tus. C. Gavius Ma- ximus.
4116	146	¶ Antoninus Pius the Emperour the fourth time. M. Aelius Aure- lius son of Augus- tus Pius, C. Afer, the second time. ¶ Ser. Erucius the sonne. C. Iulius the second time. ¶ Cn. Claudius Severus. ¶ M. Valerius Largus. ¶ M. Valerius Messalinus. ¶ C. Bellicus Tor- quatus the second time. M. Salvius Iulia- nus the second time. ¶ Ser. Cornelius Scipio Orphicus. Q. Nereus Priscus. ¶ Romulus Galli- canus. ¶ Aulus Vetus. ¶ Sextus Quind- ilius Gordianus. ¶ Sextus Quind- ilius Maximus.
4117	147	
4118	148	
4119	149	
4120	150	
4121	151	
4122	152	
4123	153	¶ Sextus Aelius Glabrio. C. Valerius O- cellinus Varians.

Ads.

Ptolemy the great Astrologer, and **Galen** that re-
nowned Physician in these daies flourish. Likewise **Sal-
vianus Iulianus** the learned Lawyer, and **Iustinus** the Histo-
riographer, who drew the Bookes of **Trogus Pompeius**
into a Breviary.

Iustinus the Philosopher compiled a Booke in de-
fence of Christian Religion, and delivered it to **AN-
TONINVS**. Holy and godly Christians endure per-
secution, and are much troubled by these Heretickes,
Valentine, **Cerdan**, and **Marcus Colarbasus**. **Ensebius**,
Ireneus.

Hyginus Minister and Pastor of the Church of
Rome, for Christs Gospel suffered Martyrdom. Him
succeeded after three daies **Pius** of **Aquileia**.

Antoninus withdrew from many of his Ministers and
servants in Court that lived idly, their salaries, saying:
There was not a thing more base, nay, more cruel, than
that they should consume the riches of the common-
wealth, who with their owne labour brought no profite
thereto. *Iul. Capitolin.*

Lucius and **Ptolemy** were at **Alexandria** killed for
the testimony of Christ.

Now beganne the Question at **Laodicea** in **Asia**, a-
bout the day of the Pasche, Easter. *Onuphr*

Sundry Heretickes, companions and disciples of the
former, worke much trouble in the Churches of Christ,
groaning under the Crosse of persecution. *Ensebius. I-
reneus.*

In this year **Iustinus** wrote two Apologies for the
Christians. **Onuphris**, **Severus**, afterwards Emperour,
was now borne. *Spartian.*

The learned men of this age were **Arianus** of **Nicom-
edia**, **Maximus Tyrius**, **Apollonius**, and **Euphides**.

An Edict of **Antoninus Pius** the Emperour promulged
at **Ephesus** in the behalfe of Christians, in the generall
Council of all **Asia** to this effect: If any man proceed, to
moleste, or accuse any Christian (for his Protection) let
him who is thus troubled, although he be found a Chri-
stian, be absolved, and his accuser suffer just and due pu-
nishment.

Years of their Empire.	Years since Re- founde.
3	893
4	894
5	895
6	896
7	897
8	898
9	899
10	900
11	901
12	902
13	903
14	904
15	905

Years of the world	Years of Christ	Consuls.
4124	154	¶ Brutius Praefens. M. Antonius Rufinus.
4125	155	¶ Aelius Aurelius sonne of Pius Au- gustus, who after- wards was called Augustus, the se- cond time. Sexilius Latera- nus.
4126	156	¶ C. Julius Seve- rus. M. Rufinus Sa- binianus.
4127	157	¶ M. Caelianus Silvanus. C. Serius Augu- stinus.
4128	158	¶ Barbarus. Regulus.
4129	159	¶ Q. Flavian Ter- tullus. Sacerdos.
4130	160	¶ Plautius Quin- tilius. Sextus Priscus.
4131	161	¶ T. Vibius Barus. Ap. Annus Bra- dus.
4132	162	¶ M. Aelius Aure- lius sonne of Augus- tus Pius Caesar the third time. L. Aelius sonne of Augustus Pius Caesar the second time.

Ads.

nishment. *Enseb.* And there **Antoninus** alleageth the E-
dict of **Hadrian** in these words: In favour of which men,
that is, Christians, other Governours also of Provinces
wrote before time unto my father of sacred memorie: To
whom he wrote backe againe, That no man should trouble
this kinde of men, unlesse they were convicted to
have plotted and practised aught against the State. *En-
sebius.*

Marcio Ponticus and his disciples, heretickes, trouble
the Church. *Onuphr.*

Vnder **Anicetus** Bishop of **Rome**, **Polycarpus** a disci-
ple of **S. Iohn** the Apostle came to **Rome**, and reduced
many that had bin seduced by Heretickes unto the true
faith. Hee sharply, and with great courage, repressed
Marcion. *Enseb. lib. 4.*

Ireneus affirmeth, that in his youth hee had seene this
Polycarpus, a very aged man, and further saith: There
be that have heard **Polycarpus** say, that Saint **Iohn** the
disciple of our Lord going to Bath, when hee saw **Cerin-
thus** within, leapt forth of the Bain before hee had ba-
thed, saying withall, That hee feared lest the house would
have fallen, whiles **Cerintus** an enemye to the Truth,
was within it. And **Polycarpus** himselfe meeting upon a
time with **Cerintus**, when hee said, Take knowledge
and acquaintance of us, returned this answer, I knowe
thee inderde to be the first begotten sonne of Satan. *Ire-
neus lib. 3.*

Antoninus the Emperour having a wealtheie estate of
his owne by inheritance, gave away most liberally all
his riches among his friends: but made the Common
Treasury exceeding rich. *Enseb.*

Antoninus Pius the Emperour died the 7. day of March,
at **Lorium**, an house or manor of his owne, in the yeere of
his age 75.

¶ After whom succeeded in the Empire the 17. & 18.
Emperours, to wit, **MARC. AVRELIVS AN-
TONINVS**, surnamed *Philosophus*: and, **LUC. AV-
RELIVS VERVS**. *Enseb. Iul. Capitolin.*

Yeeres of the world	Yeeres of Christ.	Consuls
4133	163	Q. Junius Rusticus Vertius Aquilius.
4134	164	L. Papius Aelianus, Junius Pastor.
4135	165	C. Julius Macrinus, L. Cornelius Celsus.
4136	166	L. Arrius Pudent. M. Gavinius Orfius.
4137	167	Q. Servilius Pudens, L. Fulvius Pollio.
4138	168	Antoninus Verus the Emperour the third time. T. Vindex Quinctianus.
4139	169	L. Vettius Paulinus, T. Junius Montanus.
4140	170	Sofius Priscus, Q. Caius Apollinaris.
4141	171	M. Aurelius Severus Cethegus, L. Julius Clarus.
4142	172	T. Titianus Severus, C. Seodius Natta Pina, iunior.

Acts.

ANTONINVS the Philosopher governed yeeres 19. daies 15. and **VERVS**, yeeres 9. *Europ.*

This was the first time that Rome began to have two Augusti or Emperours at once. *Capitolin. Enseb.*

The Parthian warre with King *Ologesius*, unto which *Verus* the Emperour went: who lying at Antioch, and about Armenia, performed by his Captains many noble exploits. *Statius Priscus* fought fortunately in Armenia, *Avdidus Cassius* and *Nartius Verus*, marched with a puissant armie as farre as to Babylonla, and Armenia. Seleucia, that most noble citie of Assyria, with 500000. men hee wonne: Hee brought backe with him the Parthick Triumph, and together with *Antoninus Philosphus* triumphed. *Europ.* An exceeding great famine and peltence at Rome. Most streit Lawes as touching sepulchres and buriall of the dead are enacted.

Aspidius Victorinus is sent against the Catti, who had invaded Rhetia. *Int. Capitolin.*

The Church under the Crosse hath divers Pastours and Doctours excellling in Pietie and Doctrine, To wit, *Polycarpus*, *Dionysius* of Corinth, *Melito*, *Iustinus*, and others. *Enseb.*

Tatianus the father of the Heretickes Encratitæ disquieteth the Church. *Ecclesiast. writers.*

The two Emperours triumph at Rome over the Parthians.

The fourth persecution against the Christians, where-in *Polycarpus* Bishop of Smyrna 86. yeeres old, *Iustinus* the Philosopher, *Maturus*, *Pothinus*, *Attalus*, *Blandina*, and an infinite number of others, as well in the East as the West, are killed. *Enseb. lib. 4. & 5.* *Blandina* in the middes of her tortures cried ever and anone, I am a Christian: with which she refreshed her selfe to endure all.

The warre against the Marcomanni whereunto the Emperours addressed themselves, was by reason of the Pestilence, staid a good while. *Capitolin.*

The persecution of the Church continueth. *Ensebins.* When in the expedition against the Marcomans, the Emperours were come to Aquileia, certaine of their Princes intreated for pardon and peace. *Capitolin.*

Lucius Aurelius Verus, as he was in his journey from the citie Concordia to Altinum, sitting together with *Antoninus Philosphus* in his Chariot, died of an Apoplexie. A man by nature nothing civile, howbeit in a reverent regard of his Companion in the Empire, he never attempted any forcible act. *Europius* writeth that he died in the eleventh yeere of his Empire: but the Chronographers thinke otherwise, whom we have followed: after his decess *Antoninus Philosphus* ruled alone. *Capit.*

Avdidus Cassius nominated, in the East, Emperour, was presently by the souldiers beheaded. *Spart. Vileat. Gall. Egeppus* now lived, who is accompted a famous writer of the Ecclesiasticall historie.

The Church still flourisheth under the Crosse.

Yeeres of their Empire.	Yeeres since Re. founded.
2	915
3	916
4	917
5	918
6	919
7	920
8	921
9	922
10	923
11	924

Dame

Yeeres of the world	Yeeres of Christ.	Consuls.
4143	173	Claudius Maximus, Cornelius Scipio Orfius.
4144	174	M. Aurelius Severus the 2. time. Ti. Claudius Pompeianus.
4145	175	Ap. Annius Tiberinus Gallus. Flaccus.

Ads.

Dame *Felicitas* with hir seven sons at Rome, & *Concordius* an Elder of the Church at *Spoleum*, became martyrs. *Africanus* & *Apollinaris* present Apologies unto *Antoninus*.

The whole world was afflicted with so great a mortallie, that the Roman armies were consumed therewith almost to the last man. The Germans that made an insurrection were repressed. *Enseb. Niceph. Capitolin.*

The franticke Heresie of *Montanus* spread into the Churches. *Ecclesiast. histor.*

The Marcomans war (none before it hath bin recorded so great) by singular prowesse & felicitie both was by *M. Antoninus Philosphus* dispatched, and brought to an end: whereof we may reade in *Oros. li. 7. ca. 15. Int. Capitol. Europ. Enf. lib. 5. Tertullian. cap. 5. Apologet. and in others.*

A notable victorie of *M. Antoninus Philosphus* the Emperour over the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, obtained by the prayers of the Christian Souldiers. For when the army of *Antoninus* was distressed five daies together, for want of water, and the Souldiers within the streights of certaine mountaines in Germanie inclosed round about with the *Quadi*, were in a maner killed with thirst; the Praefect of the *Praetorium* came unto the Emperour being in a great agony and foreappalled, saying, That the Christians by praier could obtaine any thing at the hands of their God. *Antoninus* hearing that, requested of them to pray unto their God. Which when they had done, kneeling on the bare ground, and powring forth their praiers to Christ, sodainly there powred downe also from heauen abundance of raine, therewith the Romans, by receiving water, partly at their mouthes, and partly with their shields, were refreshed: but contrariwise the *Quadi*, and other Nations of Germany were haunted with Lightnings. *Oros. Capitolin. Enseb. Tertull.* The Emperour amazed at so great a miracle, highly honoured the Christian Souldiours, mitigated the rigor of persecutions, and named that Legion of the Christians for an everlasting memoriall thereof, in Greeke *κλειρωματων* i. *Fulminatrix*. Thus by the means of Christians were the *Quadi* vanquished.

Extant there beyet the Letters of *Marcus* the Emperour, wherein he layeth open all this matter to the Senate of Rome, and testifieth, that this heavenly benefit is to be ascribed unto the Praiers of Christians. Credible it is, saith he, that these Christians howsoever we accompt the impious, have God in their breast for their defence: For, no sooner did they cast themselves down upon the ground, & offered their praiers to a God unto me unknowne, but presently there fell fro heaven a most cold raine to us, but on our enemies haile & lightning. Vnto their praiers was that God presently assistant, who cannot be vanquished: therefore let us grant unto such persons, that they may be Christians, lest they procure against us by their praier such darts to confound us.

B ij

After

Yeeres of their Empire.	Yeeres since Re. founded.
12	925
13	926
14	927

Yeeres of the world	Yeeres of Christ.	Consuls.	Advs.	Yeeres of their Empire.	Yeeres since the foundation.	Yeeres of the world	Yeeres of Christ.	Consuls.	Advs.	Yeeres of their Empire.	Yeeres since the foundation.
4146	176	Calpurnius Piso M. Salvius Tullianus.	After these enemies thus subdued <i>M. Antoninus Philo- sophus</i> , delivereth <i>Pannonia</i> out of servitude. <i>Entrop.</i>	15	928				<i>Him succeeded</i> <i>AVRELIVS COMMODYS ANTO- NINVS</i> , the nineteenth Emperour, at nineteene yeeres of age. He ruled twelve yeeres, eight months, and fif- teene daies.		
4147	177	T. Vitravius Pol- lio the second time. M. Flavius the second time.	<i>ANTONINVS</i> triumpheth againe at <i>Rome</i> with his sonne <i>Commodus Antoninus</i> , whom he had made <i>Ce- sar</i> . <i>Entrop. Lamprid. Iul. Capitolin.</i>	16	929				In nothing resembled he his father, but that in per- son he also fought fortunately against the Germans. For rigor and cruelty he was even another <i>Domitian</i> : For fil- thy and unbridled lust, another <i>Nero</i> : taking pleasure in the bloody exercises of Sword-players: a very mon- ster in the shape of a man. <i>Dio. Lamprid. Herodian.</i>		
4148	178	Imp. Caesar L. Aurelius Commo- dus Augustus. Plautius Quin- tilius.	The Common Treasure in this warre was wasted. But <i>Marcus</i> for two months together sold by part sale in the <i>Forum</i> or Hall of <i>Traianus</i> , all the furniture and stuf- fe that belonged to his owne private estate: and after his Triumph, gaue backe the money againe to as many as would restore the said goods which they had so bought: neither molested hee any that chose rather to keepe still with the what they had once bought. With publike fea- sting he cheered up the people; and likewise with shews and publike sightes, and at once, by report he exhibi- ted an hundred horse in the Shew-place. <i>Entrop.</i>	17	930	4152	182	Aurelius Com- modus August the third time. Anatolius Bar- thus.	The Temple of <i>Serapis</i> in Alexandria was burnt. <i>Euse- bius.</i>	2	934
			<i>Severus</i> Prator elect, governeth well in <i>Spain</i> . <i>Spar- tianus.</i>						A little before <i>Smyrna</i> a citie of Asia fell in an Earth- quake. <i>Euseb.</i>		
			<i>Irenaeus</i> Bishop of <i>Lions</i> , wrote against Heretickes, Bookes that are yet extant. <i>Euseb.</i>			4153	183	Perennius Ma- nerius. M. Vettius Stila- vius Albinus Tre- lius Rufus.	<i>Commodus</i> triumpheth over the Germans, who as yet were not fully subdued. <i>Herodian.</i>	3	935
			In the time also of <i>Irenaeus</i> , as himselfe witnesseth in his second Booke against Heresies, the gift of casting out Devills, or evil spirits, and of healing, continued still.						Among so many hinderances, occasioned by the Ty- ranny of <i>Commodus</i> , yet <i>Panteus</i> erected and kept a fa- mous Schoole of Christians at Alexandria: out of which came the Doctours of many Churches. The Scholer of <i>Anteus</i> , was <i>Clemente Alexandrinus</i> , whose workes entituled <i>Stromaton</i> , are read at this day. <i>Euseb.</i>	4	936
4149	179	Vettius Rufus. Cornelius Scipio Orfitus.	<i>Tertullian</i> maketh mention of this <i>Irenaeus</i> , and na- meth him to be a most curious and exact examiner and searcher of all kindes of learning.	18	931	4154	184	Imp Commodus the fourth time. M. Aufidius Vi- torinus.	The Baines of <i>Commodus</i> were built with exceeding great charges.	5	937
4150	180	L. Aurelius Co- modus Augustus the second time. Vespontius Can- didus Verus.	Persecutors and Heretickes both, are overcome with the patience of Christians, and the godly crudition and learning of Bishops. <i>Ecclesiast. hist.</i>	19	932	4155	185	M. Eggeus Mar- cellus. N. Papius Ae- lianus.	<i>Origene</i> about this yere was borne at Alexandria. Then flourished many famous Doctours of the Church. <i>Eccle- siast. hist.</i>	6	938
4151	181	Brundis Prefens the second time Sex. Quintilius Gordianus.	<i>Marcus Antoninus Philo- sophus</i> dieth the 17. day of A- prill, in the 59. yeere of his age, as <i>Tertullian</i> noteth, who lived in this age. <i>Onuphr.</i> Hee left unto the world a great misse of him for the present, and to posteritie a perpetuall memorie of his vertue. Happy had he beene, as <i>Capitolinus</i> writeth, if he had not left a sonne behinde him: Yet tooke hee order to have him excellently well brought up and instructed. From hence the Roman Sto- rie proceedeth from the golden age to that of yron: such a sodaine change there was, under <i>Commodus</i> , of the Ro- man Empire. From this yeere beginneth <i>Dio</i> his Story, wherein he relateth for fiftie yeeres space, what himselfe was an eie-witnesse of. And from this very yeere of <i>An- toninus</i> his death, beginneth <i>Herodian</i> his Storie, which holdeth on for 59. yeeres, namely to the yeere of our Lord 219. Now whereas <i>Herodian</i> saith, that he wrote the actes of 70. yeeres, happily hee compriseth therein some yeeres of <i>Antoninus Philo- sophus</i> whereof he was no eie-witnesse.	1	933	4156	186	Triarius Mater- nus. M. Avilius Me- tillius Bradua.	<i>Perennius</i> the Prefect, a bloody Minister of as cruell a Lord, by wicked devices entrappeth many of the No- bilitie, and killeth them. <i>Lamprid. Herodian.</i>	7	939
						4157	187	Imp Commodus the fift time M. Acilius Gla- brio.	The Capitoll of Rome was smitten with lightning, and a great fire occasioned thereby. A most renowned Librarie, and all the houses neere adjoining were burnt. <i>Lamprid. Herodian.</i>	8	940
						4158	188	Clodius Crispi- nus Papirius Aelia- nus.	Divers Synods are by the Bishops holden about Ea- ster day. Whiles the Church hath but a little rest from persecution, the Ministers thereof fell to jarres and brawles. <i>Ecclesiast. hist.</i>	9	941
						4159	189	C. Aflin Fufci- nus. Dullius Silianus.	<i>Perennius</i> is torne in peeces by the souldiers: after him succeeded <i>Cleander</i> a notable cyphant of the Court: who by <i>Domitian</i> is put to death. A great famine at Rome. <i>Lamprid. Herodian.</i>		
									<i>Apollonius</i> a Senator of Rome, when he had read un- to the Senate a Booke which he had written, <i>Of the Re- ligion</i> ,		

Years of the world	Years of Christ.	Consuls.	Acts.
4160	190	¶ Tullius Silianus, C. Servilius Silianus.	<i>ligion</i> , for his Christian faith lost his head. <i>Ench. lib. 5.</i> Commodus tooke away the head of a Colosse, and caused the head of his owne image to be set thereupon. Hee would needes be stiled <i>Hercules</i> , and God. <i>Lamprid. Cassiodor.</i>
4161	191	¶ Imp. Commodus the first time, Perrogus Septimianus.	The Jewes Thalmud was now written. <i>Seder Olam.</i>
4162	192	¶ Cassius Apronianus, M. Atilius Mecilius Bradius the second time.	There happened in <i>Rome</i> a great scarre-fire: whereby the Palace and Temple of <i>Vesta</i> , with most part of the Citie was laid even with the ground. Among so many calamities <i>Victor</i> Bishop of <i>Rome</i> busieth and troubleth the East Churches about Easter day. <i>Ecclesiast. hist.</i>
4163	193	¶ Imper. Commodus the fourth time, Helvius Pertinax, the second time, who afterwards was called Augustus.	Commodus, so incommodious to all men, was strangled in the night that went before the Kalends of Ianuarie, that is, New-yeeres day, when hee had lived 31. yeeres, and 4. moneths. <i>Lamprid. Dio. Herodian.</i> This Prince lived for nothing but the mischief of his subjects, and his owne shame. <i>Lamprid.</i> Heere <i>Clemens Alexandrinus</i> endeth his supputation of times, who was an Elder or Minister of the Church at <i>Alexandria</i> , and in profession of Catechizing, was placed in the roome of his Maister <i>Pantenus</i> .
4164	194	¶ Q. Sotius Falco, C. Julius Fructus Clauus.	¶ After Commodus succeeded <i>Helvius PERTINAX</i> , the twentieth Emperour, who raigned two moneths, and eight and twenty daies. And was slaine by his owne souldiours, in the 68. yeere of his age. <i>Dio. Spartian. Herodian.</i> This <i>Pertinax</i> was at first a Professour of Grammar: and in that function succeeded his master <i>Sulpitius Apollinaris</i> . The Greekes terme him <i>περτινὰξ</i> , for that hee was rather affable than beneficiall. <i>Pescennius Niger</i> , was by the army in <i>Syria</i> saluted <i>Imperator. Spartian.</i> After <i>Pertinax</i> ruled <i>Didius Iulianus</i> as Emperour 66. daies. <i>Dio. Spartianus.</i> <i>Septimius SEVERVS</i> , after that <i>Didius Iulianus</i> was slaine, obtained the Empire; dread both of the Senate and people of <i>Rome</i> . He raigned fuentene yeeres, eight moneths, and three daies. Of this Emperour this was the dome of the Senate, That either hee should never have bene borne, or never died: because he seemed too too cruel, and exceeding profitable to the common-weale. <i>Dio. Spartian. Herodian.</i> <i>Clodius Albinus</i> is by the Armie in <i>Gauls</i> saluted Emperour. <i>Iul. Capitolin.</i>
4165	195	¶ Imp. Septimius Severus the second time, D. Clodius Celsion Septimius Albinus Caesar the second time. (Spartian names Apulius Rufinus.)	<i>Severus</i> goeth forth with an armie against <i>Niger</i> , whom he vanquished in three bartailles, and in the end, in a suburban place neere to <i>Cicium</i> , others say <i>Antioch</i> , commanded him to be beheaded. <i>Spartian. Herodian.</i>

An

Years of the world	Years of Christ.	Consuls.	Acts.
4166	196	¶ O. Flavius Tertullus, P. Flavius Clemens.	An end of the warre against <i>Pescennius Niger. Severus</i> mindeth to make warre against <i>Clodius Albinus</i> . During the noise of so many warres, the Controversie is very hote about Easter day, betwene the Churches of <i>Rome</i> and of <i>Asia</i> : for which <i>Victor</i> the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> , would needes excommunicate the Bishops of <i>Asia</i> . Unto whom by Letter <i>Polyrates</i> the Bishop of <i>Ephesus</i> , and <i>Irenaeus</i> the Bishop of <i>Lions</i> doe answer. And <i>Irenaeus</i> verily was of opinion, That for the difference about Rites and Ceremonies, the concord of Doctrine and of Faith ought not to be broken or dissolved. <i>Enchirid. lib. 5.</i> <i>Artemon</i> the Hereticke raiseth trouble in the Church.
4167	197	¶ C. Domitius Dexter the second time, L. Valerius Melala Thraexas Priscus.	<i>Severus</i> overcommeth <i>Clodius Albinus</i> at <i>Lions</i> : setteth the citie on fire: and sendeth the head of <i>Albinus</i> to <i>Rome. Herodian. Spartian.</i> and others.
4168	198	¶ Ap. Claudius Lateranus, M. Marius Titus Rufinus.	When <i>Severus</i> was returned to <i>Rome</i> he dealeth cruelly with the friends of <i>Albinus</i> , and with the principall Nobles. <i>Herodian.</i> and others.
4169	199	¶ Ti. Aterius Saturninus, C. Annin Trebonius Gallus.	<i>M. AVRELIVS ANTONINVS</i> the son, being by his father saluted Emperour the 6. day of Maie, raigned with him 13. yeeres. <i>Herodian.</i> with others. <i>Severus</i> turneth the warre into the East against <i>Barsemus K.</i> of the <i>Armenians. Dio. Herodian.</i>
4170	200	¶ P. Cornelius Anullinus the second time, Marcus Aufidius Frontus.	The king of <i>Armenia</i> maketh a league with <i>Severus. Abgarus</i> king of the <i>Osroens</i> yielded himselfe, and giveth his sonnes for Hostages. After this <i>Severus</i> walketh <i>Arabia</i> the <i>Happy. Herodian. Spartian.</i>
4171	201	¶ Ti. Claxarus Severus, C. Aufidius Victorinus.	<i>Severus</i> vanquisheth the <i>Adiabenes</i> . He besiegeth <i>Artas</i> a citie of <i>Barsemus</i> in vaine. <i>Herodian. Spartian.</i>
4172	202	¶ L. Annin Fabianus, M. Nominus Mutianus.	<i>Severus</i> arriving by fortune rather than of purpose, upon the coasts of the <i>Parthians</i> , disscith <i>Artabanus</i> of <i>Ctesiphon</i> , and winneth the citie, and so commeth master of all the <i>Treasure</i> , and of a very great pillage. <i>Herodian.</i>
4173	203	¶ Imp. Septimius Severus the third time, Imp. M. Aurelius Antoninus.	What was the discipline, rites and maners of the Christians in this age, <i>Tertullian</i> who then flourished in the Church, describeth in his Booke <i>Adversus Gentes</i> ca. 39. The first persecution of Christians is set on foote. <i>Ench. wherein Leonides the father of Origen</i> by glorious martyrdom was translated out of this life: and his very son, a child, exhorted his father by Letter cheerfully to abide martyrdom. <i>Ench.</i> <i>Origen</i> saith <i>Hierom</i> with fixe brethren, and his mother, a widdowe, is left poore, about seventene yeeres of

Years of the world	Years of Christ.	Consuls.	Ad.	Years of their Empire.	Years since founded.	Years of the world	Years of Christ.	Consuls.	Ad.	Years of their Empire.	Years since founded.
			of age. Being eightene yeeres olde in the disperfed Church of Alexandria laboured in the function of Catechizing : and afterwards by <i>Demetrius</i> the Bishop of that citie was confirmed in the rowme of <i>Clement</i> , and many yeeres flourished.						by many degrees brought to the Imperiall dignitie, was wonr, by report, to say, <i>I have bin all, but nothing boosteth.</i> <i>Spart.</i> After him succeeded		
4174	204	¶ P. Septimius Geta. L. Septimius Plautianus the second time.		11	956	4183	213	¶ M. Pompeius Alper.		2	961
4175	205	¶ L. Fabius Cilo Septimius the second time. M. Annis Libo.	For feare of persecution many Christians lie hidden in desert wildernesses. <i>Ecclesiast. hist.</i>	12	957	4184	214	¶ Imp. Antonin. Caracalla the fourth time. P. Celius Balbinus the 2. time. ¶ Silius Messala. Q. Aquil Sabinus.		3	966
4176	206	¶ M. Aurelius Antoninus the second time. P. Septimius Geta.		13	958	4185	215	¶ Q. Aquil Sabinus the 2. time. Sec. Gordius Emilianus.		4	967
4177	207	¶ M. Nummius Ceionius annus Alfius. Fulvius Aemiliannus.	<i>Severus</i> translated the warre into Britanny : and for to make the provinces which hee had recovered more secure of the Barbarians incursions hee drew a rampire or wall one hundred thirtie and two miles in length, from sea to sea. But <i>Polydor Virgil</i> in his second Booke <i>De Rebus Anglicis</i> , and in the life of <i>Severus</i> avoucheth, that this worke was done almost 200. yeeres after.	14	959	4186	216	¶ Q. Aquil Sabinus the 2. time. Sec. Gordius Emilianus.		5	968
4178	208	¶ M. Flavius A. per. Q. Allius Maximus.	<i>Tertullian</i> , a most witty and sharpe Disputer, and a famous Divine, wrote against <i>Marcion</i> . This <i>Tertullian</i> in his Booke to <i>Scapula</i> sheweth, that the Presidents of Provinces, who persecuted the Christians, went not away cleere and unpunished : Also, that <i>Severus</i> himselfe favoured Christians. <i>Cyprian</i> , as <i>S. Jerome</i> witnesseth in his Catalogue, attributed to much unto <i>Tertullian</i> 's Writings, that whensoever hee called for the Booke thereof, he usually said unto his Clerke or Notarie, Give me hither my Master, meaning <i>Tertullian</i> .	15	960	4187	217	¶ Q. Aquil Sabinus the 2. time. Sec. Gordius Emilianus.		6	969
4179	209	¶ M. Aurelius Antoninus the third time. P. Septimius Geta the second time.		16	961	4188	218	¶ Brutus Prætorius.		7	970
4180	210	¶ Ti. Claudius Pompeianus. Lodivianus Avitus.		17	962						
4181	211	¶ M. Aclius Fulvius. C. Carvicius Macer Rufinianus.		18	963						
4182	212	¶ Q. Elvidius Rufus Lodivianus Genetianus. Pomponius Rufus.	In this yeere, the fourth day of Februarie, died the Emperour <i>Septimius Severus</i> , when hee had lived three score and five yeeres, nine moneths, and twentie five daies : unto whom his sonnes were much dearer than his Subjects. Vpon his death-bed he said unto his sonnes : Agree together, enrich the Souldiers, despise all others. <i>Dio</i> . This Prince, whom his good fortune from a base condition, had by the offices of learning and warrefare	1	964						
									<i>Antoninus Caracalla</i> , when hee had polluted himselfe with the blood of so many excellent men, was slaine the 8. day of April in the 29. yeere of his age. <i>Dio. Spartianus</i> writeth, that in the mid way between Caræ and Edessa, what time as he went to warre again upon the Parthians, he was stabbed with a dagger by a servitor of his, who had mounted him on his horse backe : and that by the means of a trainee that <i>Macrinus</i> Præfect of the Prætorium had plotted against him, who after him entred upon the Empire. <i>Caracalla</i> , saith <i>Dio</i> . never thought to do good, because, as himselfe confessed, he never knew any goodnes.		
									After <i>Caracalla</i> succeeded <i>OPILIUS MACRINVS</i> the 24. Emperour, C who		

Year of the world	Year of Christ	Consul.	Acts.	Year of the Empire	Year since Reformation
4189	219	¶ M. Opellius Antoninus Diadumenus Caesar the second time. <i>Adventus.</i>	who reigned one yeere, one moneth, and 28. daies. <i>Entrop. lul. Capitolin.</i> <i>Ariabannus</i> King of the Parthians, for this notorious injury which he had received at the hands of <i>Antoninus Caracalla</i> , with a puissant power invaded the Roman limits: Whom <i>Macrinus</i> encountreth, and for three daies fought fortunately. But when newes came of <i>Antoninus</i> his death, he maketh a league with the said king of the Parthians. <i>Herodian.</i> The seventh day of Iune <i>Macrinus</i> the Emperour, and <i>Diadumenus Caesar</i> were by the souldiers slaine. <i>After them succeeded.</i> <i>M. AVRELIUS ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS</i> the five and twentieth Emperour, a very monster, made altogether of abhominable lusts and excessive cruelty. He ruled three yeeres, nine moneths, and foure daies. <i>Dio. Lympr. Herodian. Entrop.</i> Thus <i>Heliogabalus</i> a slave, enthralled to all lust and filthinesse, demeaned himselfe as a woman, and like a woman became wedded unto men. His Teachers and Ministers of most lewd and wicked acts he advanced to honours, whiles in the meane time hee thrust downe or murthered excellent persons: Inasmuch as he left nothing behind him but the infamous memoriall of beastly filthinesse and cruelty. <i>Herodian. Lamprid. Dio.</i> This monster most cruelly persecuteth the Church. <i>Ecclesiast. Histor.</i>	1	671
4190	220	¶ Imp. Antoninus Heliogabalus the second time. <i>Sacerdos.</i>	The Temple <i>Heliogabaleum</i> at Rome was built. <i>Pammachius</i> a noble personage of Consular degree, <i>Simplicius</i> a Senator, and their families, <i>Calepodius</i> an Elder of the Church, <i>Quirinus</i> and <i>Martina</i> a virgine, were crowned with Martyrdome. <i>Ecclesiast. hist.</i> <i>Cyprian</i> Bish. of Carthage now flourisheth, whose writings full of manifold learning & piety, be extant: Like-wile <i>Julius Africanus</i> a most renowned Chronographer. <i>Nicopolis</i> a city in Palestina, called before <i>Emmaus</i> , is now built. <i>Euseb.</i> <i>Heliogabalus</i> in the eighteenth yeere of his age, upon the eight day of March, as <i>Onuphrius</i> faith, is killed by the souldiers, together with his mother <i>Semiamira</i> , a notorious wicked woman, and a worthe mother of such a sonne: His carcase was trailed, ragged, haled throughout the city, and all to be mangled even as farre as to the draughts and sinckes thereof, and at length throwne into <i>Tyberis</i> , with a weight fastned thereto, that it should not floate above water, nor be buried. Thus a foule and filthy end attended upon the unpleane and beastly life of this <i>Sardanapalus</i> . <i>Lamprid. Herodian. Dio.</i> <i>Him succeeded.</i> <i>ALEXANDER SEVERVS</i> the 26. Emperour, who governed yeeres 13. daies 9. <i>Lamprid.</i> A right praise-worthie Prince hee was, and most profitable	2	972
4191	221	¶ Imp. Antoninus Heliogabalus the third time. <i>M. Aurelius Eutychianus Cameracensis</i> the second time. <i>¶ Annus Gratus. Claudius Seleucus.</i>		3	973
4192	222			4	974
4193	223	¶ Imp. Antoninus Heliogabalus the fourth time. <i>M. Aurelius Alexander Severus</i> Caesar.		5	975

Year of the world	Year of Christ	Consul.	Acts.	Year of the Empire	Year since Reformation
4194	224	¶ Marcus Papius Aelianus.	tablets to the Common-wealth: he loved learned men, and was himselfe learned also: he enacted many Lawes, but passed no constitution without the advise of twenty lawyers, and those most learned and wise men, the chiefe of whom was <i>Ulpianus</i> . He made much of Christians (although some thinke otherwife, for that under his Empire, <i>Callistus</i> and <i>Urbanus</i> Bishops of the Roman church, <i>Cecilia</i> a Roman Virgin, <i>Tiburtinus</i> , <i>Valerianus</i> , <i>Maximus</i> , noble personages, and others in diverse places, were killed for the profession of Christ) and especially he delighted in this speech, which hee caused to be written upon the walles, and proclaimed by the Crier, <i>What thou wouldest not should be done to thy selfe, doe not to another.</i> His mother was <i>Mammae</i> the daughter of <i>Mesa</i> , a christian woman: who sent for <i>Origen</i> a man of those daies famous for his excellent Doctrine, and of him learned Religion. This <i>Alexander Severus</i> drew those to beare offices of State and Dignitie, who drew backe and refused, saying, That those were to be placed in authoritie who were unwilling thereto, and not such as sued therefore. A certaine Scribe or Notarie, who at the Emperours Counsell Table recorded untrueths, he caused to have the sinewes of his fingers cut through that hee might never bee able to write againe, and then banished him. Vnto his owne wife, who complained and blamed him, for that by his exceeding courtlike hee made his power and authoritie more contemptible: Yea, answered hee, but yet more secure and durable. He was minded to build a Temple in the honour of Christ, and to receive him in the ranke of gods, whose Image also hee had in his closet. And when the Christians had possessed themselves of a certaine place, which had bin publicke or common, and the company of Victuallers challenged it to be theirs, he wrote unto them, That it was better God should bee worshipped there, it skiled not how, than that the place should be allowed for Victuallers. <i>Ulpian</i> the Lawyer, he protected and defended, from the anger and violence of the souldiers, by putting his purple robe between him and them. <i>Lamprid. Herodian</i> writeth moreover, that he ruled the Empire without blood: and that in his time there was no man killed without condemnation.	2	976
4195	225	¶ Claudius Tullianus. <i>Claudian Crispinus.</i>		3	977
4196	226	¶ L. Tullius Domitianus. <i>M. Marcus Aurelius.</i>	<i>Ulpianus</i> a most learned Lawyer, and the maker of many Lawes, which are contained in the Pandects, was killed by the Praetorian souldiers. <i>Eusebius</i> , and others. This kingdome of the Parthians had now an end, by reason that <i>Ariabannus</i> their King was vanquished and slaine by <i>Artaxerxes</i> King of the Persians. <i>Agath. lib. 4.</i>	4	978
4197	227	¶ Imp. Alexander Severus the fourth time. <i>C. Septimius Macrinus.</i>		5	979

Years of the world	Years of Christ.	Consuls.
4198	228	¶ D Celsus Balbinus the second time, who was afterwards called Augustus. ¶ Clodius Paternus Maximus, who afterwards was called Augustus.
4199	229	¶ Ventus Modestus.
4200	230	¶ Imp Alexander Severus Aug. the third time ¶ Julius Africanus sonne of Dio the second time.
4201	231	¶ Calpurnius Agrippa.
4202	232	¶ T. Claudius Pompeianus. Feustus.
4203	233	¶ Julius Lupus Maximus.
4204	234	¶ Maximus Oribasius. Paternus.
4205	235	¶ Maximus Urbanus.
4206	236	¶ L. Carinus Severus L. Ragonius Virianus Quintianus.

Acts.

Severus prepared an amice against the Persians.

Severus defeated Artaxerxes or Abgarus King of the Persians : and triumphed over him. Herodian writeth that this warre was right dangerous unto the Romans.

Armies are sent into sundrie partes of the Empire. Lamprid.

About this time florished Origen at Alexandria, where he had succeeded Clemens his Master in the Catechizing chaire. Among other workes he compiled also a *canon*, that is, the whole volume of the Bible, he digested and divided into fixe columnes, and as many languages or editions. In the defraying of the charges, helped and furnished he was by one Ambrosius a rich man, whom Origen had convicted of heresie, and reduced into the right way of truth.

In Mauritania Tingitana Firmus Celsus made warre and sped well : In Illyricum Uarus did likewise, and Iunius Palmatus in Armenia. Concerning which victories, see Lamprid. and others.

Alexander Severus instructed certaine Almef-boyes and Gerles, wilow wher his mothers name hee called Mammai and Mammar. Lamprid.

The warre in Germanie tolled in Alexander Severus the eight day of March, an axurall of the Souldiers, was with his mother slaine at Mogunce. Lamprid. Herodian. Jul. Capitolin. He had then lived 29. yeeres, 3. months, and 7. daies. Lamprid. Herodian.

After Alexander Severus succeeded Maximus, who ruled a booke 6. yeeres, 7. months, and 7. daies.

This Maximus was as good as nothing then a Shepherd, and kept sheepe in the mountains of Thracia : but for his goodly tall and big body, he was enrolled a souldier, and by little and little Fortune led him by the hand, and raised him from that low condition to the imperiall estate. Alexander Severus the Emperour cast a liking and

Years of the Empire.	Years from the foundation.
6	980
7	981
8	982
9	983
10	984
11	985
12	986
13	987
14	988

Years of the world	Years of Christ.	Consuls.
4207	237	¶ Maximian Augustus. C. Julius Afer. C. Afer.
4208	238	¶ P. Titus Petronius. L. Ovinus Rufus. C. Coventinus.

Acts.

and favour unto him for his militarie strength, yea he advanced and endowed him with many benedictions, but to his owne destruction : and in truth, nourished, as they say, a Viper in his bosome. For Maximus was no sooner in a tumult of the souldiers saluted Emperour, but hee commaunded Alexander and his mother Mammea to be killed. This Maximus was the very plague and bane of the Common-weale, as one who went about to establish his Empire, not with justice, but with crueltie and tyrannie : whomsoever it pleased him, hee killed, without audience given them to pleade for themselves, hee thrust out of the Court, deprived of goods and offices, at his pleasure. More rigorous and cruell to citizens and Subjects then to his enemies : odious to all good men, acceptable to the wicked for his cruelty, oppression, and exaction. Capitolin. Iornandes.

Maximus vanquished the Germans. The friends of Severus hee caused cruelly to be murdered. Capitolin. Herodian.

The first persecution against the Christians, and especially against the Pastors of the Church, was by this Cyclus raised. Ecclesiast. hist.

Then it was that Origen writ a Booke of Martyrdom. Maximus the Emperour, in the 6. yeere of his age, was together with his sonne murdered by his owne souldiers at Aquileia. Their dead bodies in shamefull and reprochfull manner being cast out into the open streetes, were left to be devoured of dogges and fowles. Their heads were pitched upon poles, and sent to Rome, where they yielded a pleasant spectacle unto all men : and at last, by the people leaping for joy, burnt in Campus Martius. When the sonne of Maximus was killed, a crie was set up, That of so bad a kinde, there ought not to be saved so much as a whelp. There was not (saith Capitolinus) a more cruell beast that lived upon the face of the earth : such a confidence hee had in his owne strength, as that hee thought hee could not possibly be killed. And when as for the goodly greatnesse of his bodie hee beleved in a manner that he was immortall : there stepped up one in the Theater, even in his presence, who pronounced certaine Greeke verses to this effect :

And he that cannot be killed by man, is killed by many.

An Elephant is bigge, and yet is killed.

A Lion is strong, and yet is killed.

A Tigre is strong, but yet is killed.

Take heed of many together, if thou feare none severally.

The two Gordians, father and sonne, being by the Armie in Affrike made Emperours, for 36. daies, and no more, retained both life and dignitie : For vanquished they were and slaine by Capellianus : Prefect of the Mootes. When his death was knowne, the Senate of Rome created PPIEHVS MAXIMVS, and BALBINVS, Emperours, and by a new name named them BATHERS OF THE SENATE.

These

Year of the world	Year of Christ	Consuls	ADs.
			These reigned together one yeere. <i>Herodian. Capitolin.</i> There happened to great an Eclipse of the Sunne, that it was as darke at noone day as at midnight, neither could any thing be done without candle light. <i>Capitolin.</i> <i>Papianus Maximus, and Balbinus,</i> were at Rome, by the Prætorian souldiers killed, in the time of the Capitoline Games. <i>Herodian.</i> <i>After them succeeded</i> <i>M. ANTONIUS GORDIANUS</i> the younger, who the yeere before was styled <i>CÆSAR</i> , and he reigned fixe yeeres. It was a saying of his, <i>Miserable is that Emperour from whom true reports are kept. Capitolinus.</i> <i>Sabinianus</i> in Affricke raised sedition and rebellion against <i>Gordianus</i> : whom <i>Gordianus</i> , by the Præfect of Mauritania forceth to yeeld. <i>Capitolin.</i>
1209	239	¶ M. Vipius Crispinus. C. Noster Proculus Pontianus.	
1210	240	¶ Imp. M. Anton. Gordianus. C. Acilius Aviola.	
1211	241	¶ Vettius Sabinus the second time. Vennilius.	
1212	242	¶ Imp. Marc. Anton. Gordianus the second time. T. C. Iulius Pompeianus.	
1213	243	¶ C. Aufidius Vettius Arrius. C. Africanus Prætorianus.	
1214	244	¶ C. Julius Africanus. Emilianus Papus.	
1215	245	¶ Peregrinus. Fulvian Aemilianus.	
1216	246	¶ Imp. Marc. Iulius Philippus. T. Fabius Tryonianus.	
1217	247	¶ Brutus Prætorianus. Nummius Albinus.	
1218	248	¶ Imp. M. Iulius Philippus the second time. Philippus Caesar his Sonne.	

Year of the world	Year of Christ	Consuls.	ADs.
1219	249	¶ Imp. M. Iulius Philippus the third time. His sonne Phil. Ippus Cæsar the second time.	
1220	250	¶ Fulvius Emilianus. Vettius Aquilianus.	
1221	251	¶ Imp. Traianus Decius August. the second time. Maximus Gratianus.	
1222	252	¶ Imp. Traianus Decius the third time. Q. Herennius Etricius Decius Cæsar.	
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Year of the world	Year of Christ	Consuls.	ADs.
1271	301		<i>LIPPVS</i> : As touching this celebrity of Sports, see <i>Capitolinus.</i>
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1400	430		

Year of the world	Year of Christ	Confuls	Ad.	Year of their Empire.	Year from Re- founded.
23	253	¶ C. Vib. Trebon. Gallus August. the second time. C. Vib. Volu- nus August.	<i>Emilius Magnus</i> usurpeth the Empire, but within a little after perished. <i>Pomp. Latius.</i>	2	1005
24	254	¶ C. Vib. Volu- nus August. the second time. M. Valerius Maximus.	After the two Emperours <i>GALLUS</i> and <i>VO- LUSIANUS</i> were slaine, there succeeded <i>VA- LERIANUS</i> , and <i>GALLIENUS</i> , who reig- ned 7. yeeres: whose life <i>Trebellius Pollio</i> hath described. <i>Origen</i> an Ecclesiastical writer departed this life at Tyros, when hee was threefcore and nine yeeres of age: and there was hee buried. Concerning whose writings, this speech went in old time. Where he wrote well, no man wrote better. <i>Ecclesiast. hist.</i> He left behind him many Scholers, and among them, <i>Gregorie</i> Bishop of Neocesarea.	1	1006
25	255	¶ Valerianus Au- gust. the second time. Gallienus Au- gustus.		2	1007
26	256	¶ Valerianus Au- gust. the third time. Gallienus Au- gust. the second time. ¶ M. Valerius Maximus. M. Acilius Gla- brius.	The Gothes breake into Asia, waisting and spoiling all before them. <i>Trebell. Pollio.</i> The Temple of <i>Diana</i> at Ephesus is burnt. <i>Iornandes.</i>	3	1008
27	257			4	1009
28	258	¶ Valerianus Au- gust. the fourth time. Gallienus Au- gust. the third time.	The eight persecution of Christians. <i>Valerianus</i> in the first yeere of his Empire, as <i>Eusebius</i> witnesseth, was milde and gracious to the Christians: but afterwards at the perswasion of a certaine Egyptian Magician, not on- ly bitterly and cruelly persecuted the Christians, but al- so being given to an Magicke, learned by that Master of Iniquity, to cut the tender bowels of infants, and to offer men and women for sacrifice. <i>Sapor</i> es or <i>Sapor</i> King of the Persians, layeth Siria, Ci- licia, and Cappodocia waste. <i>Treb. Pollio.</i> <i>Cornelius</i> , a Bishop of Rome, and <i>Cyprian</i> Bishop of Carthage, in whose writings every word, in manner, favor of martyrdom, were beheaded, the one at Rome, the o- ther at Carthage. <i>Cassiodor.</i> <i>Valerian</i> with a puissant army taketh a journey to warre upon <i>Sapor</i> es. The Souldiers in Gaul salute <i>Posthumus</i> for their Emperour: And in Pannonia <i>Ingenius</i> is by the armie stiled Emperour. <i>Uopit. Pomp. Latius.</i> The persecution holdeth still under <i>Valerianus</i> , and <i>Gallienus</i> . <i>Ecclesiast. hist.</i> One <i>Pantus</i> a Deacon beganne first to keepe the wil- demesse, and lead an Ermites life. <i>Hieronymus.</i> <i>Ingenius</i> was by <i>Gallienus</i> overthrowen, and his whole army put to the sword. <i>Regilianus</i> was by the <i>Majans</i> made Emperour, after he had vanquished the Sarmatians, and was by the Ro- mans killed, for feare they should be infected by Gal- les.	5	1010
29	259	¶ M. Amelius Memmius Fuscus, Pomponius Bassus.		6	1011
30	260	¶ Fulvius Aemili- anus Pomponius Bassus the second time.		7	1012

Year of the world	Year of Christ	Consuls	Ad.	Year of their Empire.	Year from Re- founded.
4231	261	¶ L. Cornelius Se- cularis the second time. Iunius Domitius.	<i>Ualerianus</i> , after that he had ruled the Empire with his sonne <i>Gallienus</i> seven yeeres, encountering in Mesopo- tania the Persians, strucke a battaile, wherein he was dis- comfited, and taken prisoner by <i>Sapor</i> es in the 77. yeere of his age, and in miserable and perpetual servitude li- ved out the rest of his yeeres among the Parthians. For, the King, whensoever he should get upon his horse, used his necke, bowing and stooping underneath in steed of a footstool; in such sort, as that <i>Ualerian</i> was forced to mount the King vp into his saddle, not with his hand, but his backe. <i>Gallienus</i> moved with this calamity of his father, and affrighted at this manifest judgement of God, graunted peace againe unto the Church: and by proclamation of his Edicts, remitted and eased the per- secution. <i>Eusebius</i> , and others. During the Empire of <i>Gallienus</i> , there usurped Im- periall dignity in diuers places, and at sundry times, go- ing under the name of Tyrants, who called themselves Emperours. <i>Trebell. Pollio</i> , and others. <i>Gallienus</i> salueth <i>Ualerianus</i> his younger brother, & his owne son <i>Gallienus</i> , <i>Cassius</i> , & jointly with them reigneth. The Germans and Franks with a great power forcibly invade Italie, killing and spoiling, untill they come as farre as Ravenna. <i>Eusebius</i> , <i>Orosius</i> . <i>Emilianus</i> in Egypt, assumed the Imperiall robe. Him <i>Theodorus</i> taketh prisoner. <i>Tr. Pollio.</i> <i>Odenatus</i> King of the Palmyrenes, taketh upon him the Empire of the East, and in a great foughten field, van- quisheth the Persians, in so much, as having put <i>Sapor</i> es to flight, he encamped hard under Ctesiphon. <i>Tr. Pollio.</i> <i>Macrianus</i> the father, together with <i>Macrianus</i> and <i>Quietus</i> his sonnes, became Emperours. But both the <i>Macrian</i> are by <i>Aureolus</i> the usurper of the Empire in Illyricum slaine in battaile. And <i>Quietus</i> within a while after was killed by <i>Odenatus</i> . <i>Tr. Pollio.</i> The error of the Chiliaists, together with the here- ties of <i>Sabellius</i> & <i>Samoletus</i> trouble the church. <i>Euseb.</i> A terrible plague reigneth in Rome, and elsewhere. Many great earthquakes happen, and fearful darkenes for many daies together. <i>Treb. Pollio.</i> The Gothes waste Greece, Macedonie, Pontus, and Asia. And the inrodes of the Barbarians fore shaketh other Provinces. <i>Tr. Pollio</i> , <i>Cassiodor</i> , <i>Iornandes</i> . The Quadi and Sarmatians seize into their hands Pan- nonia. <i>Euseb.</i> The Franks, Saxons, and Germans breake into Gaule. <i>Euseb.</i> <i>Odenatus</i> holdeth the whole Empire of the East. <i>Tr.</i> <i>Pollio.</i> The Franckes, Saxons, and Germans enter also into Spaine. <i>Euseb.</i> <i>Odenatus</i> is assumed by <i>Gallienus</i> into the fellowship of the Empire, and stiled <i>Augustus</i> . <i>Tr. Pollio.</i> D <i>Posthu-</i>	1	1013
4232	262	¶ Gallienus Au- gustus the fourth time. Petrus Vo- lusianus.		2	1014
4233	263	¶ Gallienus Au- gustus the fifth time. Ap. Pomponius Faustinus. ¶ Nummius Albi- nus Maximus Dex- ter.		3	1015
4234	264			4	1016
4235	265	¶ Gallienus Au- gustus the sixth time. Emilius Sauru- lus.		5	1017
4236	266	¶ Valerianus Cesar the second time. L. C. C. C. M. C. C. C. M. C. C. C. M. C. C. C.		6	1018

[illegible]

Years of the world.	Years of Christ.	Consuls.	Text.
4247	277	¶ Imp. Tacitus August. the second time. Fulvius Aemilianus.	After they were all dispatched and put to death who murdered <i>Aurelianus</i> , <i>Tacitus</i> enforced all those Barbarians who had broken forth from <i>Magis</i> to returne backe againe thither. But in the sixt moneth, as some say, hee was murdered by the treacherous practise of his owne souldiers: others asseme, that being surcharged with factions, his heart was broken, and his wits crackt, and so forthought died. <i>Vopisc.</i>
			<i>FLORIANVS</i> the whole brother of <i>Tacitus</i> , after his brother, tooke the Empire upon him of his owne motion; but held it scarce two moneths, and was killed by his souldiers at <i>Tarsus</i> , who heard that <i>Probus</i> was Emperour, whom all the armie had elected.
			After <i>Tacitus</i> therefore succeeded
			<i>M. AUREL. VALER. PROBUS</i> , who ruled five yeeres, and foure monthes. So noble a warrior he was, and mightie in feates of Armes, that the Senate withed for him, the souldiers chose him, and the people of Rome with open acclamation called for him. His vertues and brave exploits <i>Fl. Vopiscus</i> hath described.
			The madnesse and cursed heresie of the Manichees is entred into many parts of the world.
4248	278	¶ Imp. M. Aurel. Probus August. the second time. M. Furius Lupus.	<i>Probus</i> recovereth Gaule, which the Germans had possessed themselves of having put 400000. of them to the sword. <i>Eutro.</i> and regained 60. cities out of the Barbarians hands. <i>Vopiscus.</i>
4249	279	¶ Imp. M. Aurel. Probus Augustus the third time. Ovinus, Paternus.	<i>Probus</i> having vanquished the Germans, subdued also the Sarmatians in Illyricum: He overcame the Nations of the Geres in Thracia, and upon their submission tooke them into favour and friendship. <i>Vopiscus.</i> From thence he marched into the East.
4250	280	¶ Titinius Messalla Cratus.	<i>Probus</i> tooke <i>Pulsurius</i> a most puissant Brigand prisoner, and slew him, freed <i>Iauria</i> , after he had quieted the partes of Pamphilia, subdued the Blennies, and granted peace unto the Parthians and Persians at their suite and request. Being returned into Thracia, hee planted an hundred thousand Bastarnæ, and other Nations of the Gepidians, Gothes and Vandales assembled together in Roman ground. <i>Vopisc.</i>
4251	281	¶ Imp. M. Aurel. Probus August. the fourth time. C. Titinius Tiberianus.	<i>Saturnius</i> aspiring to the East Empire, was by <i>Probus</i> overcome.
			<i>Bonagus</i> and <i>Proculus</i> at <i>Agrippinamake</i> themselves Emperours of Gaule, and usurpe therewith Britanny, Spaine, and Gaule <i>Braccata</i> : These <i>Probus</i> overthrew. The Gepidians, Gothes and Vandales that rebelled, at divers times, and in sundry victories he subdued. After this he was received at Rome in a magnificent Triumph, and exhibited vnto the people most sumptuous shewes. <i>Vopisc.</i>
4252	282	¶ Imp. M. Aurel. Probus August. the fifth time. Componius Vindex.	<i>Probus</i> an exactor of Militarie discipline, and an enemy of idle persons, and wishall, desirous to end all wars, whiles hee addresth himselfe to the Persian warre, as

<i>Years of their Empire.</i>	<i>Years since B. C.</i>
1	1029
2	1030
3	1031
4	1032
5	1033
6	1034

Years of existence	Years of Christ	Confessio.
4253	283	¶ Imp. M. Aurel. Carus. M. Aurel. Jonne of August. Carinus Cesar.
4254	284	¶ M. Aurel. Cari- nus August. the second time. M. Aurel. Nu- merianus Augu- st. the second time. * Dryas in Gaul.
4255	285	¶ Imp. Dioclet- ian Aug. the (ec- ond time. Arltobulus.
4256	286	¶ M. Iulius Pric- illanus Maximus the second time. Vedius Aqu- linus.
4257	287	¶ Imp. Diocle- ian Aug. the third time. Imp. Maximus Augustus the second time.

		Year of their Empire.	Years since Re- foundat.
he journeyed through Illyricum, was treacherously by his own souldiers killed the second day of November. Howbeit afterwards all the souldiers together erected for him a mighty great sepulchre, with such a title or inscription as this : <i>Here lieth the Emperour Probus, and truly called Probus</i> , that is, <i>Good : Conquerour of all Barbarous Nations : Conquerour also of Tyrants</i> . See more in <i>Vopiscus</i> .			
<i>Him succeeded</i>			
<i>M. AVRELIVS CARVS</i> , who together with his sonnes <i>CARINVS</i> and <i>NVMERIANVS</i> reigned one yeere.			
<i>CARVS</i> taking in hand that Persian warre, which <i>Probus</i> prepared for, together with his sonne <i>Numerianus</i> , gained Melopotamia, and came as farre as to Ctesiphon : and there with lightning was consumed. <i>Vopiscus</i> .	1	1035	
<i>C. VALER. DIOCLETIANVS</i> 1031- <i>VS</i> , was saluted Emperour, and reigned twenty yeeres: <i>Numerianus</i> was by his father in lawe, that is, his wives father, slain.	1	1036	
<i>Diocletian</i> , yet a privateman, having beene tolde by a *whore or wise woman, that he should then be Emperour when he had killed <i>Aper</i> , which signifieth a wilde Bore, hunted off, and killed many a one, but mistil still of the Empire. He would often say, Many a Bore have I slaine, but others go away still with the sweet venison: At length with his owne hand he ranne <i>Aper</i> aforesaid Praefect of the Praetorium through with a sword, and then thought himselfe surely invested in the Empire. <i>Fl. Vopiscus</i> .			
<i>Carinus</i> fought many a field with <i>Diocletian</i> : but in the last battell at Murgum he was vanquished, and suffered due punishment for his wickednesse : For, murdered he was by a Tribune or Capraine, whose wife hee had committed adultery with. <i>Vopisc. Entrop. Aurel. Vist.</i>			
Many Commotions there were in certaine regions of the Empire : Also certaine vsuppers or tyrants, who soone after were put downe and oppressed. <i>Pomp. Letius</i> .	2	1037	
<i>MAXIMIANVS HERCVLIVS</i> was by <i>Diocletian</i> made partner with him in the Empire, & created <i>Augustus</i> .			
This <i>Maximian</i> with wonderfull celeritie destroyed of the faction <i>Bugarida</i> or <i>Bacaudica</i> (for so the rurall multitude termed themselves :) the <i>Almans</i> beginning to stir he repressed : Semblably the <i>Chaibones</i> , the <i>Heruli</i> , and <i>Gauls</i> he quieted. <i>Pomp. Lat. Sigonius</i> .	3	1038	
<i>Diocletian</i> driveth backe the <i>Gothes</i> , and placeth <i>fortes</i> againe in the limis of the Empire. <i>Sigon</i> .			
<i>Carausius</i> usurped the kingdom of <i>Britanny</i> , and held it for sixte yeeres, whiles the <i>Romans</i> strived in vaine against him.	4	4039	
<i>Maximi-</i>			

Year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Confess.	Year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Confess.	Year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Confess.
288	288	¶ M. Aurel. Mak. the second time. Pompeius Laminius.	5	1040	¶ Constantine Caesar.	294	294	¶ Constantine Caesar.
289	289	¶ Annus Bassus. L. Regulus Quintianus.	6	1041	¶ Numerianus Tullius. Annus Cornelius Annulianus.	295	295	¶ Numerianus Tullius.
290	290	¶ Imp. Diocletian August. the fourth time. Imp. Maximian August. the third time.	7	1042	¶ Imp. Diocletian August. the first time. Constantine Caesar the second time.	296	296	¶ Imp. Diocletian August. the first time. Constantine Caesar the second time.
291	291	¶ C. Julius Tiberianus. Callius Dion.	8	1043	¶ Imp. Maximian August. the first time. Galerius Caesar the second time.	297	297	¶ Imp. Maximian August. the first time. Galerius Caesar the second time.
292	292	¶ Africanus Hannibalianus, or Anaballanus. M. Aclepodon.	9	1044	¶ Aricinus Fadus the second time. Severus Galba.	298	298	¶ Aricinus Fadus the second time. Severus Galba.
293	293	¶ Imp. Diocletian August. the first time. Imp. Maximian August. the fourth time.	10	1045	¶ Imp. Diocletian August. the first time. Imp. Maximian August. the fourth time.	299	299	¶ Imp. Diocletian August. the first time. Imp. Maximian August. the fourth time.

Maximian tareth the Almaines againe : maketh a bridge over the river of Rhene, and erecteth Trophees in the mids of Almaine. *Sigon. Eutrop. Pomp. Letus.*

Some erre to this time, the martyrdome of Saint *Maurice*, who was the Leader of the Thebane Legion : which being Christian, and abhorring the worship of Idolls, and abstaining from sacrifices, at the commandement of *Maximian*, was first tished, that is, every tenth man thereof was executed ; and afterwards every one of them, together with their Captaine *Mauricim*, hewen and cut in peeces. *Ortho Frising. lib. 3. cap. 45.*

Achilles possesseth himselfe of Egypt. *Pomp. Letus.* *Maximian* invadeth the Franckes countrey, and forceth their King *Gernobon* to seeke for peace. But he had like to have lost Mauritania fore infested by the Quinquegentians. *Sigonius.*

Sundry warres in divers places beginne to shew themselves. *Diocletian* marcheth beyond the river Ister, against the Gothes, Carpi, Quades, and Marcomans. *Pomp. Letus.*

Diocletian and *Maximian* being overlaid with businesse, adopted unto them two *Cajars*, to wit, *Maximianus GALERIUS* and *CONSTANTIUS FLORUS*. As for *Galerius* hee tooke to wife *Valeria* the daughter of *Diocletian*, and *Constantius* wedded the wives daughter of *Maximian*, after they had rejected and cast off their former wives. *CONSTANTIUS* reigned fiftene yeeres, and *GALERIUS* one and twenty. *Sigon. Onuph. Pomp. Letus.*

Galerius taketh the charge of defending Illyricum. He vanquisheth the Sarmatians, and the Carpi. *Constantius* being sent against *Caranus*, recovereth Gelloriacum. He delivereth Clivia besieged by the Franckes. *Maximian* requirith to have the recoverie of Mauritania to be committed unto him. *Constantius* giveth unto *Galerius* his sonne *Constantinus* as a pledge of his love. *Sigon.*

Galerius vanquisheth the Basternæ, the Carpi, and the Sarmatians : and at the commaundement of *Diocletian* drawes the Sarmatians over on this side Ister. *Constantinus* the sonne of *Constantius* beareth himselfe manfully, and with singular commendation in the Sarmation war.

Constantinus prepareth to warre in Britanny against *Caranus*, who is slaine by *Alecus*.

Maximian restraineth the Franckes, and fendeth an armie into Africke against the Quinquegentians.

Constantius having vanquished *Alecus*, recovereth Britanny. *Pomp. Letus. Carol. Sigon.*

Diocletian overcommeth *Achilles* in Egypt. Having wonne by force Alexandria, hee dealeth cruelly with the Citizens, sacketh the citie, pulleth downe the walls, and so bringeth the Egyptian warre to an end. Hee removeth the Nabatheans out of their borders, and encreth into a counsell and purpose with himselfe to persecute the Christians. *Enseb. Sigonius.*

Maximian and *Constantius* bring over the Franckes into the waste desarts of Gaule. *Sigon.*

Galerius encountereth *Narjes* King of the Persians, fighteth a battaile with him, and gaineth victory. But within a while after, having received a foile and overthrow, fled to *Diocletian*, where being rebuked by him, he repaired his army with fresh forces. After this, returning to the warre, he overcommeth *Narjes*, and regaineth two Provinces beyond Tygris. *Diocletian* cannot containe the felicity of the Roman Empire, & his owne : but will needes be adored and worshipped, yea hee entendeth an horrible persecution against the Christians.

Maximian goeth forward against the Quinquegentians, whom at length he subdueth.

Constantius fighteth with the Lingones : at the first hee had the foile, but afterwards the upper hand. Hee adventured a dangerous journey to the Vindones. *Pomp. Letus, Enseb. Sigon.*

Diocletian giveth commaundement, that most tumultuous and magnificent Baines should be made at Rome : and *Maximian* at Carthage. These two Giants have no better conceit of the Christians, then of the refuse and off-scouring of the world. *Constantius* graunteth unto the Clivians, *Eumenius* the Rhetorician, who might plant Schooles of learning in Gaule. *Sigon. Pomp. Letus.*

Maximian buildeth baines at Millaine : likewise a palace at Aquileia and at Brexia, and an Amphitheatre at Verona. *Sigon.*

Elisus Spartianus, *Tulius Capitolinus*, *Elisus Lampridius*, *Valerius Gallicanus*, *Flavius Vopiscus*, and *Trebellianus Pollio*, Historiographers, all at this time lived. *Bucholceer.*

The church now beautified with many men endowed with piety and singular erudition, whiles these Emperors prepare themselves to triumph, beholdeth the crosse hard at their shoulders. *Enseb.*

Diocletian and *Maximian* triumphed most gloriously and magnificently at Rome over the Persians and Germans : having the wife, sisters, and children of *Narjes* King of the Persians going before their Chariot. A little after this they intend the tenth and most cruell persecution against the Christians, in divers countries of East and West both : whereof *Ensebius* and other Ecclesiasticall writers relate at large.

In the second yeere of this persecution *Diocletian* and *Maximian* laid off their purple, and resigned up the Empire at Nicomedia the thirtieth day of April, and committed the charge of defending the State and Commonwealth to *Constantinus* and *Galerius*, who before were *Cajars*, and now proclaimed *Augusti*. These two divided the

Year of the world
Year of Christ
Consuls

274 304 ¶ Imp. Diocletian, Aug. the ninth time.
Imp. Maximian Augustus the eight time.

275 305 ¶ Imp. Constantinus Aug. the fifth time.
Imp. Galerius Aug. the sixth time.

276 306 ¶ Imp. Constantinus Aug. the sixth time.
Imp. Galerius Aug. the sixth time.

277 307 ¶ Imp. Constantinus Aug. the sixth time.
Imp. Galerius Aug. the sixth time.

278 308 ¶ Imp. Galerius Aug. the sixth time.
Diocletian the sixth time.

279 309 ¶ After the sixth Consulship of Imp. Galerius Aug. the sixth time.
Diocletian the sixth time.

Ad.

the Roman Empire between them. *CONSTANTINUS* the Father of *CONSTANTINE* reigned two yeeres, and *GALERIUS* seven. *Ensch. Pomp. Letus.*

Galerius having gotten the Empire of the East, continued the persecution against the Christians. *Constantinus* yielded up againe unto *Galerius* Italie and Africke, neither troubleth he the Christians. *Ensch. Sigonius.*

Galerius riddeth his palace wholly of all holy men. *Constantinus* gracious unto Christians hasteneth into Britannie against the Picts and Caledones.

Constantinus dieth at Yorke the five and twentieth day of Iulie, in the sixe and fiftieth yeere of his age. With him was present *Constantine* his sonne, who had fledde from *Galerius*. Others will have the death of *Constantinus* to fall upon the yeere following.

After *Constantinus* succeeded

FLAV. VALERIUS CONSTANTINUS, who ruled thirte yeeres, nine moneths, and 27. dayes. Likewise *M. AVRELIVS MAXENTIVS*, and *CAIVS GALLVS MAXIMINVS*: For these two were called Emperours. *Onuphr. Sigonius.*

Galerius maketh over unto *Severus*, Italie and Africke, and unto *Maximinus* the East: hee keepeth unto himselfe Illyricum, and together with *Maximinus* continueth persecution of Christians in the East. *Ensch.*

Maxentius at Rome is by the Prætorian souldiours made Emperour against *Severus* *Cæsar*, and seemeth favourable and gracious to the Christians. *Maximian* resumeth the purple imperiall Robe. *Sigonius.*

Maximian by a wife killeth *Severus*. *Diocletian* solicited by *Maximian* refuseth to take the purple againe, contenting himselfe with a quiet rusticall life. *Constantinus* warreth with *Asiacus* and *Gaiso* Kings of the Franckes. *Maximian* deviseth to depose *Maxentius* from the Empire, and afterwards goeth into Gaule, to *Constantine*, unto whom hee graunteth his daughter *Fausta* in marriage. *Sigonius.*

Galerius and *Maximinus* continue the persecution of Christians in the East.

Constantinus goeth against the Baucteri people of the Frankuers.

Maxentius chalengeth Africke to himselfe, after hee had slaine *Alexander* the Tyrant, and triumpheth at Rome. *Pomp. Letus, Sigonius.*

Maximinus intendeth to warrenpon *Maxentius*, and with *Galerius* conceiveth persecution of Christians in the East. *Maxentius* beginneth to tyrannize at Rome, persecuteth Christians, after hee had cast *Marcellus* the Bishop into a Mill-house. *Maximian* in Gaule laiceth wait for *Constantine* his sonne in lawe, and by him is slaine at Maris. *Constantine* goeth against the Baucteri, Ecclesiastick. *Pomp. Letus and Sigonius.*

Galerius

Year of the world
Year of Christ
Consuls

4280 310

4281 311

4282 312

4283 313

4284 314

4285 315

4286 316

4287 317

4288 318

4289 319

4290 320

4291 321

4292 322

4293 323

4294 324

4295 325

4296 326

4297 327

4298 328

4299 329

4300 330

Year of the world
Year of Christ
Consuls

4280 310

4281 311

4282 312

4283 313

4284 314

4285 315

4286 316

4287 317

4288 318

4289 319

4290 320

4291 321

4292 322

4293 323

4294 324

4295 325

4296 326

4297 327

4298 328

4299 329

4300 330

Year of the world
Year of Christ
Consuls

4280 310

4281 311

4282 312

4283 313

4284 314

4285 315

4286 316

4287 317

4288 318

4289 319

4290 320

4291 321

4292 322

4293 323

4294 324

4295 325

4296 326

4297 327

4298 328

4299 329

4300 330

Year of the world
Year of Christ
Consuls

4280 310

4281 311

4282 312

4283 313

4284 314

4285 315

4286 316

4287 317

4288 318

4289 319

4290 320

4291 321

4292 322

4293 323

4294 324

4295 325

4296 326

4297 327

4298 328

4299 329

4300 330

Ad.

Galerius persecuted the Christians in Pannonia. *Quirinus* the Bishop, not without a miracle valiantly taketh his death for Christs sake. *Prudentius* in his *Hymnes*: For having a quene stone tied unto his necke, hee was throwne headlong from a bridge downe into the river, and swumme aloft a great while, and when he had spoken unto the beholders, that they should not by reason of his punishment be affrighted from Christian Religion, he prayed unto God that he might sink, and so he was with much ado drowned. *Ensch.*

Maximinus and *Maxentius* with infest armes and mindes both trouble the provinces and the Empire. Whereupon the sea could not be safely passed: whence arose an exceeding great dearth of corne at Rome. *Sig.*

Galerius being visited with a most filthy discaise, and acknowledging it to be the heavy hand of God punishing him for the unjust death of Christians, divulged an Edict, that Christians should be spared, and their churches and chappels restored unto them: craving withall, that they would offer up prayers and vovles for the Emperours health. And within a while after of that discaise he pined away, and died. *Ensch. lib. 8.*

During his sicknesse he tooke in *Cæus Aurelius Valerius Licinius* to be his consort in the Empire. *Licinius* held Illyricum, and concluded a league with *Constantinus* and *Maximinus*. *Maximinus* spareth the Christians, and afterwards urgeth against them. *Constantinus* is sent for by the Romans against *Maxentius*, who prepareth to make warre. *Pomp. Letus, Eutropius, Sigonius.*

Licinius espouseth *Constantia* sister of *Constantine*. And these two jointly together sent an Edict to *Maximinus*, that he should forbear the Christians. *Maxim* suppressing this Edict, permitted all to use & exercise their religion.

Constantine being confirmed by a signe from heaven, becommeth catechized in the Faith: and arming himselfe against *Maxentius*, after a field fought in the Taurins country, when he had gained the higher part of Italian goeth toward Rome, (strucke a battaile at Pons Milvius, where *Maximinus* was slaine, and his armie put to flight. *Constantinus*, when he had recovered Rome, triumpheth, seileth the Roman State, graunteth free liberty to worship Christ, setteth forth plaies and games, restoreth them to their places whom *Maxentius* had condemned, the Complices of *Maxentius* hee condemneth, the Prætorian souldiers hee riddeth away, hee disordereth the Prætorian Hold, is by the Senate honoured with laudatorie Titles, an Arch and Statues, a Trophæe of the Crosse hee erecteth in the middle of the citie, hee honoureth with good respect the Bishops, hee buildeth a stately church to Christ in the Lateran: then leaving Rome, goeth to Millaine, recovereth Africke, refresheth the afflicted cities of Italie, and by Italie is adorned with a Colonne, Scutcheon, and a Crowne of gold. *Ensch. Eutrop. Pompon. Let. Sigonius.*

E The

Year of the world	Year of Christ	Consults	Acts.	Year of the Empire	Year since Rome founded
4283	313	¶ Imp. Constantine Augustus the third time Imp. Licinius Augustus	The Schisme of the Donatists ariseth in Africke. <i>O-nuphr.</i> <i>Licinius</i> having married <i>Constantia</i> , together with <i>Constantine</i> maketh an Edict as touching the libertie of Religion: goeth againe into Illyricum, warreth against <i>Maximinus</i> , discomfitteth, and at length vanquisheth him at Auticum. <i>Maximinus</i> at Tarsus, sodainly surprised with most dolorous torments of his body dieth, where being foureyeres <i>Cesar</i> , and three yeres <i>Augustus</i> , hee had reigned as a most malicious enemy of Christians. <i>Licinius</i> after he had vanquished the armie of <i>Maximinus</i> , adjoineth unto him the East, seateth himselfe at Nicomedia, maketh decrees against <i>Maximinus</i> , and favoureth the Christians. <i>Euseb. Europ. Vict. Pompeon. Letur. Sigonius.</i> <i>Constantine</i> abolisheth the secular Plaies, passeth an Edict for the libertie of Christian Religion, went againe into Gaule, repressed the Frankes that covered to passe over Rhene, and fortified the limite: provideth for the peace of the Church. Then was <i>Constantine</i> his sonne borne. At Trier he setteth forth Games and Plaies. <i>Euseb. Europ. Aur. Vict. Pomp. Letur.</i> <i>Diocletian</i> having received mnatory letters from <i>Constantine</i> and <i>Licinius</i> , for that hee had favoured <i>Maxentius</i> and <i>Maximinus</i> , killed himselfe. <i>Aur. Vict.</i> <i>Crispus</i> (whose Schoolmaster <i>Lactant. Firmianus</i> was) <i>Constantinus junior</i> , & <i>Licinius junior</i> , the sons of <i>Constantine</i> and <i>Licinius</i> Emperours, are proclaimed <i>Cesars</i> . <i>Constantine</i> condemneth the Donatists at Millaine. <i>Eusebius, Sigonius.</i> <i>Constantine</i> enlargeth the cathedrall churches of saint <i>Peter</i> and saint <i>Paul</i> , enricheth the churches, erecteth a sacred Font to baptize in: Then making warre upon <i>Licinius</i> that he might winneto himselfe part of the Provinces of <i>Maximinus</i> , vanquisheth <i>Licinius</i> at Cibala a towne in the lower Pannonia, and having gotten Illyricum, letteth him goe. Hee sendeth <i>Crispus</i> into Gaule against the Germans. <i>Eusebius, Sigonius.</i> <i>Constantine</i> warreth fortunately by <i>Gallicanus</i> in Illyricum. <i>Sigonius.</i> Romans and Gaules invade Frankeland. <i>Clogio</i> the five and thirtieth King of the Frankes (after whom succeeded <i>Clodomirus</i>) was slaine in bataille. <i>Eutrop. Tribemius, Funccius.</i> <i>Constantine</i> himselfe in person goeth into Illyricum against the Barbarians. <i>Crispus</i> valiantly defendeth the limites of Germany. <i>Constantinus</i> the sonne of <i>Constantine</i> is borne. <i>Sigonius.</i> <i>Crispus</i> obtaineth a noble victorie of the Frankes that rebelled, and tamed them. <i>Constantine</i> adorneth Rome with sumptuous and stately buildings. <i>Euseb. Sigonius.</i> <i>Licinius</i> the Emperour forgetting his Lieutenants, and seeking by secret traines to overthrow <i>Constantine</i> , went about to persecute the Christians: whom notwithstanding that	8	1065
4284	314	¶ C. Cecilius Rufus Volusianus, Anianus.		9	1066
4285	315	¶ Imp. Constantinus Aug. the fourth time. Imp. Licinius Augustus the fourth time.		10	1067
4286	316	¶ Fl. Rufinus Cecina Sabinius Q. Arcadius Rufinus Valer. Proculus.		11	1068
4287	317	¶ Q. Marinus Gallienus. Septimius Bassus.		12	1069
4288	318	¶ Imp. Licinius Augustus the fifth time Fl. Valer. Aug. F. Crisp. Caf.		13	1070
4289	319	¶ Imp. Constantinus Aug. the 5. time. C. Valer. Aug. F. Licinius Julius Caesar.		14	1071

Year of the world	Year of Christ	Consults	Acts.	Year of the Empire	Year since Rome founded
4290	320	¶ Imp. Constantinus Aug. the 6. time Fl. Valerius Constantinus the younger, Cesar.	that <i>Constantine</i> by his Letters admonished of his duty and allegiance, and to desist from his malice, yet could he not persuade him. <i>Cedrenus.</i> <i>Arian</i> a most pestilent hereticke, enemy to the God-head of Christ, beganne now to spread abroad his blasphemies. <i>Eusebius</i> , and other Ecclesiast. hist. <i>Constantine</i> the sonne of <i>Constantine</i> is borne. <i>Sigonius.</i> <i>Licinius</i> in a mischievous mind to Christians intendeth cruelty against them. <i>Constantine</i> appeareth a mutiny of the old soldiers in Gaule. <i>Eusebius, Sigonius.</i> <i>Licinius</i> afflicteth the Christians. <i>Constantine</i> warreth against the Sarmatians, and having slaine their King, <i>Rausinodus</i> , retired to Thessalonica. <i>Zosimus.</i> He maketh a law, That every man might leave his goods to the Clergie. <i>Eusebius, Sigonius.</i> <i>Licinius</i> carrying still a malicious mind against Christians, is warred upon by <i>Constantine</i> : whereupon hee raiseth a power of 150000. footemen, and 15000. horse men: and beside, riggeth forth a most strong Armada. <i>Zosim.</i> <i>Constantine</i> relieveth Rome distressed with penurie, <i>Euseb. Sigon.</i> <i>Constantine</i> layeth siege to Bizantium, and vanquisheth <i>Licinius</i> in fight, both on land & at sea. <i>Licinius</i> adjoineth unto him <i>Murinian</i> to be his associate, and nameth him <i>Cesar. Zosimus.</i> <i>Licinius</i> and <i>Martinianus</i> march against <i>Constantine</i> with a puissant army in battaile ray. <i>Constantine</i> after a hot field fought, got the upper hand. Of the <i>Licinius</i> , who (by report) were an hundred and thirty thousand strong, scarce thirty thousand escaped. When <i>Constantine</i> had recovered Bizantium, hee besiegeth Nicomedia. <i>Licinius</i> and <i>Martinianus</i> being deprived of their imperiall dignity, are beholden to <i>Constantine</i> for their life, and so retire unto a private life. <i>Eusebius, Cedrenus.</i> The Churches delivered from externall tyranny, are grievously troubled with the inward assaults of Arians. <i>Constantine</i> appeareth the East, and against the yeere following, proclaimeth the Nicene Synode. <i>Licinius</i> and <i>Martinianus</i> plot a rebellion. <i>Euseb. Sigon.</i> <i>Constantine</i> killeth <i>Licinius</i> and <i>Martinianus</i> : and after hee had rooted out all the persecutors of the Church, and obtained an absolute Monarchie, brought externall peace to the Christians. But then was the Church much molested with inward and domesticall fires occasioned by heretickees. At the Nicene Synode <i>Constantine</i> is present: the Bishops there assembled he honoureth with respect, and being at a jarre, he labored to reconcile them: and purposeth to build sundry cathedrall Churches in divers places. Being returned into Italie, hee putteth his sonne <i>Crispus</i> to death, charged grievously with imputations by <i>Favita. Zosimus, Euseb. Sig.</i> Terrible Earthquakes and Eclipses both of Sunne and Moone. <i>Cedr.</i> <i>Constantine</i> triumpheth in Rome: and for that his mother <i>Helena</i> found the Crosse of Christ, he commandeth a	15	1072
4291	321	¶ Crispus Cesar the second time. Constantinus the son, Cesar, the second time.		16	1073
4292	322	¶ Fl. Petronius Probianus Anicius Julianus.		17	1074
4293	323	¶ Acilius Severus Fl. Iulius Rusticus.		18	1075
4294	324	¶ Crispus Cesar the third time. Constantinus Augustus the 3. Cesar, the third time.		19	1076
4295	325	¶ M. Iulius Constantinus Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus. P. Publius Cornelius Iulianus Camerinus.		20	1077
4296	326	¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the fourth time.		21	1078

Years of the world.	Years of Christ	Consul.	ADs.
		Constant. Cesar.	more magnificent church to be built, and putteth the common wealth in order. <i>Euseb. Sigonius.</i>
4297	327	¶ Fl. Valerius Constantinus. Fl. Valerius Maximus Maximilianus.	<i>Helena</i> hearing that <i>Crispus Cesar</i> , by the instigation of his step-mother <i>Fausta</i> was put to death, chid <i>Constantine</i> , and caused <i>Fausta</i> to be shut within a hore burning Baine, and so with exelive heate to be killed. <i>Zosim. Oribor. Jerom.</i>
			Presently after <i>Fausta</i> followed <i>Helena</i> , now four score yeeres olde, but dying in peace, was by <i>Constantine</i> interred. <i>Constantine</i> returneth into the East, buildeth <i>Drepan</i> , and calleth it <i>Helenopolis</i> ; and beginneth the Cathedral church of <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Euseb. Sigonius.</i>
4298	328	¶ Fl. Magnus Iulianus. Fabius Iustus.	<i>Constantine</i> determining to build a new city for the imperiall seate of the East, and to call it after his owne name, first goeth in hand with <i>Ilium</i> , then with <i>Chalcedon</i> , and last of all with <i>Bizantium</i> . <i>Hierom. Sigon.</i>
			<i>Constantine</i> removeth the fouldiers of the Marches. <i>Sigonius.</i>
4299	329	¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the eight time. Constantinus the fowre Cesar the fourth time.	
4300	330	¶ Ovinus Gallianus. L. Aetilius Symmachus.	<i>Constantine</i> divideth the Provinces and Magistrates of the East and West Empire: and ordaineth Generalles of Armies. <i>Bizantium</i> is reedified by <i>Constantine</i> , enlarged about, and beautified with buildings. <i>Sigonius. Onuphr.</i>
4301	331	¶ Annius Bassus. Ablabius Aegyptius.	<i>Bizantium</i> by the new founder and reedifier thereof <i>Constantine</i> , is named <i>Constantinopolis</i> , and upon the eleventh day of Maie, is with tolemme ceremonies, and complements dedicated, to be the Seate of the East empire, and therefore it was called <i>New Rome</i> : and advaunceth the church of <i>Constantinople</i> to a Patriarchall dignitie. <i>Hierom. Sigon.</i>
4302	332	¶ Ovinus Pacatianus. Mecilius Hilarianus.	By an Edict of <i>Constantine</i> the Temples of the Gentiles are overthrowne, thirtie yeeres after the subversion of the Christian churches under <i>Diocletian</i> . <i>Constantine</i> ordaineth Lawes for both the Empires. The Eunuches of his chamber he restraineth. Great stirres and troubles in the church. <i>Euseb. Hieron. Sigonius.</i>
4303	333	¶ Fl. Valerius Dalmatius named afterwards Cesar. M. Aurelius Xenophilus.	<i>Constantine</i> , after he had repelled the Gothes, being misled by an Arian Elder or Priest, commandeth <i>Arianus</i> to come unto him, and for his fake troubleth <i>Athanasius</i> , the faithfull Orthodox Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i> . He bringeth over the Limigantes of <i>Sarmatia</i> , and the Vandals likewise into the Roman Provinces. <i>Euseb. Sig.</i>
4304	334	¶ L. Ranus Opatius. M. Iunius Censorius Nichomachus.	The Arians by their blasphemies and deceitfull slights infest many people: assemble Synods, to establish that execrable heresie of theirs. <i>Ecclesiast. hist.</i>
4305	335	¶ Annius Faustulus Junior. ¶ Fl. Valerius C. Celsus Albinus.	<i>Constantine</i> styleth his sonne <i>Constantius Cesar</i> , and writeth to <i>Antonius</i> a famous Heremite. <i>Euseb. Ecclesiast. hist.</i>
4306	336	¶ Fl. Popilianus Nepotianus. Fecundus.	<i>Constantine</i> confineth <i>Athanasius</i> to <i>Triers</i> . Celebrateth the espousals of his sonne <i>Constantius</i> : is honoured by the Indian Embassadors and is killed <i>Sopater</i> a wife and

Years of their Empire.	Years since Re. Julianus.
22	1079
23	1080
24	1081
25	1082
26	1083
27	1084
28	1085
29	1086
30	1087
31	1088

Years of the world.	Years of Christ	Consul.
4307	337	¶ T. Fabius Titianus. Felicidamus.
4308	338	¶ Vrsus. Folemis.
4309	339	¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the second time. Imp. Constantinus Augustus.
4310	340	¶ Fl. Septimius Acyradius. L. Aradius Rufinus Valerius Proculus.
4311	341	¶ Fl. Anton. Marcianus. Celsus Probinus.

Years of their Empire.	Years since Re. Julianus.
1	1089
2	1090
3	1091
4	1092
5	1093

and learned man. *Eusebius* in the life of *Constantine*, *Ecclesiast. hist. Sigon.*

Arianus cometh to a foule end. *Ecclesiast. hist.*

Constantine having received a litle before, holy Baptisme, dieth at *Nicomedia* during the feast of Pentecost, the two and twentieth day of Maie, in the yeere of his age 64. or 65. and after hee had fully reigned one and thirtie yeeres. Entered he was at *Constantinople*, within the church by himselfe built. *Eusebius* in his life, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*

By his last will and testament hee had divided the Empire among his sonnes. After his death he had great honour doone unto him, and is most honourably, and in sumptuous manner buried. *Eusebius, Sigonius.*

After *Constantine* succeeded

Imp. Caesar, FLAV. VALERIVS CONSTANTINVS IVNIOR, FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS, and *FLAVIVS VALERIVS CONSTANS*. They ruled together three yeeres: after that, *Constantinus* and *Constantinus* ten yeeres: and *Constantinus* in all 25. yeeres, 5. moneths, and 5. daies.

CONSTANTIVS governed in the East, in *Thracia*, *Asia*, and *Aegypt*. *Constantine* in *Gaule*, *Spaine* and *Britannie*; requirer of *Constantinus* part of his Empire, and restoreth *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*. *Constantinus* in *Italic*, *Africke*, and *Illyricum*.

Constantinus causeth his neere kinsmen, to wit, *Constantinus* his uncle by the fathers side, *Dalmatius Cesar*, and *Annibolianus* his brother, *Opatus* also a noble man of *Rome* of Senators degree, and *Ablabius* before time Praefect of the Praetorium to be killed.

He withlandeth *Sapor King* of the *Persians* in *Mesopotamia*, *Zosimus*.

Constantinus in *Pannonia* keepeth his residence against the Barbarians dwelling beyond *Danubius*: and *Constantinus* seareth himselfe against the enemies beyond *Rhene*, and endeavourerth to order all matters well in *Gaule*. *Zosimus, Pomp. Latinus, Eutrop. Sigon.*

Constantinus not very constant in maintaining the Decrees of the *Nicene* Councell, beganne to banish the Bishops of the true faith, and to foster the Arians. *Ecclesiast. hist.*

Constantine the younger is slaine neere *Aquileia* by his brother *Constantinus*: and his Empire is devolved upon *Constantinus*. *Eutrop. Hieronymus. Zonar. Zosim.*

Constantinus become an Arian, after the death of *Alexander* ordaineth *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, an Arian, to be Bishop of the church at *Constantinople*: whereupon there sprung innumerable contentions. *Ecclesiast. hist.*

A Synode is holden at *Antioch* against *Athanasius* and the Bishops of the true faith. Brawles & broiles betweene the Bishops of the true faith, and the Arians. *Constantinus*

Year of the world	Year of Christ	Consul.	Year of their Empire.	Year since Reformation.	Year of the world	Year of Christ.	Consul.	Year of their Empire.	Year since Reformation.
4312	340	¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the third time. Imp. Constant Aug. the 2. time.	6	1094	4321	351	¶ After the Consilium of Segus and Nigrinians. * his mission.	15	1100
4313	343	¶ St. Macrin Mennius Furis Placidus. Fl. Placidus Romanus.	7	1095	4322	352	¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the fifth time. Fl. Constantinus Gallus 2. ar. ¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the sixth time. Fl. Constantinus Gallus Caesar the first time.	16	1100
4314	344	¶ Domitianus Leonianus. Salutius.	8	1096	4323	353	¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the seventh time. Fl. Constantinus Gallus Caesar the second time.	17	1100
4315	345	¶ Amanianus Ceionianus. Rufus Albinius.	9	1097	4324	354	¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the eighth time. Fl. Constantinus Gallus Caesar the third time.	18	1101
4316	346	¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the 3. time. Imp. Constant Aug. the 3. time.	10	1098	4325	355	¶ Fl. Albinus Marcellus Lollianus. * his consules some.	19	1100
4317	347	¶ P. Rufinus. Fl. Butebicus.	11	1099	4326	356	¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the ninth time. Julianus Caesar.	20	1100
4318	348	¶ Fl. Philippus. Fl. Salicius.	12	1100	4327	357	¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the tenth time. Julianus Caesar the second time.	21	1100
4319	349	¶ Vlpianus Licinianus. ¶ Zo Fabius Callianus Philoninus.	13	1101	4328	358	¶ Decianus Nectarius Cerealis.	22	1101
4320	350	¶ Sergius Nigrinianus.	14	1102					

Year of the world	Year of Christ	Consul	Year of their Empire	Year of the world	Year of Christ	Consul	Year of their Empire
431	329	359	¶ Eudicius Hypathus,	4332	362	¶ Fl. Mamercinus. Fl. Novita.	1
431	330	360	¶ Imp. Constantinus Augustus the third time. Julian, Cæsar the third time.	4333	363	¶ Imp. Iulianus August. the fourth time. Secundus Salustius Promotus.	2
431	331	361	¶ Fl. Taurus. Fl. Florentinus.	4334	364	¶ Imp. Flavius Iovianus August. Fl. Varronianus August. his sonne, a child.	1
431	332	362		4335	365	¶ Imp. Valentinianus Augustus. Imp. Valens Augustus.	2
431	333	363		4336	366	¶ Fl. Gratianus sonne of Valentinian. Fl. Dagalaiphus.	3

neighbour Nations, making tumults in sundry places, and forceth them to keepe quiet. *lib. 17. cap. 1. 2. 8. 9.* The Persians Embassage. *Ca. 6.* A dreadfull Earthquake, which shooke mountaines and many towns of Asia, Macedonia, and Pontus. *cap. 7.* *Constantinus* subdueth the Sarmatians and Quadi. The Sarmatian slaves he defeateth in battaile. The Picentes and Limigantes upon their humble supplication, hee reduceth into their auntient habitations, and thereupon is styled *Sarmaticus*. *Cap. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.*

Julian wearieth the Almans, and forceth them to crave peace. *lib. 18. cap. 1. 2.*

The warre is kindled betweene the Persians and Romans: in the beginning whereof *Constantinus* is grievously foiled. *cap. 4. 5. 6. 7.* The former acts and occurrents of this warre, and the flight of the Roman croupes. *cap. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13.* Amid a most strong towne is by the Persians assaulted, and after much losse on both sides, forced, and wonne. *lib. 19. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.* Great dearth of come and victualls in Rome. *cap. 9.* *Constantinus* putteth to the sword, the Limigantes of Sarmatia, who rebelled. *cap. 10.* *Constantinus* cruelly proceedeth by the means of one *Paulus* his Notary or Secretary, against those that sought unto Oracles, and were given to the superstitions of the heathen. An horrible monfter was seene at Antioch. The Isauians making a commotion, are by *Laurentius* appeased. *cap. 11. 12.*

A memorable Eclipse of the Sunne in the East empire. *lib. 20. cap. 2.* *Julian* in Gaule is stiled *Augustus*. With what cunning sleight this was brought about, *Am. Marcellinus* laith open in the twentieth booke. *cap. 3. 4. 5. 9.* The fortunate successe of the Persians in the East against the Romans. *cap. 6. 7. 8.* The attempts of *Constantinus* against *Julianus* and the Persians sake no effect. *cap. 10. 11. 12. 13.* *Julian* represseth the Aduarij, a nation of the Frankes. *cap. 10.*

Julian, desirous to overthrow *Constantinus*, embraceth the study of unlawfull and forbidden Arts: and for the time maketh semblance of Christianitie. *lib. 21. cap. 1. 2.* Certaine Almaine traitors he chastiseth. *cap. 3.* He purposeth to make open warre upon *Constantinus*. *cap. 4.* The memorie of *Constantinus Magnus* he traducth, and penneth an Invektive against *Constantinus*. *cap. 8.* Hee believeth Aquileia, which was intercepted by *Constantinus* his Legions; and in the end winneth it. *cap. 9. 10.* *Constantinus* being freed from the Persian warre, taketh armes against *Julian*, whom he termeth a Rebelle: But in the way, when he was come to Tarsus, he died the third day of November. *cap. 11. 12. 13.* *Julian* hearing of *Constantinus* his death, commeth out of Mesia to Constantinople, & ferleth the affaires of the State: Impiously, herefully, and craftily he dealeth against Christ, and the Christians: A most foule fight and view of *Julians* court and army both.

lib. 22. cap. 1. 2. 3.

IVLIA.

IVLIANVS is now *Augustus* and Emperour alone. Hemaketh his abode at Antioch. A professed enemy of true religion. Christian Grammarians and Rhetoricians hee debarreth from reading in Schooles. *lib. 2. cap. 9. 10.* Great personages that were his adversaries and opposites he maketh away: the feditious Alexandrines, who had murdered *Georgius* the Arian Bishop, hemildely intreatheth. *cap. 11.* Addicted to magicke arts, he addresseth himselfe to the Persian warre, and writeth against the Antiochians. Certaine prodigious signes are seene: and an Earthquake hapneth, whereby Nicomedia is overturned. *cap. 12. 13.*

Julian goeth about in vaine to redifie the Temple of Ierusalem. *lib. 2. 3. cap. 1.* Hee maketh a journey into Persia: *Anatha* is yielded unto him: and after many warrelike expeditions he winneth Maiozamalcha. *lib. 2. 4. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.*

Being skared with an ominous signe, leaving the siege of Ctesiphon, and wearied together with his whole armie with the distemperature of the aire and the soile, forced he is to alter his journey. *cap. 11. 12.* At the last, after certaine skirmishes and batailles fought, forgetting to take his cuirace, and halting to fight, he was mortally wounded by an unknowne person, and within a while after yielded up his vitall breath, in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age, the fix and twentieth day of Iune. *lib. 2. 5. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4.*

After him succeeded

Fl. IOULIANVS, who reigned seven moneths, and two and twenty dayes, being chosen by the Souldiers: he departheth out of Persia, after he had concluded peace with *Sapor*, and yielded up the provinces beyond *Tigris*. *Am. Marcellinus. lib. 2. 5. cap. 7. 10.*

Iovianus dieth in Galatia. *lib. 2. 5. cap. 14.*

After him succeeded.

Fl. VALENTINIANVS chosen by the Souldiers, who reigned eleven yeeres, eight moneths and two and twenty dayes. He being returned to Constantinople, tooke unto him, in the Society of the Empire, his brother *Fl. VALENS*, and declared him *Augustus*: and when hee had committed unto him the East Empire where he ruled fourteene yeeres, four moneths and fourteene daies) himselfe tooke his progresse into the West.

Am. Marcell. lib. 2. 6. cap. 1. 3. 5.

Whiles *Valentinianus* thinkes of making warre upon the Alemans, *Valens* is by *Procopius* the usurper troubled and wearied. *lib. 2. 6. cap. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11.*

Procopius being apprehended hath his head stricken off. *lib. 2. 6. ca. 12.* *Marcellus* giving the attempt to succeed

Procopius.

Year of the world.	Years of Consul.	Consul.	Acts.	Years of their Empire.	Years since Re-founded.
4337	367	¶ Fl. Lupicinus. Fl. Iovinus.	<i>Procopius</i> , within a while after was put to death, <i>cap. 13</i> . Fearful Earthquakes throughout the world, <i>cap. 14</i> . <i>Valentinian</i> in three batailles under the conduct of <i>Iovinus</i> , discomfitteth the <i>Almans</i> making warre, <i>lib. 27. cap. 1</i> . A bloodie sedition at Rome betwene <i>Damasius</i> and <i>Vrjcinus</i> contending for the Episcopall dignity, <i>cap. 2</i> . <i>Valens</i> passeth over Ilter against the <i>Gothes</i> , but seeing none to make head against him, returneth with his forces, <i>lib. 27. cap. 4</i> . <i>Valentinian</i> fore visited with sickness, declareth <i>GRATIAN</i> his sonne <i>Augustus</i> , who reigned eight yeeres, two moneths, and eight and twentie daies, <i>cap. 5</i> . The Britans warre is by <i>Theodosius</i> the Generall happily atchieved, <i>cap. 7</i> . Rigorous judgements are exercised at Rome, <i>cap. 6</i> . The most miserable state of Africke under <i>Romans</i> the Lievtenant, <i>cap. 8</i> . <i>Valens</i> warreth upon the <i>Gothes</i> , <i>lib. 27. cap. 4</i> . <i>Valentinian</i> beareth downe the <i>Almans</i> , <i>cap. 9</i> . The king of the Persians having subdued Armenia, prepareth for warre against the <i>Romans</i> , <i>cap. 11. 12</i> . <i>Valens</i> maketh a rode into the <i>Almans</i> lands, where there is a treaty of peace, <i>lib. 27. cap. 4</i> . <i>Valentinian</i> maketh streit inquisition at Rome about Witchcraft and Sorcerie, <i>lib. 28. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5</i> . His warres upon the <i>Almans</i> , <i>cap. 6</i> . The warre that <i>Valentinian</i> made against the Saxons, discomfited, by a wile inclosed, and killed to the last man, <i>lib. 28. cap. 11</i> . The <i>Almans</i> are subdued, <i>cap. 12</i> . Africke is oppressed by Courtiers, <i>cap. 12. 14. 15</i> . In the Court of <i>Valens</i> be horrible Tragedies acted about the enquire of a Successor in the Empire by devilish arts, <i>lib. 29. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7</i> . <i>Valentinian</i> , by the meanes of <i>Severus</i> , discovered what the <i>Almans</i> doe, and putteth them to flight, <i>lib. 29. cap. 9</i> . The warre in Mauritania is by <i>Theodosius</i> happily atchieved, <i>cap. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14</i> . Warre against the <i>Quadi</i> not justly begun, is as unhappily managed, <i>lib. 29. cap. 14</i> . <i>Theodosius</i> the yonger a brave yong Gentleman representh the <i>Sarmatians</i> , <i>cap. 15</i> . <i>Para</i> King of Armenia, by commaundement of <i>Valens</i> is murdered at a feast, <i>lib. 30. cap. 1. 2</i> . <i>Valentinian</i> maketh warre upon the <i>Alemans</i> ; and entrench into a league and amitie with their king <i>Macrianus</i> , <i>lib. 30. cap. 4</i> . The wofull condition and state of the East Provinces under <i>Valens</i> , <i>cap. 5. 6. 7</i> . <i>Valentinianus</i> in his journey to the <i>Sarmatians</i> and <i>Illyrians</i> giveth audienceto the Embassadors of the <i>Quadi</i> : and being much enchasfed and vexed with their speech, is surprized with an Apoplexie, and so dieth the seventeenth day of November, <i>lib. 30. cap. 8. 9</i> . When he was dead, <i>VALENTINIAN</i> his sonne a very childe, was by the army ruled as <i>Augustus</i> , <i>cap. 12</i> .	4	1119
4338	368	¶ Imp. Valentinianus August. the second time. Imp. Valens Aug. the 2. time.		5	1120
4339	369	¶ Pulvis Felix Valentinianus Sex. Aurelius Victor.		6	1121
4340	370	¶ Imp. Valentinianus Augustus the third time. Imp. Valens Aug. the 3. time.		7	1122
4341	371	¶ Imp. Gratianus Aug. the 2. time. Sex. Anicius Petronius Probus.		8	1123
4342	372	¶ Fl. Modestus. Fl. Arintheus		9	1124
4343	373	¶ Imp. Valentinianus Augustus the fourth time. Imp. Valens Aug. the 4. time.		10	1125
4344	374	¶ Imp. Gratianus Aug. the 3. time. Fl. Equitius.		11	1126
4345	375	¶ After the third Consulship of Gratianus August. and Fl. Equitius.		12	1127

By

Year of the world.	Years of Consul.	Consul.	Acts.	Years of their Empire.	Years since Re-founded.
4346	376	¶ Imp. Valens Aug. the 5. time. Imp. Valentinianus junior Aug.	By the permission of <i>Valens</i> , the <i>Gothes</i> , by the Huns oppressed, passing over <i>Danubius</i> were received into <i>Thracia</i> ; and misused by the Roman Captaines and Governors, set upon the <i>Romans</i> , <i>Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 31. cap. 1. 3. 4. 5. 6</i> . <i>Valens</i> giveth order to meete with the tumults that the <i>Gothes</i> made in <i>Thracia</i> , who receive a great overthrow, which notwithstanding was to the <i>Romans</i> cause of much sorrow, <i>lib. 31. cap. 7. 8</i> . <i>Gratianus</i> happily endeth the warre against the <i>Lendenses</i> , <i>lib. 31. cap. 10</i> . <i>Valens</i> advauncing against the <i>Gothes</i> , and envying the glorie of <i>Gratian</i> , is vanquished and slaine in <i>Thracia</i> , <i>cap. 11. 12. 13. 14</i> .	13	1128
4347	377	¶ Imp. Gratianus August. the 4. time Fl. Merobaudius.		14	1129
			Thus endeth the Chronologie of Marcellinus his Storie.	15	1130

